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THE

Lay Folks Mass Book

OR

THE MANNER OF HEARING MASS

WITH RUBRICS AND DEVOTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE

IN FOUR TEXTS

AND

Offices in English

ACCORDING TO THE USE OF YORK

FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF THE Xth TO THE XVth CENTURY

WITH

Appendix, Notes, and Glossary

BY

THOMAS FREDERICK SIMMONS, M.A.

CANON OF YORK, RECTOR OF DALTON HOLME

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE MEMBERS OF

The Early English Text Society.

The early English treatise on the Mass, which has for some years appeared among the intended publications of this Society as the Lay-Folks Mass-Book—a title adopted to indicate its purpose—is at length placed in the hands of the members. It has been so long delayed from various unforeseen causes, and chiefly in the hope of finding the needful manuscripts.

I have altogether failed in the search for a copy of the original treatise, and our earliest and best text (B) is a transcript of the English translation, which has been subjected to systematic verbal alterations at the hands of a midland scribe of the fourteenth century. From a comparison with text E, which is an independent transcript by a west-midland scribe of a hundred years later, there do not appear to be any variations that leave us in doubt as to the tenour of the original translation. With the help of text C, though that, like texts A, D, and F, has undergone a ritual revision, it would not be difficult to restore the verbal forms, if a *textus restitutus* were the object of the Society.

My attention was in the first instance drawn to the British Museum MS. (our text B) by Mr. Maskell's extracts from it in the notes to his Ancient English Liturgies. It was one of the first books I asked for on my next visit to the Reading-room, and, besides its curious ritual information, I was much struck by the fact that it was the only document I had met with that enables us to know the prayers which the unlearned of our forefathers used at mass, and by the light it threw upon

their inner religious life from a point of view different fro
that afforded by the many mediæval sermons(*) that hav
come down to us. I made as many extracts as I had time fo
and there my concern with it might have ended, but that som
ten or twelve years afterwards I was asked to help in th
work of this Society. When I agreed to edit this manuscrip
which was all I originally undertook to do, I had very litt
idea of the time it would be hanging about, nor of the inroa
which it would make on my leisure, but having undertake
it, I have been unwilling to put it forth in an incomplet
condition. That I have done so, has not been from an
sparing of trouble on my part. When I went through th
transcript, which Mr. E. Brock had made for the Societ
with close attention, as a man does who has undertaken th
task of editor, I found not only what I had forgotten or ha
not observed when I had examined the manuscript, that
was a translation, but also that it was the work of a scrib
who was not familiar with the northern dialect in which, as
hope to prove to the satisfaction of the reader, the translatio
had been originally written.

I was unwilling to send it to the press without an attemp
to procure copies of this, and of the original from which
had been translated. I circulated a print of the Britis
Museum MS. in the hope of getting the needful informatio
and I am almost ashamed to think of the time I have myse

* *Note.*—Besides the series of mediæval sermons, the E. E. T. Socie
has already printed Myrc's *Duties of a Parish Priest*, edited
Mr. Peacock, and *Oure Ladyes Myroure*, edited by Revd J. H. Blu
The present editor has undertaken Archbishop Thoresby's *Catechis
in English*, with the Latin as agreed on in the Convocation of Yo
A.D. 1357, both from the authentic copy inserted in this Arc
bishop's register, and a Lollard paraphrase from a MS. in t
Lambeth Library to be printed on the opposite page. This wi
the few pieces in this volume will complete the extant authoriz
English formularies of the Northern province.

The Committee propose to continue this series by the Festiv
from the MSS. or Caxton's edition, the *Oculus Sacerdotis* in Engli
verse, and some English Primers and Offices in English for t
Southern province, which are known to exist in larger numbe
than those hitherto found in the North.

spent, as I had opportunity, in hunting through manuscripts and searching catalogues; and I am sorry to have to add, what is of more consequence, the trouble I have given to my friends, and to others whose help I could only claim on the score of their being able to assist in the enquiry.

After all, the result has been that, not to mention other libraries at home and abroad, I have had to give up the hope of finding the missing MSS. in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the University Library at Cambridge, the public libraries at Paris and Edinburgh, the Lambeth Library, the libraries at Durham, Lincoln, and other cathedrals in this country, at Ushaw and other Roman Catholic colleges, or in the libraries at Rouen and Caen, where, from the Norman origin of the treatise, it seemed not impossible that a copy may have found its way at the revolution among the spoils of some Norman monastery or manor house.

I did, however, succeed in getting to know of other MSS., which, though later than the Museum MS., are interesting as showing the changes that were afterwards introduced. Mr. Furnivall told me of the fragment printed from the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh (*Text* A); and also of the MS. in the University Library at Cambridge (*MS.* D), which Mr. Bradshaw, the librarian, had been good enough to mention to him. Professor Skeat placed at my disposal his own transcript of our text F. I venture to offer to these gentlemen the thanks of the Society and my own for their kindness in helping me; and equally to those also, who though unsuccessful, were not less ready in giving their time and trouble for the search. I had myself noticed the mention of our text C (*Corpus Library, Oxford*) and text E (*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*) in Barnard's *Catalogus Librorum MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, a book which at the end of nearly two hundred years remains without a second edition, invaluable as that would be, if it were brought down to the present time.

A transcript of the Oxford MS. I obtained without any difficulty, but I did not receive our E text until the texts B, C, and F had been arranged and printed in a three-text form.

It appeared to Mr. Furnivall and the committee to be of such dialectic interest that it has been added as a fourth text. Although it is late, and written by a very illiterate scribe—perhaps from that very circumstance—it has retained what I am disposed to think will be found to be the wording of the original, if that should ever be recovered; and it justifies my conjectural insertions in text B, where there were holes in the vellum of the MS.

In the course of the enquiry I obtained transcripts of several MSS. relating to the mass, which had not been published. Three of them are printed *in extenso* in the Appendix, and I have quoted largely from some of the others in the notes.

It may have been disappointing not to find the originals of which we were in search, but it is hardly to be wondered at, when we consider the wear and tear of small books in constant use, and the risk of their being "defaced and abolished" in times of religious persecution, when the narrow bigotry which destroyed the service-books would not have spared books of private devotion. The Book of Common Prayer is a much larger book, and must have existed in a far greater number of copies, and yet how few are known of the early editions. Of those in the time of Edward the Sixth no doubt great numbers were brought in and burnt in the time of Queen Mary; but take the case of the many editions known to have been printed in the long reign of Elizabeth,—how rare they are. No doubt many were destroyed when churches and parsonages were "rabbled" in the civil wars; but the puritans, when they got the upper hand, did not pretend to do this under colour of written law, even when they so far prevailed that a third conviction of using the Common Prayer was followed by a year's imprisonment.

The Bidding Prayers according to the use of York are added as the complement of the private prayers of the people at the mass, and as being the only devotions in English which were used publicly in our churches before the reformation. The series is not complete, only four MS. York Manuals being known to have escaped the ravages of time and the system-

atic destruction to which they were exposed in common with other service-books. The Hours of the Cross from the unique MS. *Horæ* in the York Minster Library make up our scanty array of liturgical forms in the mother tongue, but they are all that are known to have been used in the Northern province.(1)

The ordinary of the mass is given in the Appendix, as the four texts obviously suggest a reference to the service to which they were subsidiary; and there must be members of the Society who have not a missal within reach, and most certainly not a missal of an English use of the period of the MSS. I have appended a mass according to the use of York, not so much because I could do so with least trouble from having made a transcript of it many years since, but because it was the one used in the greater part of the north of England, where the translation appears to have been made; and also because, whilst equally answering the purpose of those who do not care to investigate the specific differences of particular uses, it may be very acceptable to others who have had their attention drawn to the study of comparative liturgiology, from the extreme rarity of missals of the York use,(2) and the silence of liturgiologists as to its peculiarities.(3)

In the translation, as my object was simply to convey to the English reader the grammatical force of the Latin, I have not been tempted to make a vain effort to emulate the rythmical flow of the revisers of our old service-books, which is essential to any translation for liturgical use; but I have used the prayer-book rendering of the parts which they retained.

(1) There are many prayers for personal use in the *Horæ*. See Notes, p. 248, &c.

(2) When the Appendix was stereotyped, now more than four years ago, Mr. Maskell's Ancient Liturgies was the only work where the student could find the York Mass. He there gave the ordinary of the mass from the printed edition of 1517; but Dr. Henderson's edition of the York Missal was soon after published for the Surtees Society, and for this he collated all the known MSS. and editions. He gives (Vol. II. p. 358) a list of the manuscripts, seven in number, and of twenty-four copies of the five editions known to be extant.

(3) See Notes, p. 353(3) and p. 355(10).

Dogmatic decrees and other synodal decisions in Latin as to the doctrine of the Eucharist were very numerous; but so far as I have observed, the only English authorized statements that were put forth in the middle ages are those in Appendix II. The piece in Appendix III does not treat of the manner of celebrating or hearing mass, and has little of antiquarian or linguistic interest; but I make no apology for including it in this collection, as it may prove—even to those of us who may not accept the doctrinal opinions that underlie it—that there were some among our forefathers who approached the subject in a devout and humble spirit, that was in strong contrast with the tone of many of their contemporaries.

The pieces in Appendix IV and V are of a very different character. There is much more to interest the antiquarian, and they serve to bring before us an aspect of the religion of the time, which has to be considered in forming an opinion on the subject.

In these and the other pieces here brought together, as in all monuments of the religious life and feeling of our forefathers, there is much to be noted from a theological point of view. This is altogether beyond the scope of the Society, but it will be readily understood that in any attempt to illustrate the text, it would be impossible to avoid ritual and doctrinal questions. These it has been my object to discuss —to use a well-drawn distinction—not *δογματικῶς*, but *διηγηματικῶς*, placing facts and quotations that bear upon them before my readers, and leaving it to those, who care to do so, to form their own conclusions.

Some of these questions bear upon certain doctrines and practices that were received or allowed in the Church of England when the manuscripts were written, and were afterwards either formally rejected or advisedly put away: but the circumstance that I am a clergyman of the reformed Church, and that I am one of those "who according to the order of "our Holy Reformation have deliberately and with good reason "renounced the errors, corruptions, and superstitions, as "well as the Papal Tyranny, which once here prevailed,"(1)

(1) Instead of using my own words, I have adopted the above from

as not appeared to me to be a reason why I should accompany he notes with the running comment of a controversialist. It s from no failure in loyalty in this matter, but because it is due o the E. E. T. Society—and the list will show that there are embers who do not belong to the Church of England—that have been careful to avoid the expression of my own opinion pon points which are the subject of religious controversy; nd I have done this,—not because I had not formed opinions respect to them, but because I had long arrived at very efinite conclusions, and I thought I had no right to obtrude hem upon my fellow members, who had not joined the Society in the expectation of any such encounter.

In the Glossary will be found all the noticeable words and rms in the B text of the Mass Book, and the references here given will serve for the corresponding places in the her texts. It also includes some of the less usual words nd the more peculiar forms in those texts, and in the Appendix nd notes. In it, and the notes, I have added illustrative notations to some few words, for the most part when I ave given a meaning that differs from that in some other glossary.

In printing the texts and direct quotations from English SS., every care has been taken to reproduce the original, except that the punctuation has not uniformly been retained nless when it is so expressly noted. The use of capital tters has been followed; and where contractions are printed length, the words or letters so expanded are shewn in *talic*. All additions are printed in *italic* within brackets—broad-faced] where there is a hole in the MS., or when the rface of the vellum has been worn away; and [ordinary ype] when they supply what is supposed to be an omission the scribe. Glosses or verbal explanations are printed in

e "Form of Prayer" which is still used "at the opening of each day's ession in both houses of [*the northern*] Convocation." As, for this once, have allowed myself to give utterance to my own view of one side of the aching of the Church of England, I venture to add the remaining words this prayer, which equally express my feeling as to the other: "so that we may all constantly hold fast the Apostolical and truly Catholic Faith, and may duly serve Thee without fear, and with a pure worship."

(*italic*) in a parenthesis. Rubrics or words written in red are printed in **Clarendon.**

Having given some account of my work as editor, it remains for me to acknowledge the friendly assistance I have received in the course of it. I have already mentioned the kindness of the Reverend W. W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, in respect to our Text F. The thanks of the Society are also due to the Reverend W. G. Henderson, D.C.L., Head Master of the Leeds Grammar-School, for a similar kindness in allowing me to print his own transcript of the Bidding Prayer in Sir John Lawson's Manual. It would have been a pleasure to me to have taken this opportunity of publicly thanking many friends, and others to whom I was personally unknown, for their valuable help—I have acknowledged the services of some of them in the notes—but I must now only single out Mr. Edward Maunde Thompson, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. His scholar-like knowledge of the treasures in his custody is only equalled by his kindness in imparting it.—I should have often been at a stand-still without it, and I never found him at fault at a bad place in a manuscript, where I could neither read nor construe.

The Very Reverend Hugh Mc. Neile, D.D., then Dean, and the Chapter of Ripon were good enough to grant me the loan of their unique service-books according to the use of York; and I cannot forbear to mention the readiness with which my brethren the Dean and Chapter of York allowed me to take away the Manual and other manuscripts ordinarily confined to the Minster Library.

I venture to add that I shall be much obliged by a note of any additional MSS. of the texts of the Mass-Book now printed, or any information as to the French original, or the author.

T. F. Simmons.

Dalton Holme, Yorkshire,
6th December, 1878.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOUR TEXTS OF THE MASS BOOK.

THE publications of the Early English Text Society do far more than fulfil their primary purpose of illustrating the course of the English language. Many of them are no less available for the study of history, where it is not confined to political events, which are most prominent in ordinary histories. A comparison of the four texts will supply an additional opportunity of examining the peculiarities of their several dialects; and the texts themselves,—apart from their liturgical interest, as showing the changes in the ritual, and more especially as to the part which the people were expected to take in the service,—will open a fresh page to the historical student who recognizes the religious condition of the people, or of any particular class, as an important element in the national life.

It is assumed as an axiom that the *lex orandi* at any period in the history of a church is also its *lex credendi;* and if the common prayers may be accepted as the best evidence of the creed of a church, the private prayers of our forefathers, if they were known, would be equally important in an estimate of their personal belief and spiritual condition.

Very little of this kind has come down to us. At all events, with the exception of incidental notices in contemporary documents, and the English primer of about the year 1400,(1) there is nothing, as

(1) It is printed in his *Monumenta Ritualia* (vol. II. 1—242) with a valuable preliminary dissertation by Mr Maskell, who has opened the way for the study of the English devotions in the Church of England before the reformation, as he has for that of the comparative liturgiology of the several English uses, both by the information he has actually embodied in his liturgical works, and by his having drawn attention to the sources from which further information was to be gained.

yet(1) within the reach of the ordinary student, till we come to the time immediately preceding the reformation.

It must, however, be remembered that a primer in English, though understood by those who used it, was the translation of a service-book, the use of which was enjoined by the Church; whereas the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, as possessing no ecclesiastical authority, is, on that very account, more satisfactory evidence both as to the private prayers and as to the personal feelings, not only of the author of the devotions, but of those of his readers who made them their own by adopting them.

But prior to the enquiry as to the time when, and the class for whom, the book was written, and the extent to which it was used; or before forming an opinion as to how far the work of Dan Jeremy has fulfilled its purpose, and justifies the name of *Lay Folks Mass Book* here given to it,(2) we must take into account: first, that the people did not understand the Latin of the missal service when it was written; and next, that the form in which it was cast was very probably due to the previous practice of the Church in having appointed simultaneous but separate devotions for the priest and people.

Whether the change commends itself to our judgment or the contrary, we must class the persistent retention of Latin as the language of the Latin rite, as one of many examples where rigid adherence to outward form has brought about a marked change in the original institution. There can be no question that, when the Eucharist was first celebrated in Latin—most probably when the main features of the liturgy, and almost the very words of the canon were stereotyped by Pope Gregory the Great,—it was a congregational service in which the lay people took their part in their own tongue.

Nor was this the case at Rome only. Latin, though falling very far below the classical standard, had spread through all the countries where the Roman empire had extended: in some of them it had displaced the native language; and throughout the West, except in Britain, it maintained its ground in various Romance forms, notwithstanding successive Teutonic invasions.

(1) See Note under Preface, *ante*, p. x. (2) Notes, p. 155, 156.

In proportion as the several dialects branched off from the common stock, the service must have grown harder to be understood by the people. The passing of the canon requiring them to join with the clerks and "the virgins vowed to God" in answering the priest *consona voce*,(1) may be due to this greater difference between the written Latin and the spoken language.

In the Gallican Church the laity gradually ceased to take their appointed part. In the eighth century the forcing of the Roman rite upon a reluctant church was found to have hastened this change—probably by interrupting the traditional responses to which the people had been used in their Gallican liturgy. We gather from Dan Jeremy's rubrics that in the twelfth century the laity did not join in the Nicene creed, and that there were but few answers expected in Normandy, or from French speaking worshippers in England; though it is curious to observe, as an instance of the tenacity of custom in opposition to ritual changes, that one of these answers was also made in the Eastern Church, and in all likelihood a survival, after nearly four centuries, from that very Gallican liturgy which the ecclesiastical power at Rome and the civil power at the Frankish court had combined to suppress.(2)

The modifications in the English translation of Dan Jeremy's work that were made in the fifteenth century,(3) prove that the people were no longer required to answer aloud in the Church of England, if indeed any, except literates,(4) had ever done so, except at the *Orate* in the offertory, possibly at the *Sanctus*,(5) and in the *Paternoster* at the end of the canon. We must not forget that St Augustine and his Latin missionaries brought the Latin offices to a people who had not been subject to the Roman empire, and were never in the way of acquiring the Latin language, except in their minster schools; and therefore it is most probable that as respects the lay folk, there never had been that answering the priest as with one voice of which we read in countries where Latin, or what passed for Latin, had been the common tongue.

Be this as it may, we know that for years before the reformation

(1) Note, p. 256(3). (2) Page 24. Note, p. 260.
(3) Notes, p. 255, 257, 310. (4) Note, p. 200-201. (5) Note, p. 271.

neither the unlearned, nor—unless they were members of a religious foundation, or were in minor or holy orders,—those

"Who of the letter could,"(1)

had taken any audible part in the service when they "heard mass" as their share in it, very fittingly came to be called. In the reign of Queen Mary it was argued by a learned and temperate apologist for the papal system, that instead of its being an advantage for Englishmen to understand the common service of the church, it was a hindrance to their being occupied with their own prayers.(2) Very much in the same sense Lyndwood,(3) more than a hundred years before, quoting from Johannes Andreas, the great authority of the canon law in the earlier half of the fourteenth century, had already given "*Ne impediatur populus orare*," as one of his reasons for the canon being said in silence.

This we may fairly class among the *a posteriori* arguments that are apt to grow up around whatever is *de facto* established, but a publication of the Early English Text Society is not the place to discuss the character of the primitive practice or of the developed theory. In our present enquiry we have to consider the change, only in so far as Dan Jeremy had to deal with it, when he wrote the *Lay Folks Mass Book;* and the fact that the Latin was not understood by the people, much as it had to do with the form in which he has cast their devotions, does not altogether account for it.

If the difference of language had alone to have been taken into account, it would have been enough to have translated the appointed service of the mass, whereas he translates only a few parts, and does not draw the remainder from the missal.

We know that afterwards, as, for example, among the brethren of the common life,(4) who were especially devoted to the religious instruction of the laity, a scruple was felt as to translating the missal. In the treatise from the Vernon MS. in the appendix,(5) it is expressly said that certain parts are "out taken" as being what—

(1) Page 14, C 83.
(2) Note, p. 364. See also a quotation from Romsée, as the modern rule in the Church of Rome, *post*, p. 201.
(3) Lib. I, Tit. 10. *Ut archidiaconi* (*a*).
(4) Note, p. 387. (5) Page 146, line 666. Note, p. 386-7.

"No man but a priest should read."

In the middle of the seventeenth century this feeling was fully developed, and a papal bull denounced the translation of the mass into French as a rash attempt to expose the dignity of the holy mysteries to the vulgar;(1) nor has this become a dead letter, for at the beginning of this present half century the congregation of rites at Rome guarded against the translation of the ordinary of the mass into the vulgar tongue.(2)

There may have been something of this exclusive sacerdotal feeling in an undeveloped form when Dan Jeremy wrote, but whenever and however it did originate—and no one has argued that it was the custom of the primitive church to have public prayers or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people—there must have been some other cause to account for the form of these devotions. It has occurred to me that we may explain it upon the supposition, that before the difficulty from the difference of language had assumed its later proportions, the people were accustomed to separate devotions in the time of the divine service, simultaneous with, but not led by, the devotions of the officiating priest; and if I do not mistake, we may trace the origin of this custom in the practice of the church as early as the fourth century.

The nineteenth canon of the council of Laodicæa directs that the first prayer of the faithful, after the withdrawal of the penitents, shall be διὰ σιωπῆς; and this appears to be rightly explained by Bingham(3) as meaning, that the communion service began with private confessions, and "that they were not only made by the people in silence by themselves, but by the minister in private also."(4)

(1) Note, p. 388. (2) Note, p. 389.

(3) *Antiquities*, Book XV, ch. i, *sec.* 1.

(4) The Apostolical Constitutions describe the silent or private prayer in this place as being said kneeling at the bidding of the deacon: "All we of the faithful, let us bend the knee." (*Cons. Apost.*, VIII, 9.) The prayer ended, the people were bidden to stand, and the principal or presiding priest (ὁ ἀρχιερεύς) resumed the common service. (*Ib.*, c. 10.)

Cassian in his *Instituta Cœnobiorum* speaks of this as being the established practice in the beginning of the fifth century, not only at the celebration of the liturgy, but also at the canonical hours. He suggests that those, who were in haste to kneel, did so, not so much to pray, as for a pretext to rest

I may add, in confirmation of this explanation, that the prayer in this place in the modern *Euchologium* is rubricated, "First prayer of the faithful," and is said *in silence*, as μυστικῶς is generally translated, though perhaps *in an undertone* might more correctly convey its meaning.(1) A rubric for the simultaneous prayers of the priest within the sanctuary, and of the people led by the deacon without, was to be found in the earliest printed editions of the *Euchologium*,(2) and the practice survives, though this rubric is expunged. There still remain directions for the continuance of the service of the people in other parts of the liturgy, when the priest is engaged in private devotion. For example, there is a prayer appointed for the priest to say secretly, whilst the cherubic hymn is being sung,(3) and it is very easy to understand, that by a reverse process, the people, especially

(*obtentu refectionis*) when weary with long standing; and then lays down the rule as follows: "Cum autem is qui orationem collecturus est e terra surrexit, omnes pariter eriguntur; ita ut nullus, nec antequam inclinetur ille, genuflectere, nec cum e terra surrexerit, remorari præsumat." This was subject to the exception of the custom of not kneeling on Sundays, and in Quinquagesima or the fifty days between Easter and Whitsunday, mentioned by him in a subsequent chapter (*Lib.* II, c. 18), as by other writers, both before and after him, and enforced by an express canon of the council of Nice.

It did not occur to me, when I wrote the note, p. 319(5), some years ago; but I take this opportunity of drawing attention to the early custom of kneeling in the time of public worship, when engaged in personal prayer, as contrasted with that of standing when joining in the common prayer of the church, because it seems not improbable that in it we may find the true explanation of the people kneeling more and more at mass, in proportion as they used other devotions and ceased to join in the service; until they ended, by kneeling throughout,—a gradual change, which may be very plainly traced in the later revisions of our treatise.

(1) In the liturgy of St Chrysostom, when the deacon calls upon the priest to bless (*sign with cross*) the consecrated bread, he must clearly speak so as to be heard. The rubric is worded λέγει μυστικῶς.—Goar, p. 77; *Euchol.* 60. So also in the liturgy of St Basil.—Goar, 169; *Euchol.* 84.

(2) Goar (p. 65) gives the following rubric from the liturgy of St Chrysostom at the beginning of the service: Τοῦ ἱερέως λέγοντος τὴν εὐχὴν μυστικῶς ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ ὁ διάκονος λέγει ἔξω τοῦ βήματος τὰ εἰρηνικά. (Whilst the priest is saying the prayer in an under tone in the sanctuary, at the same time the deacon says the Eirenica (*Litany with the people*) outside the sanctuary.)

He notes (p. 90) that this rubric had been changed in later Venice editions, which he quotes; and it has been again altered, as appears by the present Euchologion (Venice, 1854), p. 46.

(3) Goar, 72. *Euchol.* 76. And so too the Mechitarist (*Uniate Armenian*) liturgy, Venice, 1826—"Whilst the clerks sing the 'Agiologia' (*as the cherubic hymn is called in the Italian translation*), the priest, bowing towards the altar, prays secretly."

when they did not understand the spoken words, might have contracted the corresponding habit of offering their private prayers instead of hearkening to the priest.

To whatever extent this may actually be the case in the Eastern Church, we know that in the Roman Catholic communion, the laity, as a rule, do not habitually use the missal or follow the prayers of the liturgy. They have devotions provided for them, by episcopal authority or "*permissu superiorum*," in various manuals in their own languages, but these for the most part are not nearly so systematically adapted to the Latin office as our mediæval Mass Book.

Now, however widely established this state of things may have become, we cannot assume that it was ever authoritatively substituted for a congregational service at any definite time. It is far more easy to suppose, that at first in the Latin Church, priest and people were in the habit of using private prayers at prescribed times in the public service, as was appointed by the Laodicæan canon, and as still the rule of the ordinal of the Church of England at the ordering of priests.

There may be no direct proof that such private prayer was the rule—and I do not remember to have seen the question (1) raised—

(1) The offertory of the Roman mass still begins with "*Oremus*," though no interval is allowed for prayer, and the offertory anthem is forthwith sung. (Cf. York Use, *post*, p. 98, l. 21.) This is precisely that part of the Latin rite to which the Laodicæan canon would apply: and if we suppose that the faithful did at one time engage in private prayer when they were apart (*secreti*) from those who were not admitted to communion (*Note*, p. 267); and that this direction was then inserted in the service books; it will supply a reason for the "*Oremus*" in this place, for which, in its present isolated position, Roman Catholic commentators have found a difficulty in accounting. In the same way, namely, that the invitation to private prayer has been allowed to remain, after the custom had been discontinued, we may explain the "*Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.*" (Let us pray. Let us bow our knees. Rise up), which, according to the existing rubric of the Roman Missal, has become simply a direction for a transient genuflection ("*sine mora*," *Rit. Celeb. Miss.* V, 4)—the call to kneel being made by the deacon, and that to rise by the subdeacon, lest, as explained by Romsée (*Tom.* IV, 9, viii), if both these calls were made by the deacon, as of old, and without any pause, he might contradict himself—"*contraria videatur proferre.*"

This form continued to be used at the Ember seasons, and in Lent, and especially after the *Orationes solemnes* on Good Friday, except the one for the Jews, several mediæval rubrics assigning as a reason for the exception, that the Jews bowed their knees before our Lord and mocked him, the history in the gospel notwithstanding, which records this of the soldiers of the Roman governor.

Now, no doubt, in the course of time, the people knelt throughout when

but whether it was used or not there is sufficient ground for concluding that in the West there were at one time simultaneous devotions, which may be supposed, as in the case of the Greek Church, to have taken their rise in these private prayers of priest and people. I do not refer to the overlapping of the several parts of the service. This, as resorted to in their own day, was animadverted on by French ritualists of the seventeenth century. For example, the priest began the *secreta* during the singing of the offertory; or the canon before the *Sanctus* had been sung, which last was forbidden as early as the ninth century. It is enjoined by the sixteenth of the *Capitula* of Archbishop Herardus of Tours (A.D. 858). "Ut secreta presbyteri non inchoent antequam *Sanctus* finiatur, sed cum populo *Sanctus* cantent."

The *preces in prostratione* of the Sarum use, and the psalms and prayers that were sung or said in other uses during the canon, indirectly prove the existence of earlier simultaneous devotions by this resort to them when it became the rule that the canon should be said *secrete*. There can, however, be little doubt that at the first part of the service was carried on by the congregation, whilst the

hearing mass, except at the gospel, as is the existing rule of the Roman Missal in respect to those who are present at low mass, "*etiam tempore paschali*" (*Rubr. Gen.* xvii. 2)—but bearing in mind the fact that at the first the people stood, or rather stood *inclinati*, that is, bowing down, when joining in the common prayer of the church, kneeling only for their private prayers, and not then on Sundays and between Easter and Whitsunday—it does not seem a very violent supposition, that instead of a momentary genuflection, the *Oremus, Flectamus genua* referred both to clergy and people, and called on them to add their silent prayers in furtherance of the petition which was bidden, and then stand whilst the priest "*collected*" their several devotions in the prayer, to which they added their Amen.

I am confirmed in this view by a rubric in the Sherborne Missal, from which, by the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, I have given other rubrics in the notes. The rubric at the *Preces solemnes* (p. 205) is as follows, and proves that in the XIVth century, an interval for private prayer was allowed before the word was given to stand—and this whether we understand the saying of Psalm (51) l. to be a measure of time, as in the phrases, "for the space of five paternosters" and so forth; or the Spanish *en un credo, en dos credos* (in one, in two creeds, in a trice); or that the psalm itself was intended to be said as a prescribed form of private prayer: "*Flectamus genua diutissime donec dicatur Psalmus.* Miserere mei, Deus. *Levate.*" Martene (IV, 137) gives a somewhat similar rubric from a "very old" Corby service book: "*Dicat Sacerdos* Oremus *et diaconus* Flectamus genua *et orent diutissime usque dum dicat diaconus* Levate."

priest was engaged in private prayer, very much as was done in the Eastern Church. It has been supposed by learned Roman Catholic ritualists, that the office or introit, and other devotions at the beginning of mass, were not said by the celebrant until the fourteenth century.(1) Until the several parts of the mass were written together in a *Missale plenarium*, probably not sooner than the twelfth century,(2) these portions were contained in the antiphoner, or more commonly in this country in the grayle ;(3) and this appears to prove that they were the part of the choir and people. The old sacramentaries and the earliest missals, intended for the priest, have nothing before the *oratio* or collect,(4) but they not infrequently contain prayers for the priest, in some cases headed *apologia* or *accusatio sacerdotis*. For the most part, there are no rubrics as to when these prayers were to be said—and, indeed, in the oldest manuscript service-books there never are any rubrical directions—but I give the following rubrics from forms printed by Martene, which will suffice to show when the same or similar prayers in MSS. without rubrics were intended to be said.

First, from the well-known *Missa Illyrici* :—"*Has orationes interim dicat* (sacerdos) *donec cantentur Versus ad introitum, Kyrie Eleison, et deinde Carmen Angelorum.*" "*Finita angelica laude*" (The *Gloria in excelsis*) "*missalem orationem dicat sacerdos.*"

The next rubric is from a sacramentary which was given by the Abbot of St Benignus at Dijon, to the Bishop of Paris, in the year 1036 :—"*Interim quando Gloria in excelsis Deo canitur dicat has orationes.*(5) The following is from a MS. of which Martene does not give the date —"*Post hanc*" (kissing the gospels on the altar) *sequentur hæ orationes interim dum* Kyrie Eleison et Gloria in excelsis Deo *canitur in quantum ei a Deo conceditur.*(6)

Nor was this saying of simultaneous devotions confined to the Continent, as we may see by the following rubric from a Sarum missal, which was given by the Lord Prior of Worcester Cathedral

(1) Gerbert, *Diss.* I, 293. (2) Note (1), page 155.
(3) Note (1), page 156. See also the article of enquiry in Regino: "10. Si missalem, psalterium, lectionarium, et antiphonarium habeat. Nam sine his missa perfecte non celebratur."
(4) *Post*, page 94, line 25. (5) Martene, I, 209. (6) *Ib.*, 211.

to the church of Bromesgrove, in the year 1511, though the last clause of the rubric shows that the practice was dying out:—"*Oratio sancti Augustini dicenda a sacerdote in missa dum canitur Officium et* Kyrie *et* Gloria in excelsis *et* Credo in unum: *vel tota dicitur ante Missam quod melius est.*"(1)

There is no occasion to multiply quotations, or to bring examples of a similar kind in other parts of the mass. These parallel devotions may be strange to the notions of those of us who are used to the common prayer of priest and people in a common tongue, and the continuous arrangement of offices, alternating between priest and people in the reformed church of England; but it will be evident that Dan Jeremy did but adopt the principle of an example which had been set by the church in very early times. In the application of this principle, the fact that the Latin of the common service was no longer understood by the people, accounts for the private devotions being assigned to them, instead of to the officiating priest, as they were in the liturgies both of the Eastern and of the Western Church.

In the present day, as has been already remarked, handbooks of the same general character are to be found in the languages of all Roman Catholic countries. In German, too, there was a Messbüchlein, dating from the time of the reformation; and in English there were similar manuals for the Roman Catholic laymen, before the penal laws had ceased to inspire caution—the earlier editions bearing the imprint of Paris or Antwerp, though not impossibly the production of unlicensed presses in this country.

In some of the later English *Horæ* and primers before the reformation, and of the reign of Queen Mary, there were added some or all of the following forms, sometimes in Latin with an English rubric, as Ebor, "When the priest him turneth after the lavatory;" or Sarum, "When he saith *Orate pro me;*" at other times in Latin with a Latin rubric; or in English with a Latin rubric; or English and Latin, in the primers Latin and English, viz.: at the *Orate*, the elevation, the giving of *Pax* before receiving the sacrament, and after receiving it. There is no attempt at supplying devotions for every part of the mass resembling those which are now general in

(1) *Miss. Sar.* 567.

the Roman communion. In this, Dan Jeremy appears to have stood alone—in this country, to say the least.

Any man who is acquainted with mediæval theology, or has run through a catalogue of mediæval manuscripts, must have observed that the mass was a very favourite topic; but our good Norman's "treatise" is in signal contrast with the greater number of the ritual and devotional works on this subject that have come down to us from the middle ages. There were many painstaking and devout commentaries, in which the words and ceremonies are minutely explained and devoutly "moralized," but as a rule they ignore the presence of the people, or at most are content with the direction, that all stand at the gospel, or that none depart before the end of the service. This silence as to the lay people extends to the rubrics of the mass, which almost exclusively refer to the officiating priest (*executor officii*) and the assistant minister and clerks, at least after the "*responsio populi*" had been assigned to the clergy or a clerk.

The *Instructions for Parish Priests* and the *Myroure of our Lady* are no exception—most valuable, almost indispensable as they are in the study of the religious life of our forefathers. Myrc's "*work*," as he himself styles it after what sounds like a more modern fashion, was intended for the "priest curatour," who was "not great clerk;" and the *Myroure* was written for the nuns of Syon with reference to their peculiar conventual offices.

Numerous tales and doctrinal books were indeed written for the layman. For the most part, they merely insist upon the obligation of hearing mass, or set forth the advantages, spiritual and temporal, of so doing, or of procuring a mass to be said with some specified intention; but they do not profess to furnish the reader with suitable devotions, or to give him instruction as to his part in the service.

This was indeed the purpose of both Lydgate's *Merita Missæ* and the "*Treatise*" from the Vernon MS. printed in the Appendix; but they differ from the Mass-book in having been intended for recitation

"To the lewd that cannot read."(1)

Our Mass Book was written for a more educated class. It was designed at the first for those who heard mass in the chapels and

(1) *Post*, p. 148, l. 3.

oratories of the great, though, as time went on, it was adapted, as in text F, for general use; or, as in text C, for the members of a monastic foundation when not ministering at the altar. It was intended to be read rather than heard, as is evident from references to what is "written above," "written in black letter," and so forth; and from the suggestion to "look at the rubrics" from time to time and get the prayers off by heart.

As already pointed out, the devotions are not a translation from the missal. The only parts that are retained in the translation are the general confession, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the answer at the *Orate*, and the Lord's Prayer. There is a version of the Apostles' Creed instead of the Nicene Creed, which was known as the mass-creed from being said in the mass. Nothing is said of the houselling, or administration of the sacrament—an omission which is very significant, as proving how completely the celebration of the mass had been dissociated from the communion of the laity. With this exception, rubrics and devotions are provided for the whole of the mass; these devotions being analogous to the parallel form which was being used by the clergy, though in some cases bearing traces of the still surviving influence of the proscribed Gallican liturgy.

A few of the shorter forms may serve to give some idea of the general character of the whole; and I modernize them for the ease of any who may find the facsimile texts uncouth from not being used to them.

AT THE GOSPEL (p. 18, 19).

Ihesu, my Lord, grant me Thy grace,
And of amendment might and space,
Thy word to keep and do thy will.
The good to choose and leave the ill:
And that it may be so,
Good Ihesu, grant it me. Amen.

AT THE SANCTUS (p. 28).

In world of worlds (*to all ages*) with out ending
Thanked be Thou, Ihesu, my king.
All my heart I give it Thee.
Great right is it that it so be;
With all my will I worship Thee,
Iesu, blessed mayst Thou be.

With all my heart I thankë Thee
The good that Thou hast done to me;
Sweet Iesu, grant mè now this,
That I may come unto thy bliss,
There with angels for to sing
The sweet song of thy praising:
Sanctus: Sanctus: Sanctus.
Iesu, grant that it be thus. Amen.

AT THE ELEVATION OF THE HOST (p. 40).

Praised be Thou, King,
And blessed be Thou, King,
Of all Thy giftës good
And thanked be Thou, King.
Iesu, all my joying,
That for me spilt Thy blood
And died upon the rood,
Thou give me grace to sing
The song of Thy praising.

It may be noticed that, so far as these words are concerned, there is nothing in them to prevent their being used by those who protest against the doctrine of transubstantiation or any local presence of "whole Christ" upon the altar; but it is very evident that this hymn was not intended to be so used, from the fact that concomitance is elsewhere taught in the same text.(1) The devotion substituted for it in the later texts is more definite:

Welcome, Lord, in form of bread,
For me Thou suffred hard deed.
As Thou (*didst*) bear the crown of thorn
Suffer me not to be forlorn.

PRAYER AFTER THE ELEVATION (p. 40).

Lord, as Thou canst and as Thou will
Have mercy on me that has done ill,
For whatsoever Thou will me do,
I hold me paid to stand thereto,
Thy mercy, Iesu, would I have.
And (*if*) I for ferdness (*fear*) durst it crave,
But Thou bidst ask, and we shall have,
Sweet Iesu, make me save (*safe*),
And give me wit and wisdom right
To love Thee, Lord, with all my might.

In the longer devotions we have prayers for all conditions of men, for deliverance from evils spiritual and temporal, and for grace

(1) Page 20, B 235-6; page 38, notes, p. 225, 286.

to live according to God's will and in charity with all men. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to points of ritual or doctrine, the view that they give us of the religious character of the author is that of a God-fearing Christian man, of humble and devout mind, with a trustful love for his Saviour, and a single-hearted desire for the soul's health of those whom he sought to instruct. He would have sovereign and subject, priest and people, learned and lewed of all ranks to do their duty,

"To his estate and his degree;"

or, in our more modern phrase, according to, or in, that state of life to which it hath pleased God to call them. He mentions tenants, servants, and inferiors, and so enforces the duty of kindness and consideration upon the class for whom he wrote; and though they were in the enjoyment of the lands from which Englishmen had been ousted, he did not shrink from specifying the disherited. Not only so, but from first to last there is an entire absence of that

"Preching the people for profit of themselven,"(1)

or of that appeal to their superstition or cupidity, which was a painful feature in many mediæval books for the layman, and furnished a frequent subject for contemporary satirists. When treating of the offertory there is not one word

"That profiteth to purseward."(2)

No exhortation to go up to the priest, and

"Let him not his offering ask;"(3)

no urging that the mass-penny will be well-spent money; no swearing by Saint Christopher, that

"Of sins it will make thee to cease,
And thy chattel also encrease
Of silver in thy coffer."(4)

On the contrary, in all simplicity he says,

"Offer or stay, whether thee list—
How thou should pray I would thou wist."(5)

(1) *Piers the Plowman*, Skeat, B-text, I, 50. (2) *Ib.*, C-text, Pass. I, 101.
(3) *Post*, Vernon MS., page 142. (4) Page 142, lines 518—520.
(5) Page 22, B. 244-5.

And this seems to have been his desire throughout—how they should pray—to furnish those with devotions, who but for them would have been hearing—when they did (1) hear—prayers in a language they did not understand, or else "jangling at the mass," (2) when they were not reciting paternosters, or, as time went on, paternosters and aves, as all that was required of them in the ordinary practice of the Church.(3)

In short, we may well believe that the author deserved the character which his translator has given him of

"A devout man and(4) religious."

This character he may have drawn merely from an estimate of the work before him; but if we identify the Jeremy of our treatise with the Jeremy who held the dignity of archdeacon of Cleveland in the Cathedral Church of York, it is by no means improbable that the translator, writing little more than a hundred years after his death in the northern dialect, and therefore most probably within the diocese of York, may have been influenced by some tradition as to the author of a book in daily use; or may—in addition to the few words from Hugh the Chantor, which are all I shall be able to lay before the reader(5)—have had access to more ample materials for forming an estimate of his character.

The treatise tells us nothing in direct terms of the author. His name was, no doubt, Jeremy or Jeremias, though in Texts C and D the scribes with the preference for a well-known or venerated name, which was not unusual,(6) have substituted that of St. Jerome.(7) As to who he was and when he wrote, we have no definite information.

(1) "When the priest prays in privity
Time of prayer then is to thee."—B. 29, 30.

(2) Page 4, line 22; page 136, line 282; Note, p. 169-170.

(3) Note, p. 202.

(4) This is the reading of C and E. Text B (p. 4, l. 19) reads "a religyus," and D "a relygius." The insertion of the article adds a superfluous syllable to the metre, which is regular in C and E—an insertion, nevertheless, not unlikely to have been made by a scribe, who was familiar with the use of "religious" as a substantive. (*See note*, p. 169.) If our Jeremy was the friend of Archbishop Thurstan of York (*see post*, p. xli), he was not a regular or religious in this sense, but a canon of Rouen and the first archdeacon of Cleveland, of whom we have any record.

(5) *Post*, p. xli. (6) Notes, p. 366, 369(2), 378(3).

(7) Note, p. 172.

There was indeed a Jeremy in the Middle Ages, who had a high character for learning among his contemporaries—Hieremias, Archbishop of Sens in the beginning of the ninth century. There are still extant letters that passed between him and Amalarius, as to the proper spelling and pronunciation of the name JESUS;(1) and if he had written on the mass, we should in all probability have found some allusion to it in some of Amalarius's works. This silence is not by itself conclusive—still if we assume that the translation does in the main represent the original, the archbishop can hardly have been the author, for he lived more than two hundred years before the Berengarian controversy, and the consequent introduction of the elevation of the host.(2) Even if we suppose that the mention of the ceremony was interpolated by a transcriber of the original or by the translator, we have no reason to think that the ritual peculiarities which we can identify with the use of Rouen,(3) were also to be found in that of Sens; and it does not seem too much to assume that the archbishop would have adapted the treatise to the use of his own church, if he had been the author.

As our Jeremy was not the Archbishop of Sens, and I could not meet with any other of the name in the wonderfully complete literary history of the Middle Ages, which we owe to the industry of foreign antiquarians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and specially to the French Benedictines, I had to fall back upon the internal evidence of the treatise itself; and, if I am not mistaken, it will justify the following conclusions:

First—That the original was written in French.

Second—That the author was a Norman, or, if not a Norman born, that he wrote with reference to the liturgic use of Rouen, which was that of the province of Normandy, of which the Archbishop of Rouen was metropolitan.

Third—That he wrote towards the middle of the twelfth century.

I. Our treatise, as we have it, is not an original, but (B 32) "drawn into English." The translator does not tell us from what language; but there can be no doubt it was either from French or Latin; and

(1) Dacherii *Spicileg.* VII, 164.
(2) *Post*, p. 38, 40. Notes, p. 281-2. (3) *Post*, p. xxxv.

hardly from the latter. We find the Latin contrasted with the vulgar, whether French in the original, or English in the translation (B. 494-5): the treatise expressly contemplates the instruction of the "lewed" (B. 173) or unlearned, in the sense of not being literate or understanding Latin; and, moreover, if it had been in Latin, any one who could have understood it, would have been able to understand the Latin order of mass, and therefore would not have required it.

II. But because Dan Jeremy wrote in French, it by no means follows that he may not have been himself an Englishman, and have written for readers of English birth, if not of English descent, or who at all events had made this country their home. It was for this class that, in the middle of the twelfth century, about which time I suppose our treatise to have been written, Wace—but he was a Jersey-man —wrote in French, or, as he himself tells us, "translated" the Brut from the Latin, as it would seem, of Geoffry of Monmouth. In the next century Grosseteste, himself a native-born Englishman, stood out among the bishops of his day for his zeal in requiring the clergy of his diocese of Lincoln to instruct the people every Sunday in the vulgar tongue (*in idiomate communi*); and braved the displeasure of the Pope by resisting the intrusion of Italian clerks into English benefices, mainly on the score of their ignorance of the language of their flock. But in the same practical spirit he recognised the fact that there was another class, who were to be reached, if at all, through French, and he wrote his *Chasteau d'Amour*

> "En Romanz
> Por ceus ki ne seuent mie
> Ne lettrure ne clergie."(1)

Later still, not to mention other examples of Englishmen writing in French, we have Peter Langtoft, and William of Waddington, whose works were translated into English by Robert of Brunne. The former an Austin canon of the Priory of that order at Bridlington in Yorkshire, and very probably a native of Langtoft in the East Riding,

> "On Frankis style his storie he wrote of Inglis Kinges."(2)

(1) C. L., Note, p. 3. In a Latin Preface, he apologizes to the clergy for writing in French: "Quamvis lingua Romana (*Romance*) coram clericis saporem suavitatis non habet, tamen pro laicis, qui minus intelligunt, opusculum illud aptum est."—Warton, *English Poetry*, I. 78.

(2) Hearne, Preface, p. cvi.

The latter apologizing for his French at the end of his *Manuel des Pechiez*, explains—

> " De le franceis, ne del rimer,
> Ne me dait nuls hom blamer,
> Kar en engletere fu ne,
> Et nourri, ordine, et aleue." (1)

In the case of our treatise, therefore, it does not follow that it may not have been the work of an English ecclesiastic, because it was written in French. But an examination of the liturgic use which the author had in view leads altogether to the contrary conclusion, unless we suppose that he was an Englishman anxious to propitiate the stranger—designedly introducing the foreign use, and carefully on his guard against a reference to insular peculiarities.(2)

The main features of the mass were the same in both countries ; and in a treatise of this kind we cannot expect to find many of those

(1) M. P., p. 413, l. 12736-9.

(2) Not only at the conquest was the greater part of the land granted to Norman or French-speaking strangers, but from that time till Normandy was separated from the crown all the higher positions in the Church were filled exclusively by foreign ecclesiastics. In many cases the same men held preferment on both sides of the channel, and there was a constant transfer between this country and Normandy, the intruders returning to an archbishoprick, or bishoprick, or other preferment among their own countrymen.

Nor was the process of de-nationalizing the Church of England confined to this systematic slighting of the native clergy. Even if there were no formal attempt to assimilate the insular ritual to that of Normandy, it is easy to understand that the foreign prelates would have felt a preference for the manner of conducting the services to which they had been accustomed. If we do not hear of any change in the Ebor use, it is not improbably due to the fact that the northern province under the guidance of Alcuin (*post*, p. 353) had already followed in the wake of the Frankish court. St Osmund reformed the use of Sarum ; and we meet with other instances of this Normanizing movement. Remigius, who had been a monk at Fécamp, when he transferred the see of Dorchester to Lincoln, ordained, as we learn from the statutes, first printed by his present successor, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, that the services should be "juxta ritum ecclesiæ Rothomagensis, quæ est totius Normanniæ metropolis."—*Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Lincolniensis*, 1873, p. 3. Mr Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, IV. 394), in the story of an outrage at Glastonbury, has drawn attention to the fact that these innovations were not always tamely submitted to in the reign of the Conqueror. The chroniclers tell how the Norman Thurstan, a monk of Caen, who had displaced the English Abbot, called in his Norman retainers to overawe the English monks, who were ill-pleased that he required them to give up the Gregorian use, or *cantus*,—which is technically used for the order as well as the melody of a service—and took refuge in the church, where they were shot down by archers from the up-floor or triforium, as they crowded about, and under, the altar, Thurstan himself spearing one monk who was clinging to it, and putting another to death who

minor diversities which constitute a diocesan or provincial use; but, as it happens, there is quite enough to determine the use to which it was adapted. Assuming that the longer texts (B and E) more or less accurately reproduce the original—and it is evident that if any alterations were made by the English translator, they would have been in an Anglican direction, as was actually the case in the alterations and omissions of the later revisions—we find that the use of the treatise was that of Rouen. It agrees with it in points where that use differed from any English use; some of these points being where the Rouen differed from other continental uses, or rather from all of a considerable number which I have examined.

As the agreement of the treatise with the early Rouen missal printed by Martene is pointed out in the notes on the several passages, there will be no occasion to repeat my remarks in this place, merely drawing attention to the observation that it is only by the accumulation of small coincidences that, in the absence of direct evidence, we can arrive at any conclusion as to what, to the writer, must have been a matter of course.

1. The peculiar rubric as to the vesting of the celebrant is translated almost word for word, B 35-8. Note, p. 179. Contrast the English usages, p. 164.

2. The identity of the form of confession in the treatise (B 65-82) with the earlier Rouen form, and this—if we allow C 46 as preserving the reading of the original—in a point where the Rouen use appears to have been peculiar. Notes, p. 186-188.

3. In B 86 there is a verbal translation of a Rouen rubric, where the grammatical construction of the Latin is peculiar. Note, p. 190.

4. In B 163-6 we have what may be an allusion to a Rouen peculiarity in reading the gospel in the vernacular. Note, p. 210.

5. In B 275 we have the early Rouen answer to the *Orate*—as I venture to think I have proved in the notes, p. 258-264; as also

was lying wounded with the arrows at its foot. In the next century we find a clerk of the Bishop of Exeter going to Lisieux, "ut divinis informaretur officiis" (Launoy *de Scholis celebrioribus*, quoted, Wiltsh, *Handbuch*, § 372).

If, therefore, Norman ritual found its way into existing foundations, or those which were intended for all, high and low, English and French alike, it is not too much to assume that it was retained in the baronial households of the foreigners who had established themselves in this country.

that it was itself a survival from the Gallican Liturgy, and probably derived from an eastern source.

6. The retention of the eastern Στῶμεν καλῶς in B 303 (Note, p. 270) may possibly represent a Rouen usage, in like manner to be traced to the Gallican Liturgy.(1)

III. The question as to date can be answered only in the same way as that as to use, by what may be described as the unconscious evidence of the original, which we have to gather from incidental allusions.

I need not stop to point out that the general structure of the treatise proves that it must have been written in the later centuries of the middle ages, because the evidence on particular points seems to be sufficient to fix the date within a few years earlier or later than the middle of the twelfth century. I quite admit that if the original did enjoin the use of the Ave-Maria, it would be a strong reason for placing the date a hundred years later; but I think we shall all be disposed to allow, that (though the incidental reference to the existence of customs, which afterwards became obsolete, is a test of age) the mention of some later practice in a transcript, or in a translation, does not necessarily prove a later date. A very cursory collation of English manuscripts of this character will show the force of this observation; and we have only to read Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, as edited by Mr Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club with the French in a parallel column, to see how much fresh matter a translator felt himself at liberty to introduce. For myself I have no doubt that the mention of the Ave-Maria in text B (*lines* 59, 60) was first inserted in the English translation, as I have attempted to prove in p. 183.

I now refer the reader to the remarks I have made on those notes of time which we can have no hesitation in tracing to the original:

1. The direct personal address to the Blessed Virgin in the form of general confession in the treatise (C 46) has already been pointed out(2) as a peculiarity of the Rouen use, and it is in so far evidence

(1) Other indications of an eastern influence are pointed out in the notes, pp. 193, 206, 280, 301, 312.

(2) Page xxxv, 2; Notes, p. 187. See also as to kissing the *Pax*, p. 295.

for the earlier date I have suggested for the original, that this peculiarity disappears in the later Rouen missals.

2. In B 236 there is a distinct expression of the doctrine of the presence of both the flesh and the blood of Christ, under one species, from which, as stated in the note, p. 225, I infer that the original was not earlier than the twelfth century.

3. In B 274 the people are supposed to answer the *Orate* "in hie," that is, with a loud voice. The answer is assigned to the "clerks" (1) in the thirteenth century Rouen missal; hence we may argue that our original was written not later than the twelfth century, for the abrogation of the ancient custom must have been well-established, before it was formulated in a rubric.

4. The retention of the early eastern answer to the *Orate* is in like manner an argument for the original having been written before other answers were introduced in the later Rouen missals.(2)

5. The manner in which the rubric speaks of the ringing of the bell at the elevation (B 401), especially when compared with the wording of the same rubric in the later revisions, argues that the practice had not as yet become general; and from this I infer (p. 282) that Dan Jeremy did not write later than the middle of the twelfth century.

6. The same inference may be drawn from the manner in which the author speaks of the doctrine of a real presence (B 403-415). The argumentative tone, as I have endeavoured to show in the notes, p. 282, reveals the fact that the doctrine was not generally accepted, and points to a time when there were still traces of the Berengarian controversy.

7. In the notes, p. 303, will be found evidence that the mention of rinsing in B 576 is not inconsistent with the date here assigned to the original.

IV. There is a fourth inference as to the author which, though resting on less substantial grounds, seems not to be improbable, namely:

That he was writing—not for the whole population, nor yet for all of the "lewed" (3) who would read his treatise, as they might have done, if the language had been that of the country in which

(1) "Clerici respondeant." Note, p. 255.
(2) Note (5), p. 258. (3) Page 16, B 174.

he wrote — but for those who had tenants, servants,(1) and subjects (2); who could hear mass on days besides high "festivals and holy days" (3); and on Sundays not in the parish church (4); and consequently that he may have been writing for Norman barons, and French-speaking grantees of the lands of "disherited" (5) English in this country, who had chaplains and clerks,(6) and heard mass daily,(7) in their consecrated chapels and private oratories, or in

(1) Page 34, B 369. (2) Page 52, B 554.

(3) When the *Gloria in Excelsis* was sung or said (p. 14, B 115), or the Nicene Creed (p. 18, B 198) was said.

(4) The ritual contemplated by the treatise was founded, as we have seen, on the use of Rouen cathedral, but it is not adapted for a large church nor for such a "chapel" as that of which in later times we find the details in the Northumberland Household Book. There was not merely a parish clerk, but clerks confessed their (*plural*) sins (B 46). The gospel was read by deacon or priest (B 153), and a clerk flits the book to the south end when the rinsing is done at the end of mass (B 576-9); but there is no reference to the bidding of the bedes in parish and conventual masses on the Sunday, which from being in the mother tongue, was especially a devotion for the layman, and—as will be readily seen on comparison—embodied many of the petitions which Dan Jeremy has assigned to the silence of the canon.

(5) It would perhaps be far-fetched to find in Dan Jeremy's reference to the "disherited" (B 379) a confirmation of my suggestion that he was writing for his countrymen in England; for in those troublous days they might have found many that had been deprived of their possessions without leaving their own country; but the fact that he does refer to them is—to say the least—not inconsistent with the supposition.

(6) "Lordes þat haue prestes at wyl,
Me þenketh þey trespas ful yl
Þat any day ete, are þey here messe
But ȝyf hit be þurghe harder dystresse."—H. S. 7312-15.

(7) The decrees of councils and the formal injunctions of the canon law required every one to hear mass every day, whether holy day or not, with exception of "the common people," who from being necessarily employed in labour or otherwise were obliged to do so only on Sundays and high days. ("Populares qui celebrationi missarum non valent quotidie interesse."—*Provinc.* II. Tit. 23, *In elevatione* (q), p. 231.) But it is more to the point, as proving that this was the ordinary practice of the class for which the mass-book was intended, to give a few extracts from books that were intended for popular use.

Thus Andrew Borde in his "Regyment":

"And than" (after rising and dressing) "great and noble men doth use to hear masse & other men that can not do so, but muste applye theyr busynes, doth serue god with some prayers, surrenderynge thankes to hym for hys manyfolde goodues, with askynge mercye for theyr offences."—*Babees Book*, E. E. T. S., Furnivall, p. 246-7.

In a MS. of about the year 1500, the young child is taught after rising from his bed, and asking God's grace to "help him in all his works:"

"Than go to þe chyrche & here A messe,
And aske mersy fore þi trespasse."—*Babees Book*, p. 17.

In Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruynge* the chamberlain is instructed

their dining-halls, it may be, with circumstances that when a more exact discipline was attempted (1) were not allowed as convenient

"at morne" to "go to the chyrche or chapell to your soueraynes closet & laye carpentes & cuysshens & lay downe his boke of prayers / than drawe the curtynes."—*Babees Book*, p. 283—where note the book of prayers, and the curtained pew of the great man.

So too Robert of Gloucester of William the Conqueror :—

"In chyrche he was deuout ynou, for hym non day abyde
Þat he ne hurde masse & matyns, & euenson[g] & eche tyde."
Hearne, *reprint*, 1810, p. 369.

But that the rule of the church was not a dead letter is perhaps most unmistakably shown by the matter-of-course way in which hearing mass before breaking their fast is introduced as an incident in the every day life of knights and other personages in works of fiction, which nevertheless in their details were no doubt true to the ordinary habits of the class they intended to portray, and that was the very class which Dan Jeremy had in view.

For example, in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* (*ed.* Morris, E. E. T. S. 1864), Gawayne, after the lady has kissed him,—

"dos hir forth at þe dore, with outen dyn more,
And he ryches him to ryse, & rapes hym sone,
Clepes to his chamberlayn, choses his wede,
Boȝeȝ forth, quen he watȝ boun, blyþely to masse,
And þenne he meued to his mete, þat menskly hym keped."
ll. 1308-12.

And so again Gawayne—

"ryses to þe masse,
And siþen hor diner watȝ dyȝt & derely serued."—ll. 1558-9.

The Lord of the castle hears mass before he eats and goes hunting at daybreak :—

"Ete a sop hastyly, when he hade herde masse,
With bugle to bent felde he buskeȝ by-lyue ;
By þat þat any day-lyȝt lemed vpon erþe,
He with his haþeles on hyȝe horsses weren."—ll. 1135-8.

And so again (l. 1691)—

"After messe a morsel he & his men token."

(1) In the year 1238 we find Bishop Grossteste citing the Earl of Warren and his chaplain to appear because mass was celebrated in the Earl's hall at Graham (*Grantham in Lincolnshire*), which was an unconsecrated place and otherwise unfit.—*Roberti Grosseteste Epistolæ*, Luard, 1861, p. 171.

In 1251 Pope Innocent IV. on the petition of the Countess of Lincoln required Archbishop Gray, of York, to grant her a license to have a portable altar where she might have divine offices celebrated for her and her family.—*Archbishop Gray's Register*, Raine, 209.

At the provincial council held by Archbishop Stratford in 1342 a constitution was passed for the suspension *ipso facto* for one month of priests celebrating mass in unconsecrated chapels, oratories, or houses, or elsewhere without the licence of the diocesan : and forbidding the bishops of the province of Canterbury to grant this licence except under certain conditions to great and noble men — *magnatibus seu nobilibus* — this last term being explained to include knights, and esquire holding dignified office.—*Provinc.*, III, *Tit.* 23, *Quam sit inhonestum* (n.), p. 234.

—and therefore he wrote in French, as he was writing for them as a class, and that was the language which they spoke among themselves.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHOR.

We gather nothing definite as to the author from our manuscripts, except his name(1); and as my search for any reference to a Jeremy who had written on the mass has been altogether without result,(2) I had made up my mind to rest content with the inferences above given, when the mention of a Jeremias as being at Rome with Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1123,(3) set me on a fresh search. I do not pretend to have obtained conclusive evidence, but at the least I have found a Jeremy, who, if not the Jeremy of our mass-book, might very well have been the author.

This is a mere guess, I am ready to admit, and I cannot tell how far those of my readers, who do not look upon enquiries of this kind as a waste of time, may be disposed to agree with me, when, in the absence of proof to the contrary, I have assumed the identity of our "Dan Jeremy" and Archdeacon Jeremias. Obviously, when we are concerned with a man, who lived more than seven hundred years ago, whose name is brought forward by a local chronicler, only in connection with the controversy of the English metropolitans as to

(1) Page xxxi. (2) Page xxxii.

(3) "Jeremias, Archdeacon of Rouen"—Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, I. 193. This is not quoted from Hugh the Chantor, and it would seem that there may have been some inaccuracy in the authority here relied upon. Jeremy could hardly have been archdeacon of Rouen in 1123 without some proof of it having been met with by Rouen antiquarians. In 1120 a Richard held that office and witnessed the gift of the church of St Leu to the abbey of St Martin of Pontoise (Pommeraye, *Histoire des Archevêques de Rouen*, p. 308). Fulbert was archdeacon in 1124 (Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen*, 302). He became the fifth Dean, but retained his office of archdeacon. About the year 1128, on the approach of death, he became a monk at St Ouen; and his monument in the cloister of that abbey records:

"metropolitanus fuit archidiaconus iste."—*Gallia Christiana*, XI. p. 115.

It is possible that though not Archdeacon of Rouen, in the sense of "metropolitan" or "grand" archdeacon, he may have been a Rouen archdeacon in the sense of holding one of the six archdeaconries into which the diocese was divided, although his name does not occur in the local histories. But it is far more probable that he was so styled in reference to his being a York archdeacon, and holding the archdeaconry of Cleveland; and that the fact of his having originally come from Rouen may have given occasion for the mention of him as "of Rouen" in the Fasti.

the precedence of their respective sees, we cannot expect to discover many facts respecting him: but in the few that I have been able to meet with, there is nothing inconsistent with my supposition. On the contrary, they will be found to tally most exactly with the particulars which we gather from the treatise itself:

1. Name; and the name, it may be observed, was most unusual.

2. Time.—About the middle of the twelfth century.

3. As a canon of Rouen, Jeremias must have been familiar with the use of his own cathedral.

4. And as archdeacon of Cleveland, the duties of his office would have directed his attention to the spiritual requirements of his fellow-countrymen, who were cut off from the ministrations of their English parish-priests by the difference of language.

Hugh the Chantor elsewhere incidentally speaks of Jeremy in reference to his presence at Rome, where Henry II had directed him to remain after the Lateran council (18th March—5th April, 1123), but I confine my quotation from the manuscript(1) to one passage, which gives us some notion of the man himself. Hugh is relating a discussion(2) which was closed by the Pope (Calixtus II) desiring Archbishop Thurstan and his followers to retire to their hostel. "There," he says, "was our archbishop (*Thurstan*) with his people, and Jeremias, a canon of the Church of Rouen, whom the king (*Henry I*) had caused to await the archbishops (*William de Corbeil of Canterbury and Thurstan of York*); who, though small of stature, was little neither in sense, nor learning, nor eloquence;

(1) The lives of the first Norman archbishops of York by Hugh Sotevagina, precentor and archdeacon of York, otherwise "Hugh the Chantor," are prefixed to the "Great White Register" in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of York (Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* I. 147 *n.*; Id. *Northern Registers*, p. xv), and are now in the course of publication in the Master of the Rolls Series.

Stubbs in the *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Ebor.* quotes largely from Hugh, and thus speaks of him: "Thomæ Seniori, Gerardo, Thomæ Juniori et Thurstino necessarius tam in divinis quam in humanis tractatibus conciliarius, multo tempore conversatus est ..... ad mortem comes adhæsit individuus."—*Scriptores Decem.*, Twysden, p. 1705.

(2) The story of the archbishops going to Rome, but too late to attend the Lateran council, and of their contention as to their relative hierarchical position, is very well told, with all the advantage of access to fresh authorities, in the *Life of Archbishop Thurstan*, by Canon Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* I, 193-4.

and greatly he loved our archbishop and his friends and was beloved."(1)

Jeremy cannot at this time have been much more than four or five and twenty,(2) though it is not improbable that he had already played a conspicuous part in the cause of the Archbishop Thurstan,(3)

(1) "Apostolicus... Thurstinum cum suis ad hospitium secedere præcepit. Erat ibi archiepiscopus noster cum suis et Jeremias Rotomagensis ecclesiæ canonicus, quem rex archiepiscopos expectare fecerat, qui licet statura brevis, nec sensu, nec scientia, nec loquentia erat exilis (MS. ex illis); Et ipse valde archiepiscopum nostrum et suos diligebat et diligebatur."—*Registrum Magnum Album* (*Ebor.*), fol. 27.

(2) In reference to what is here said, it may be necessary to explain that though to us modern Englishmen the idea of a canon suggests priest's orders as of necessity and a man of a certain age in ordinary cases, it was very different in continental cathedrals, and in our own in the middle ages. Not only might a proportion of the canonries be held by deacons and subdeacons, but canonries were given to boys of fourteen. Borbosa, the best authority on these questions (*De Canonicis*, Lugduni 1658, cap. xiii. § 9), referring to the canonists, says that while some held fourteen to be necessary, some held seven years to be sufficient—"ad canonicatum ecclesiæ cathedralis, olim quidam septennium completum." In 1563 the Council of Trent (Sess. xxiv. *De Reformatione*, c. 12) decreed that cathedral canons must at least take subdeacon's orders within a limited time, and so intended the minimum age to be not under twenty-one years. But, to judge from later constitutions and decisions in this matter, this was not held to operate against papal provisions or dispensations for age, or, in some cases, the privileges of noble birth; and the abuse seems to have gone on as before. To give one example. At Orleans in 1582 the chapter refused to admit a nephew of the bishop because he was under age; and in 1638 they ordained that canons, who were scholars studying at Orleans (*Chanoines écoliers étudians à Orleans*), should be mulct if absent from the church on festivals and Sundays.—*Voyages Liturgiques*, 190, 191.

We have an example of the early age at which ecclesiastical patronage was conferred in England on children with good interest, in the case of Geoffrey Plantagenet, afterwards treasurer, and eventually Archbishop of York, who was Archdeacon of Lincoln, though a mere child, when Jeremy was Archdeacon of Cleveland, and was elected and confirmed Bishop of Lincoln in 1173 when only fourteen. He visited the papal court in 1174, but the Pope deferred his consecration for three years, and even then he would have been only eighteen. *Fast. Ebor.*, 252-3.

(3) More than three years before this, when Thurstan, then Archbishop-elect of York, had not yet induced Pope Calixtus to consecrate him, Hugh the Chantor tells us: "Veniente papa ad Blesense (*of Blois*) castellum, duo archidiaconi nostri (*of York*) et scholasticus qui cum electo nostro venierunt, voce et litteris petitionem fecerunt ad dominum papam ut eum consecraret; at ille benigne respondet se fratribus suis inde collocuturum." *Regist. Magnum Album*, fol. 17. *Fast. Ebor.* I, 181. When Hugh is in print, the reader, who cares to do so, will be easily able to satisfy himself, whether Jeremy is here referred to. The editor having examined the MS. once in the fruitless search for a passage, as to the existence of which he had been misinformed (*ante*, page lx, *n.* (3)), does not feel himself bound to do so again

or otherwise he must have been of very advanced age, when we find him with Archbishop Roger at Rouen, which might have been as much as fifty-two years afterwards, if we assign the latest date of 1175 to the charters which he witnessed. In the mean time he had been preferred to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, within the metropolitical Church of York. When he was admitted to this dignity I have been unable to discover, but nothing is more likely than that Archbishop Thurstan should have promoted his Norman adherent. All that Le Neve found to say of him is that he was Archdeacon of Cleveland "about 1170" (1); and Torre does not give the year: "A.D. 11 · ·, Jeremia was admitted to this Archdeaconry of Clyveland. This Jeremiah, Archdeacon of Clyveland subscribed to William de Somerville's charter to the Knights Hospitallers of Land and common of pasture in the town of Secroft."(2)

It was nothing unusual for benefices in Normandy and this country to be held in plurality, and it had occurred to me that Jeremy, the canon of Rouen, and Jeremy, Archdeacon of Cleveland, were the same man, but I had nothing to go upon except that they were contemporaries, that the name was uncommon, and that the canon of Rouen, by an authority, which however I could not verify,(3) was styled archdeacon. At the last moment, after the preface and the preceding sheet of this introduction had been printed, I am enabled to lay before the reader what appears to be conclusive proof that I was right in my conjecture.

For this information the thanks of the Society are due to Monsieur de Beaurepaire, Keeper of the Records (*Archiviste*) of the

for this purpose, as it does not help to identify the author or to illustrate his work. This much, however, is very evident, that if Jeremy did not on this, he must have recommended himself to Thurstan, on some other occasion, or otherwise the king would not have held out his remaining at Rome as an inducement to the archbishop to defer his visit till after the council.

(1) *Ed.* Hardy, III, 145. The name is not found in the Dodsworth MSS.

(2) Torre's MSS. (York Minster), p. 715. Seacroft is a township and chapelry in the parish of Whitkirk in Skyrack wapentake and the West Riding of York. *Inter alia* William de Somerville *al.* Summervil gave a mill at Seacroft to Bolton Percy, an evident misprint for Bolton Priory (Thoresby, *Laidis & Elmete*, 1816, p. 135. Cf. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.*, 119); and also gave seven acres at Seacroft to Kirkstall Abbey (Burton, *u. s.*, p. 296); but I have not been able to ascertain the date in the twelfth century when these gifts were made.

(3) See note (3), *ante*, p. xl.

Department of the Lower Seine (at Rouen), and Member of the Academy *des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*. He not only furnished me, at the instance of a friend of our Society, with transcripts of the charters with Dan Jeremy's witness, which were all the more valuable, as their correctness was guaranteed by being copied with his own hand; but he also with the greatest kindness permitted me to avail myself of his special learning and local information in my further enquiries.

I have added some notes to these charters(1) which will assist us when we endeavour to fix their date: "Notum sit presentibus et "futuris quod Tustanus le Macon et Bona uxor sua vendiderunt "Rogero de Waruuic capellano D*omi*ni Regis mansuram suam "in vico S*ancti* Dionisii quam jure hereditario tenebant de feodo "archiepiscopi Eboracensis que est inter mansuram Richardi Monachi "et Dominicum prefati archiepiscopi cum gardino et tota terra a vico "usque ad murum castelli cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in latum et "longum sicut se proportat a turre ejusdem muri usque ad antiquum "murum civitatis versus Rodobeccam pro septem libris andegav *ensibus*. . . . . .(2)

"Factum fuit hoc in plena communia coram Bartholomeo Fer-"gant* (3) tunc majore Rothomagi et sigillo communie confirmatum. "Testibus his Gaufrido* decano Rothom*agensi*. Radulfo de Wane-"villa* sacrista. Jeremia*. Rad*ulpho* filio Tehardi. Willelmo de "Ripa. canonicis Rothom*agensibus*. Reinaudo de Gerpunvilla*. "Willelmo de Malapalude*. Johanne* filio Luce. Hugone filio vice-"com*itis*. Ganfrido* fratre suo. Rad*ulpho* Waspal. Henrico filio "suo. Waltero* filio Geroldi. Guidone* parvo. Hugone Wastal. "Nicholao Gronnet. Rogero* de Bello monte. Bartholomeo Batalle*. "Ricardo* filio Benedicti et pluribus aliis." [Seal lost.]

It will be observed that the sale of this messuage was executed before the mayor at an open meeting of the commonalty, and was

(1) The two charters and a third connected with them are in the same file: "*Archives de la Département de la Seine Inférieure*, G. 4278."—M. de Beaurepaire.

(2) Here follows a provision for the archbishop's reserved rent.

(3) The witnesses marked (*) also appear as attesting the charter of confirmation.

witnessed amongst others by the dean and sacrist of the cathedral church, and by three of the canons, Jeremiah being the senior of them. But it required the confirmation of the Archbishop of York, in whose fee the messuage was situate; and this was granted, most probably on the same day, as no less than twelve of the witnesses are the same:

"Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit ſ Rog*erus*(1) dei "gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus ſ Salutem in domino. Notum esse "volumus universis. quod Rog*erus* de Waruuic capellanus domini "Regis. emit quandam mansuram apud Rothomagum de feoudo nostro "in vico S*ancti* Dionisii de Bona uxore Tustani Cementarii. pro septem "libris and*egavensibus* de consensu nostro et permissione. quam de "nobis jure hereditario tenebat cum gardino et tota terra de retro "supra fossatum a dextris et a sinistris sicut terra se extendit a turre- "nula muri castelli. usque ad antiquum murum Civitatis. versus "Rodobeccam libere ac. quiete jure hereditario tenendum (*sic*) de "nobis et heredib*us*(2) nostris. ei et heredibus suis. reddendo inde

(1) Roger de Pont l'Évesque was consecrated Archbishop of York at Westminster on the 10th October, 1154, and died at York on 22nd November, 1181.

(2) It does not appear whether the archbishop held this fee in right of his archbishoprick, or as his private property. From the use of *hæredes* and not *successores*, or some similar term, it would seem that it was the latter. In 1195 it is described as the "feodum Thome de Ponte-Episcopi,"—this Thomas from the name being apparently of the same family. In either case it must have passed into his hands by having been alienated by the archbishop in his lifetime, as at his death the king seized all his property.—*Fast. Ebor*, I. 249. I here quote a third document which is in the file with the charters given in the text, from the "*analyse*," given by M. de Beaurepaire in his *Archives du Département de la Seine Inférieure, Série* G (*Clergé Seculier*). Tom. III, p. 325. In this deed Roger of Warwick, who is described as Canon of Rouen (Henry II being dead), conveys all his property at Rouen to his nephew Elias, and among the rest the messuage he had purchased in Rue Saint Denis, which in those charters is described as belonging to the Archbishop of York, but in this, in the words above quoted, as that of Thomas de Pont l'Évêque.

For these curious particulars, which will be new to those who take an interest in the history of our Norman archbishops, I am indebted to the personal kindness of the learned Editor of the *Archives*. M. de Beaurepaire, with the same readiness to help an absolute stranger, that gave me the information I was anxious to obtain as to our author, and anticipated my enquiries—as only those can who are thoroughly masters of their subject and know how much in these matters turns upon details—has been kind enough to favour me, unasked, with the sight of a proof sheet of the third volume which is still in the press.

"nobis vel heredibus nostris per annum duos solidos usualis monete
"et sex denarios. pro omni servitio a se vel ab heredibus suis.
. . . . . .(1)
"Hujus autem concessionis nostre et confirmationis. Testes sunt.
"Gaufridus * Rothom*agensis*(2) Decanus. Radulphus de Wan-
"nevilla*. Thesaurarius (3) Eboracensis. Jeremias * Archid*iaco-

(1) The original here goes on to confirm the alienation to the same Roger of another messuage within the archbishop's fief by his bailiff and by his direction.

(2) A Geoffry was the sixth dean of Rouen in 1123 (*Gallia Christiana*, XI, 116); and another, or the same again, from 1130 to 1135 (compare the *Gallia*, u. s. and Pommeraye, *Église Cathédrale de Rouen*, p. 303), but he cannot be the dean here mentioned, as he did not hold that office whilst Roger was Archbishop, or Ralph de Wanneville was Treasurer of York.

The *Gallia Christiana* (XI, 116) gives Geoffry III as dean from 1148 to 1175, and Robert de Callot as succeeding him in that year; but Dom Pommeraye gives Geoffry as dean from 1155 till 1163 only, when an Ives appears as dean. He supposes Geoffry was again elected dean. The last document in which he is mentioned, as referred to both in the *Gallia* and by the local historian, being dated in 1175. (Pommeraye, *u. s.*, p. 304.)

If Ralph de Wanneville immediately followed John as treasurer of York, when John was made Bishop of Poictiers, he may have signed this in 1163, but we have no proof that he did so succeed him, or that Archbishop Roger was in Normandy in that year, and it is far more probable that the charters date from Geoffry's second period of office.

(3) Ralph de Warneville was sacrist or treasurer of Rouen, signing himself, or being described as one or the other, as early as 1150 (*Gallia Christiana*, XI, Instrumenta, col. 24, 25, 26), but, as mentioned in the last note, we have no evidence as to when he was appointed treasurer of York. In Le Neve (*Fasti*. III. p. 158) he follows a John, who "succeeded to this dignity, 1154," and was made Bishop of Poictiers, as stated by Le Neve, following R. de Diceto, in 1163; but R. de Monte places his becoming bishop under the year 1162, and this date is given in the *Gallia Christiana*, II. 1180. Be this as it may, we find no mention of Ralph as treasurer until 1173, when he was made Chancellor of England. He may have held the treasurership for some years before this, and probably continued to hold it until he was succeeded by Geoffry Plantagenet, who, according to Le Neve, held it in 1181. As proved by the following quotations, he certainly was succeeded by him as chancellor in 1182.

"Anno gratiæ 1173 . . . . . Illo etiam anno Rudulphus de Warnevilla, sacrista Rothomagensis, et thesaurarius Ebor. constitutus est Angliæ cancellarius."—Matt. Westmonast., *Flores Hist.* Francof. 1601, p. 250. And so Matthew Paris, *Hist., ad ann.* 1173, p. 88.

We have the same in R. de Diceto in his *Imagines Historiarum*, but he further informs us that Ralph appointed Walter of Coutances to take his place at the king's court—this Walter, who was afterwards Archbishop of Rouen, being at this time a Canon of Rouen, and, like Jeremy, holding an English archdeaconry, that of Oxford. This information enables us to assume that Ralph may have remained at Rouen after he was made chancellor, and so may have witnessed the charters in 1175, as well as in 1170. "1173 Adulphus de Warnevilla Rotomagensis Sacrista, Thesaurarius Eboracensis, constitutus

"*nus.*(1) Magister Vacarius. Magister Ausgotus. Rad*ulphus* prior(2)
" de Gloecestria. Godardus de Vallibus. Reginaldus de Gerpunvilla*.
" Willelmus(3) de mala palude*. Bartholomeus Fergant*. tunc(4)
" major communie Rothom*agi*. Johannes * filius Luce. Bartholomeus

est Angliæ cancellarius: qui modum vivendi parum a privato dissimilem, quem prius semper habuerat, non immutavit, malens Waltero de Constantiis Canonico Rotomagensi vices in curia Regis committere, quam circa latus Principis militantes, expensis profusioribus, lautioribus mensis, ad sui gloriam nominis propagandum per dies singulos invitare."—R. de Diceto, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIII. 191.

He resigned his chancellorship in 1182, when he would seem to have been no longer sacrist at Rouen: "Radulfus de Venneuilla (*sic*) Archidiaconus Rothomagensis renunciavit Cancellariæ Regis et Rex dedit ei terras maguorum reddituum."—R. de Monte, Paris, 1651, p. 804.

In the same year he was made Bishop of Lisieux, which fact seems to have escaped the notice of Lord Campbell in his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* (vol. I. p. 100): "Arnulfus Episcopus . . . . renuntiavit episcopatum . . . . . Adulfus de Venneuilla (*sic*), Archidiaconus Rothomagensis, qui fuerat Cancellarius Regis, electus est ad prædictam Episcopatum."—R. de Monte, p. 805.

(1) *Eboracensis* is not repeated after his name, as in the first charter (p. xliv) *Rothomagensi* is not repeated after the name of the treasurer, the name of the church having been specified after that of the dean. It may be observed that repetitions of this kind are not usual in charters of this date.

(2) Hameline was abbot of Gloucester from 1148 till 1179, and was succeeded by Thomas Carbonel or Carbonach, who died in the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Rutter, *History of Glowcester*, 216—218, Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I. 532-3.) I do not find any list of priors in the local histories; but in reference to the prior attesting the charter by the Archbishop of York, it may be observed that Gloucester Abbey at this time owed honorary subjection to the northern metropolitan. The abbey had been granted to Archbishop Thomas in 1093 by William Rufus (Raine, *Fast. Ebor.*, I. 151), but in 1157 Archbishop Roger, in consideration of certain lands having been given by the abbey to the archbishoprick to prevent future controversy, with the assent of his chapter and a general synod renounced all claim to the other estates.—Rutter, *u. s.*, 217. Dugdale, I. 533. See as to Archbishop Roger's action in behalf of his abbey, *post*, p. xlix.

(3) M. de Beaurepaire informs me that Malpalu (*Mala palus*) was formerly the name of a quarter at Rouen, and that there is still a very old street of that name. The name frequently occurs in Rouen charters as the name of several families; and we cannot therefore ascribe the signature of W. de Mala Palude to any connection with the Archbishop, though the name is met with in contemporary documents in the north of England. Pommeraye (*Église*. 306), in reference to a Richard de Malpalu who was dean of Rouen in 1200, mentions that he and others of the name, who were Mayors of Rouen, were of the same family as Odin de Malpalu, Painter of Henry II.

(4) The name of Bartholomew Fergant occurs as mayor in a dated document of 1182, after Archbishop Roger was dead; but, as remarked by M. de Beaurepaire, there is no reason why he may not have held the office, which was annual, in previous years—and it follows that he may have been Mayor of Rouen at the date here assigned to the charter.

"Bataille*. Gaufridus* filius(1) vicecomitisse. Walterus* filius "Giroldi. Guido* parvus. Rogerus* de Bello munte. Ric*ardus** "filius Benedicti. Rogerus Dorgoil. Bernardus pistor. et multi alii."

Now in this charter we may observe first that it was executed at Rouen, after the sale had been completed before the civic authorities, and in all likelihood on the same day—no less than twelve of the witnesses being the same as in the previous charter,—some inhabitants of Rouen—and we cannot suppose that they could have transferred themselves in a body to the Archbishop's court, if it had been held elsewhere than in their own home.

Next we may observe that, there being no mention of any bailiff(2) or other representative of the archbishop, we may infer that he was himself present at Rouen.

Lastly—and what is more to our present purpose of proving the identity of Jeremy of Rouen, and Jeremy of Cleveland, both he and Ralph de Wanneville,—who, when attesting the sale before the mayor of Rouen, are described by their local titles in the cathedral, the one as sacrist, the other as canon,—now, before the Archbishop of York, to whom they owed canonical obedience, are designated by the offices they held in his cathedral, Ralph as treasurer and Jeremy as archdeacon: and thus the charters establish a fact in the history of our author, which cannot have been without its influence upon the character of his work, and, but for them, would have been merely a matter of conjecture.

The exact date of the charter does not directly bear upon our present enquiry. It might perhaps be arrived at more nearly, with access to a library containing the necessary authorities, and specially if the year of the earlier mayoralty of Fergant(3) could be ascertained. It would seem from an examination of the dates which are

(1) This Geoffry appears among the witnesses to the deed of sale as the brother of Hugh, the son of the sheriff: here as the son of the sheriff's wife—no doubt his step-son. I draw attention to this trifling matter because, like the change in the description of Ralph de Warneville, and our Jeremy, it is an instance of the precision of ancient records in these matters, which was in strong contrast with the uncertainty of their orthography. For an instance we need only compare these two documents, most probably executed on the same day, the one drawn up by the town-clerk, the other by an officer of the archbishop.

(2) Note (1), *ante*, p. xlvi. (3) Note (4), p. xlvii.

given in the notes, that it will be found to be somewhere between 20th November, St Andrew's day, 1170, and the year 1175. About the first of these dates Roger passed into Normandy,(1) and remained there until after St Nicolas' day (6th Dec.) in the year 1171 ;(2) but we do not know that Geoffry had been re-elected Dean of Rouen at that time. And as to the later date, though Geoffry was known to have been dean in 1175,(3) I do not find, and I do not stop the press whilst I go in search of any notice of Roger being in Normandy in that year, though there is no reason to think he might not have been there. In the autumn of 1174 Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, sharply rebuked the monks at Gloucester for pleading exemption from his jurisdiction.(4) In the May of 1175, Roger gave notice by his clerks at a synod, held by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Westminster, of an appeal to Rome against a sentence of excommunication which he had passed against the monks of Gloucester,(5) their abbey belonging to York, for refusing to pay him obedience.(6) If we suppose the prior of Gloucester to have resorted to Archbishop Roger on business connected with this dispute, his attestation to the charter is, in so far, an argument for the later date ; nor is the fact that R. de Warneville was made chancellor in 1173 any argument against the likelihood of his having been a witness at Rouen after that date, for, as noticed in a note above,(7) he appointed a deputy for the discharge of his office about the court of the king : and with this suggestion to any of my readers who may be at the pains to investigate the question of date more thoroughly, I go on to the next question in our enquiry.

Translation into English.

In the middle of the twelfth century a book of prayers in English would have been of small use, even if the very notion had not been offensive, to the stranger lords of the new-built castles and crenelated manors, and their foreign retainers. Some eighty years had passed since the Normans had invaded this country, but their successors

(1) R. de Diceto, *ed.* Stevenson, p. 332. (2) Mat. Paris, *ed.* 1644, p. 87.
(3) Note (2), p. xlvi. (4) R. de Diceto, *u. s.*, 334.
(5) Note (2), p. xlvii. (6) *Fasti Ebor.* I. 242. (7) Page xlvii.

were still in the position of an army cantoned among a subject population, rather than the fellow-countrymen of their English vassals. They may have picked up some knowledge of the language, and in their intercourse with their native dependents may have grafted some of their own French words upon the old stock, but English was not what they spoke among themselves, nor what they would have used when they desired to pray to God in the silence of their hearts.

Before the end of the next century a very different state of things had grown into existence. The mere lapse of time, and the fact that men of the two races had to act together in military and political emergencies, had much to do with this, but would hardly have been sufficient if Normandy had still been held with the crown of England. When the chief patronage was no longer in the same hands there was less opportunity for the interchange of ecclesiastical benefices in this country and Normandy, and there was no more of the intrusion of Normans into every high place in the Church of England. Dating from 1244 a still more effectual stop was put to the constant passing backwards and forwards between the two countries. In this year Lewis IX. of France required his subjects who had lands beyond sea, to choose between allegiance to him or to the King of England; and Henry III. hearing of this, went farther, and instead of leaving them a choice, gave orders for all, who held under the crown of France, especially those who were Normans, to be desseized of their English estates.(1) We can easily understand how, fifty years after this, the descendants of the Normans who remained in this country, though they may have prided themselves upon their Norman ancestry, had become English in feeling, and were proud to call themselves Englishmen.(2)

French was indeed still used for formal documents, and in the courts of law; and it was habitually spoken at court, and, very possibly, in the families of those who were about the court; but there

(1) Matt. Paris, *ad ann.* 1244, p. 416. "Rex Angliæ omnes de regno Franciæ, præcipue Normannos, jussit terris suis, quas in Anglia habuerunt, disseisiri."

(2) We are so in the habit of speaking of the Normans, that we are apt to forget that, at the conquest and long afterwards, they spoke of themselves as French, and were so described in formal documents.

can be no doubt that the class for whom our treatise was written now spoke English as a rule, and had not only learnt to speak it, but think and pray in it, as their mother tongue; though they may have looked upon French as a mark of good breeding, or brought it forth like their best robe, as a homage to fashion, much as French was spoken in the last century at all the German courts; and as, until within these few years, if it is not so now, it used to be the language of society in Russia and Poland.

The very reasons, therefore, which made it expedient for Dan Jeremy to write in French at the close of the thirteenth century, pointed to the translation of his work into English. And there may perhaps have been other causes at work; the growth of a middle class, who could read English; and the revived care of the Church for the spiritual instruction of her more humble members in their own tongue.(1) It is at this time, or, to be more precise, in the last half of the reign of Edward the First, that I should have been disposed to place the date of the translation upon the antecedent grounds, here pointed out; the grammar and vocabulary are consistent with the suggestion that it was made at this time, that is, contemporaneously with Robert Mannyng; some years later than the metrical version of the psalms, often referred to in the following notes; (2) and rather earlier than another northern writer, Richard Rolle of Hampole.(3)

(1) The domination of foreigners in all the higher places in the Church had no doubt tended to the greater neglect of the canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church in that behalf; and we must admit that the first attempt at amendment was made, also from abroad, by the introduction of the black and grey friars shortly before the beginning of the second quarter of this century. Grosseteste and other home-born prelates lent them willing help, and the synod at Lambeth in 1281 was presided over by Archbishop Peckham, who affected to call himself Friar John after he was raised to the see of Canterbury, and their constitutions for the systematic teaching of the elements of religious knowledge by the parish priest (*Provinc*, Lib. I, Tit. xi, Cap. 4, *Ignorantia sacerdotum*) may perhaps be traced to the early friar spirit, when the high purpose of their founders had not ceased to animate the mendicant orders, and they had not become a byword for the satirist, and a scandal to the name of religion.

(2) *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter*, Surtees Society, *Ed.* Stevenson, 1843. The MS. from which the metrical psalms are printed is about the year 1316 or 1317, but the original is supposed to have been written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century.

(3) It must not be forgotten when forming an estimate as to the age of an early English work that in the north the inflexions of the older language were, for the most part, early cast aside, whilst they continued to characterize the

But we are not left to mere conjectures, however well founded, for the British Museum manuscript (our B text), though it is some eighty, or possibly only seventy years later than the translation itself, and has been subjected to dialectical alteration throughout, nevertheless, if I do not mistake, has preserved a note of time which enables us to fix the date still more definitely. It will be seen that in the prayers for the state of the Church in this text (*page* 32), the clergy are prayed for as follows: "and the bishops, priests, and clerks," the pope not being mentioned; and that in the other four texts, there given, no two introduce the mention of the pope in the same way.

From this I infer that the pope was not specified in the original translation; and hence that the papal see was vacant (1) when it was made. The variations in the other texts may be explained by supposing that the scribes who wrote them, or those they copied, noticing the omission when the see was full, each for himself, as it occurred to him, and more or less awkwardly as it happened, inserted the mention of the pope, this being what they were used to in the canon of the mass, and other devotions of the church, when the clergy in their several degrees were publicly prayed for. (2)

There were two occasions during the period here indicated when there was an interval, between the death of one pope and the election of his successor, sufficiently long to be marked in the list of popes: the first of *two years and three months*, from the death of Nicholas

southern dialects to a later period. This will account for what may seem a less archaic character in our text, which we ought to compare, not with the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, the *Ancren Riwle*, or other works of a later date in a southern dialect, but with works, such as those of the Lincolnshire *Mannyng*, or the Yorkshire Hermit, to which I have referred, that were written in the north, and though of an earlier date, are more like the common English of modern times.

(1) The fact of there being a pope, or of the see being vacant, must have been necessarily known to scribes in general and specially to those in the scriptorium of a religious house, or who acted as notaries. A great number of documents, and specially those issued by ecclesiastical authorities, bear the date of the year of the pope's pontificate, in addition to and sometimes without the regnal year of the prince.

(2) See the canon of the mass, *post*, 124/22; the bidding prayers, 62/7, 64/6, 68/10, 74/5, and 75/10. In the Litany, Sarum, and Ebor, we have "Ut domnum Apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesiæ in sancta religione conservare digneris."

IV. on the 4th of April, 1292, to the election of Celestine V. on the 5th of July, 1294, and it is here that our date may more probably be found, both because the interval was longer, and because it was nearer the time, when on other grounds it would seem that the translation was made. The other was an interval of only eleven months, between the election of Clement V. on the 15th June, 1305, and the 6th or 7th of July, 1304, when his predecessor Benedict was poisoned.(1)

Verbal changes of this kind were no doubt made by the scribe according to his knowledge of the facts of the case; but the translator, in his "drawing into English" (2) would seem to have kept very close to the original. It is possible that by a sort of afterthought, as already remarked,(3) he may have interpolated the halting couplet as to the use of the Ave-Maria (B 59-60); and the reader may perhaps be disposed to accept the alternative suggestion which I have offered,(4) that he may have added the two lines (B 277-8), to represent what may have been the alternative answer of the earlier Rouen use to the *Orate* of the priest, as it was afterwards the layman's answer in both provinces (5) in this country: but with the exception of the interpolated couplet, above specified, there is nothing that Dan Jeremy may not have himself written in the twelfth century, and the retention—in some cases the retention of the very words—of a foreign use is a strong proof that the translator faithfully rendered his original without making alterations to adapt it to the existing English ritual, as subsequent transcribers did not hesitate to do in respect to his own version.

(1) There were two similar intervals, during which the translation might have been made—one of *two years and nine months* before the election of Gregory X. in 1271, but this would seem too early; and the other, after the papal see was transferred to Avignon, of *two years and three months* before the election of John by a conclave at Lyons in 1316. This perhaps is rather late; and in any case is the latest date, when the translation could have been made, if my suggestion is rightly founded, as there is no subsequent interregnum of exceptional length.

(2) Page 2, line 4. (3) Page xxxvi. Note, p. 183.

(4) Page 263. (5) Page 264.

Dialect of the Translation and Variations by Scribes.

Dr Morris has described the Lay Folks Mass Book as a "specimen of the East Midland dialect."(1) He had before him the print of our text B, which, as mentioned in the preface,(2) was circulated when the transcript first came into my hands; and as I had come to the conclusion that this particular MS. was the work of a Midland scribe, I was very pleased to have my opinion confirmed by a philologist in every way entitled to speak with authority on any question connected with English dialect.

It is mainly to Dr Morris' systematic classification of their grammatical forms that I am indebted for most of what little I know of our old English dialects—always excepting the northern, which, from having been an East Riding clergyman for more than thirty years, I have had ample opportunities of studying as a living language; —and therefore an attempt to modify a judgment of his, *obiter dictum* though it be, may seem presumptuous: but I venture to think that the original was translated into a northern dialect, however much the manuscripts may have been altered by successive scribes in the process of copying, in order to adapt them to the language of their own time and district—texts E and F, as well as text B, being examples of a Midland dialect, and text C of a northern dialect, though of a hundred and fifty years later, when many older northern forms and words were passing out of use.

Nor were the alterations made by the scribes merely grammatical, or confined to the alteration of a word which was unknown or distasteful to them. Instead of reproducing the copy before them, they seem to have held themselves at liberty, and especially where it was a question of religion, to exercise the functions of revisers. In some cases, they may have thought they were carrying out the wishes of the author in making what seemed to be amendments and improvements. Hampole, at the end of his *Prick of Conscience*, not only bespeaks excuse for defaults of rhyme, but invites the correction of the learned in the matter of his treatise. He says,

(1) *Alliterative Poems*, Revised Edition, Preface, p. xxviii, note 1.
(2) Page x.

"I rek noght, þogh þe ryme be rude,
If þe maters þarof be gude.
And if any man þat es clerk,
Can fynde any errour in þis werk,
I pray hym do me þat favour,
þat he wille amende þat errour;
For if men may here any errour se,
Or if any defaut in þis tretice be,
I make here a protestacion,
þat I wil stand til þe correccion
Of ilka rightwyse lered man,
þat my defaut here correcte can."(1)

The worthy old hermit's desire was to stir lewed men to the love and fear of God, and he recked nothing as to shape in which his message might come to them. Chaucer, on the other hand, was quite alive to the risks to which his highly-wrought verse was exposed. In his *Troilus and Cryseyde*, he thus addresses his "litel boke":

"And for ther is so grete diversite
In Englissh, and in writynge of our tongue,
So preye I to God, that non myswrite the
Ne the mys-metre for defaute of tongue!"(2)

This diversity is so great that we find a northern scribe describing his work as a translation, and his fellow north countrymen as unable to read other English:

"In other Inglis was it drawin
And turnid Ic haue it til ur awin
Language of the Northin lede,
That can na nother Inglis rede"(3)

In our texts it is the turning of a northern poem into midland, though from being a case of neighbouring dialects, the contrast, especially in B, is not so great; and the original northern, in many of its peculiarities, would have been uncouth rather than unintelligible. The invention of printing has tended more than anything else to the formation of a common language, and the fixing of its spelling;

(1) P. C. 9585—9596.

(2) Quoted, Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, I, 249. We find an appeal of the same character in the *Ormulum*, and the *Preambulum* of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

(3) *The Embassy of Helis*, MS. Edinburgh, quoted, Small, E. M. H., Preface, p. xxii. The caution in the *Promptorium* referred to in the last note speaks of a different dialect as being "*alterius patrie*"; much as here we have another "lede." One of the examples given is *hande* and *honde*, an alteration which occurs in our texts: "Non scribat HONDE pro HANDE, nec NOSE pro NESE, nec KAYE pro KEYE, et sic de aliis."—P. P. I, 4.

but it may not be uninteresting to see how Caxton at the first dealt with his copy. He is speaking of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, which had not been written a hundred years—it was finished in 1387 :

"I William Caxton . . . . . somewhat have chaunged the rude and old Englysh, that is to wete certayn wordes which in these days [1482] be neither vsed ne understanden."(1)

And now to the examination(2) of our text B. At first sight it has an un-northern look. The scribe has written þo for þe, *hom* and *hor* for þam and þair, *shal* and *shulde* for *sal* and *suld* or *soulde ;* and not only are these forms constantly recurring from the words being necessarily in such constant use, but there are many other words which he has written according to his Midland spelling (3) :

alone	*and not*	al ane
among	„ „	amang
boke	„ „	buke
bos	„ „	bus
con (*to get by heart*)	„ „	cun(4)
„ (*to be able*)	„ „	kan
felouse	„ „	felawes
fro	„ „	fra
foundyng (*temptation*)	„ „	fanding
gode	„ „	gude
home	„ „	hame
knowe	„ „	knawe
loke	„ „	luke
mone	„ „	mun (*must*)
mony	„ „	many
monyfold	„ „	manyfalde
moo	„ „	ma (*more*)

(1) *Polychronicon* Ranulphi Higden, *ed.* Babington, 1865, I, p. lxiii.

(2) If it should occur to any of my readers that the circumstance of the answer of the York missal not being used (lines 275-8) is an argument for the text having been written in the southern province, I beg to refer to the note, page 263.

(3) The use of "o" in this text is almost as marked a feature as the perpetual upsilonism of our West-Midland text E. See note, p. 185.

(4) See notes, p. 293, 312.

most	*and not*	maste
no	„ „	na
none	„ „	nane (1)
opon	„ „	upon
owe	„ „	awe
so, soo	„ „	swa
soule	„ „	saule
þoo	„ „	þes *or* þas (*those*)
world	„ „	werld

On the other hand, there are a few northern words :

flytte	mirk
heþen (*hence*)	sere (*several*)
ilk	swilk, swylk
ill	þirre
kirk, kyrc	þiþin (*thence*)
michel, mychel	til (*to*)

I lay no great stress on the occurrence of these words, because northern words may have found, and in many cases did find their way into neighbouring dialects.

What is more to the point, not only do we find northern grammatical flexions as I shall proceed to show, but we find the words in the following list both in the Northern and the Midland forms :

*aght	*and* owe
ane(2) [name, 18]	„ one

(1) The scribe (E 141) evidently did not understand the northern *nane*, but writes *name*, which points to it.

(2) Our Midland scribe seems to have been quite at fault with the northern *a* or *ane* (one). In line 11 he has let *ane* pass for the sake of the rhyme. In line 157 *a* may very well have been the article as in line 19, though it may have been used of *one* in contrast to the several crosses, which are sometimes directed to be made. In line 173 *a* is used in contrasting *one* with *the other ;* but the scribe most likely let it pass as the indefinite article ; and in line 180, probably for the same reason, though here it was intended of the oneness of the Trinity (see note, p. 215-16). In line 561 he has written *ay* (=ever) instead of *a* (=one), though this is clearly a better reading, and has been retained in C. (See note, p. 300.)

In lines 424 and 425, from not being used to "ane," and from the Ave-Maria being an established devotion when he wrote, he has made utter nonsense. by writing *ave ;* though the usually blundering scribe of our E text has rightly translated the *ane* into *on*. See note, p. 183.

*awen	*and* owne
bandes [handes, 404]	,, bondes
behalde [salde, 406]	,, biholde
ere (er) [were (*noun subs.*), 588]	,, are
here (er)(1) [prayere, 460]	
es (2 *sing.*) [les, 125]	,, is
es (3 *sing.*) [mes, 118]	
esse (es, 3 *plur.*) [mes, 462]	,, are
gast [hast, 213]	,, gost [most, 144]
gastly(2) [largely, 67]	
haly [Mary, 75]	,, holy
,, [specialy, 375]	
heli (haly) [mercy, 474]	
*hald	,, hold
hande(3) (*sing.*) [lyvande, 140]	,, honde
,, [offrande, 241]	
handes [bandes, 405]	,, hondes [stondes, 40]
hende(4) [ende, 35]	
,, [amende, 284]	
man [þan, 330]	,, mon [con, 613]
*many	,, mony
mare [þare, 42]	,, more
,, [care, 478]	
*namely	,, nomely
stande [goande, 592]	,, stondes [hondes, 39]
þan [man, 330]	,, þen
*thank	,, thonk
*thanked	,, thonked
þare [mare, 42]	,, þere
untille [wille, 121]	,, unto

Now except those words which are marked with an * asterisk, where the northern form may have been copied mechanically by the scribe, although midlandized in other cases, it will be observed that the northern forms occur in rhymes, where both words did not admit

(1) Note, p. 288. (2) Note, p. 223. (3) Note, p. 199.
(4) Note, p. 179.

of a ready alteration to a Midland form. I add the intractable rhyme and the number of the line within brackets ; and I cannot help thinking, that it makes very strongly for my suggestion of the original manuscript being northern, that the scribe has altered it to Midland, whenever he could do so without "mismetering"(1) his copy.

In addition to these northern rhymes which have been retained, I may add the following rhymes which are much improved by restoring, or—not to beg the question—by substituting northern forms :

son es	*for* son is [endles, 206]	
fles(2)	„ flesshe [forgyfnes, 237]	
haly(3)	„ hely [mercy, 474]	
blis(4) }	„ blesse }	618-19
his }	„ hesse }	

But strong as is the presumption in favour of a northern original from the use of northern orthography, the evidence of grammatical forms is still more important in a question of dialect ; and I venture to think that what we gather from an examination of text B in this point of view tells no less strongly in the same direction—most certainly the occasional use of "-en" at the termination of the plural of the present tense is no proof the original was Midland. The northern translator might have written "-en" sometimes(5) ; and the only question is, when the scribe has written so many "-en" s,(6) why he did not do his work more thoroughly, and should have left a single

(1) See quotation from Chaucer, *ante*, p. lv. The West Midland scribe of text E has had no scruple of this kind in altering the northern reading. He writes "is—lasse," 125 ; "gost—chas," 213 ; "londe—mayntenande," 361 ; "specially—holy," 371, and so forth.

(2) Note, p. 228.

(3) This, it will be observed, is an assonant rhyme, if we give *mercy* the French pronunciation, as it may have had like *prayere, grace, place, conscience*, and other words in our text, at least, so far as accent is concerned. Perhaps the alteration to *hely* may point to our modern pronunciation of *mercy*, when text B was written (in 1375).

(4) The Midland scribe distinguishes between the substantive *bliss* and the verb *bless*, as in modern English. To the north of Humber, *blis* did for both.

(5) Dr. Morris remarks on the conjugation of the present tense of the Northumbrian verb, "We have occasionally (thai) *loren* instead of (thai) *loves*."—*Pricke of Conscience*, Preface, p. xviii. There are examples in the northern MS. he prints.

(6) Sometimes to the injury of the metre. See *lyuen*, line 293, and note, p. 269.

northern "-es" to serve as mint mark; and the only explanation is that he wrote mechanically and sometimes copied what was before him, without being on the alert to correct the "other English" "of the Northern lede" as in other places, where it presented no difficulty, according to the Midland standard of spelling and pronunciation, with which he was familiar.

There is perhaps nothing distinctive in the use of the northern plural *brether* in a North-Midland MS., and the same remarks may perhaps apply to "-es" in the singular, as (*second person*) þou has, bids, sittes, is, es,(1) &c, and (*third person*) men(2) singes or sayes, standes, es, &c. But the "-es" in the plural stands on quite another footing. Dr Morris speaks of it as "a test by which Northumbrian may be distinguished from other dialects of the North of England."(3) When we come to apply this test to our text we find the tell-tale termination in the following places: *dos*, lines 16 and 44; *askes*, line 46; *heres*,(4) line 105; *has*, line 164, and *prayes*, line 420.(5)

(1) "is" and "es" in the second person occur in B only with the relative, or quasi-relative, als es, 125; þat is, 496.

(2) The indefinite "men" (see Glossary) is here followed by verbs which might be either singular or plural; but (line 167) the scribe has written in good Northern "men aght," which is unmistakably in the singular. The next time he comes upon the word (line 197) he writes "men oen" in the plural —not impossibly because his Midland proprieties may have been shocked by the uncouthness of what, if I am right in my suggestion above, he had written mechanically, and he had meantime bethought himself of the meaning of the phrase.

(3) *Pricke of Conscience*, Preface, p. xviii. I cannot lay my hand on the passage, but I well recollect that in some of Dr Morris' works I first met with the remark, which I took possession of at once, and have used as my touch-stone ever since, that plurals in -es, -en, and -eth, were respectively marks of Northern, Midland or Southern dialect. Mr. Oliphant (*Standard English*, p. 62) makes a remark to the same effect. He adds: "Another Shibboleth of English dialects is the Active Participle. In the north this ended in *ande*, the Norse form. In the Midland it became *ende*, the Old English form, though in Lincolnshire and East Anglia this was often supplanted by the Danish *ande*." It will be noticed that the participle in our text invariably ends in *-ande*, but this shibboleth will not help us in deciding between the northern dialect, and that of the border-land south of Humber.

In one instance the scribe has got rid of the northern participial ending, not so much apparently for dialectic reason as from having missed the meaning. See note on *passed* (B 112), p. 193.

(4) Note, p. 194.

(5) A northern reading in text F (p. 27, l. 119), which the scribe very probably retained only because he construed it wrong, adds one more to these examples of -es in the third person plural, viz. *lyves*, where our text B (line 293) reads *lyven*. See note, p. 269.

There is this to be remarked in reference to the escape of these northern plurals from the Midlandizing process, which gives us *saien* (line 63) and *heren* (line 173), that only *has* in line 164 and *prayes* in line 420 have a substantive in the plural immediately before them as their nominative. In other cases the nominative is a relative, as in lines 16 and 105; or it follows, as in line 44; or is at a distance of two lines, as before *askes* in line 46; and so may have thrown the scribe off his guard. In this last example it is not unlikely that he wrote the "dos" before it struck him that the nominative was plural, and then wrote "clerk" in the singular, by way of making it good Midland, and went on to write *hom* and *hor*, where he found *þam* and *þaire*, without observing that his Midland equivalents remained to bear witness to the alteration, and thus, at the end of five hundred years, have served as one of a number of proofs that, although a high authority did pronounce "*the poem never was northern*," the editor had sufficient grounds for suggesting that Dan Jeremy's treatise was originally translated into the northern dialect, the language, as it happens, of his own archdeaconry of Cleveland.

RITUAL REVISION OF TRANSLATION.

It would seem that our texts B and E in the main, and apart from dialectical alterations, reproduce the English version of the translator; and that he, for his part, if we may judge by his retaining the foreign ritual, appears, as already remarked, to have kept closely to his original without an attempt to adapt it to an English use. But for the Mass Book to serve the same purpose for Englishmen in general, as it did for the French speaking baronage and their retainers, when it was written, it had to be revised in reference to the Rouen use, and the changed conditions under which, as time went on, mass came to be celebrated—from a common service in which the people joined with the priest, standing when they were "bidden," and "answering on high" when it was their appointed part — to an exclusively clerical function by the priest and clerks, or by the priest alone, the people being supposed to remain on their knees, and to be engaged in private devotion.

In this point of view the changes in the rubrics, as to standing and answering, are something more than the regulation of an indifferent ceremony.(1) I must not discuss the question in this place, but will proceed to point out as briefly as I can, first, the alterations that were made, after the translation of Dan Jeremy's work, to adapt it to the existing practice(2) of ordinary English congregations; and then, some further changes when it was intended for the use of members of a monastic foundation.

The first alteration is made because by the Rouen rubric the priest was ready vested at the beginning of mass except his chasuble, and in England he vested at the altar. With the reference to the foreign use, the explanation of the mutual confession of priest and people is also struck out,(3) though the form was, as it is to this day, retained in the missal.

Instead of merely leaving out the lines that were inapplicable, text F provides a prayer (*lines* 16-38) "whilst the priest does on his vestments," using for that purpose a prayer that had been appointed to be said after the confession.

Text B (*line* 41) notes that whilst the people are kneeling at the confession, the priest stands, and (B 61, 83) directs the people to stand when he begins the office—the later texts omitting this direction —and they continue to stand till after the *Gloria in Excelsis* (B 150), when they kneel until the gospel,(4) during which they stand (B 153); and they are also directed to stand when saying the prayer at the offertory (B 214), and to continue standing whilst "the priest is washing" (B 261) and until he begins the *secreta*, when the people "kneel down" (B 281) and pray for the acceptance of the sacrifice

(1) See note, p. 257.

(2) The more definite character of the hymn at the elevation has been noticed, p. xxix.

(3) B 33-58. See the notes there, and on the other places in the B text that are referred to.

(4) The remarks before the direction to make the sign of the gospel (B 152-174) are left out in the later texts, either because a reference to what might have been a Rouen custom (*see* note, p. 210), which would have been natural in one, who, as Dan Jeremy, might have been used to the reading of the gospel in French, would have been out of place; or because, if retained, it might have seemed to countenance Lollard opinions as to the scripture in an unknown tongue, which may have already aroused jealousy, when the text was revised in the fourteenth century.

that has been offered. Then they stand up "as men them bid"(1) during the preface and *sanctus*, and at the beginning of the canon the layman is taught (B 328) to kneel down

"And that with good devotion."

At the elevation, text B (*line* 405) desires the layman still "kneeling, to hold up both his hands," the later texts (C 225, F 201) adding the "inclination of the body." The later texts also (C 243, F 220) insert a reference to the Anglican ceremony of the priest spreading his arms cross-wise at the oblation of the consecrated bread and wine.(2) These texts have no direction to stand, but in B, when the priest has said *Per omnia sæcula* aloud at the end of the canon, the layman (*line* 483) is counselled, rather than directed — "I would"—to stand upright, whilst answering *Sed libera nos a malo. Amen*, and whilst the priest is making the fraction.

He is to "stand still" (B 507) at the *Agnus Dei*, but to kneel (B 515) at the *Pax*, and until "the priest has rinsing done," and then (B 577) he is—

"Upon his feet to stand up soon,"

and after saying a prayer, corresponding to the postcommon of the priest, to "kneel down" (B 600) and continue saying paternosters till mass is done; and when it is done, still to say a prayer of thanksgiving, before "wending his way."

It will be noticed that except to introduce the "inclination of the body" at the elevation, there is no mention of the posture of the layman in the later texts; and if the reader will compare the places in the parallel texts where the original makes mention of standing, he will at once see, more readily than from any remarks without the texts before him, that the alterations were made of purpose aforethought, and so made, we must conclude, because kneeling throughout was already the approved practice.

The same may be said as to the change in answering aloud. In B 274 there is a plain direction to "answer the priest aloud;" and this is changed in the later texts (C 127, F 107) to a wish. ("I would") that a prayer should be used. There is indeed in the later

(1) B 303. See note, p. 270. (2) See note, p. 288.

texts (C 86, F 66) a previous direction to answer with good will, or with an alternative of "reading in a book." We find that the answering with good will, contemplated in these texts, might be made silently. It was to be "loud or still" (C 274, F 250): and this explanation is inserted at the answer in the Lord's Prayer after the canon, where the original text (B 490) gives the direction to answer, quite in an apologetic strain, because those who "know not this, are lewed men."

Text C was written, as we shall see, for the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx in the Archdeaconry of Cleveland towards the middle of the fifteenth century,(1) and some further changes were introduced into the later text to adapt it for monastic use. Many of the monks were in holy orders, and others knew Latin, hence (C 31) they are told, if they could, to translate the service book into English, as the preferable alternative to using Dan Jeremy's English devotions, as no doubt he would have himself thought.

In C 73 is a various reading which seems to have been due to the mass being said in a conventual church, which was not frequented by strangers.(2) In the other five MSS. the prayer is that the mass should be for the souls' health of all *who heard it*, here for "our soul-hele," that is, of all members of the order.(3)

Except that this text (C 351) supposes that the reader may minister as deacon at mass,(4) there is only one other ritual variation, but that is very significant of its conventual origin. In MSS. C, D, F, the priest is said to make an "end of his service" at the end of the mass: and in all four others, the worshipper wends his way home after his final prayer; but in C 346 we have "that service," of the

(1) *Post*, p. lxviii.

(2) This would apply to Cistercian churches in general, and not merely to Rievaulx on account of its solitary situation. It was forbidden to have a font or to baptize in a Cistercian church (Mart. I. 6). Women especially were excluded; and so rigidly, it would seem, as to require a papal dispensation for the relaxation of the rule. On the 2nd September, 1251, about a hundred years before this manuscript was written, Pope Innocent IV. allowed the Countess of Lincoln, "accompanied by three or five honest matrons to enter and hear service in the Cistercian monasteries in England."—Raine, *Archbishop Gray's Register*, S. S. p. 209.

(3) As to C 89-90, see note, p. 216; and as to "sugettes," C 188, see note, p. 278.

(4) Note, p. 310.

priest, for another is to follow, and in C 356 the monk is directed to remain "God to pay," by taking part in the service for the hour which followed without an interval.(1)

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The Mass Book has come down to us in three separate forms:—

I. As in texts B and E, which, as we have seen, keep closely to the original.

II. A, C, and D are in a revised form. The references to foreign ritual, and the translation of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer have been left out: and the rubrics have been modified, as has been already specified; as have also the additional alterations to adapt text C for use in a monastery.

III. Text F has been further adapted for English use by appointing a prayer to be said whilst the priest is vesting.

The manuscripts agree in speaking of the directions as rubrics, and the devotions as written in black letter, though as a matter of fact the rubrics are marked as such, only in texts B and F. They are written in the first person singular, and the reader is addressed as "Thou," except in an altered rubric in C (line 127), where the second person plural is substituted, evidently by a slip, which does not occur in other later manuscripts.

All the rubrics and the greater part of the devotions are written in rhyming couplets of four feet or accents,—some few of three only, and some three or four of the rhymes being only assonant.

The general confession is in the ordinary cowee, as the piece from the Vernon MS. in the Appendix, except that there we have the double cowee of twelve lines, instead of six, as here.(2) It will be seen that in text F an attempt has been made to change it into the more usual couplets, but with sorry success.

The creed is written in four-line staves with alternating rhymes. The first and third lines of four accents rhyme together, as do the second and fourth of two feet, or accents. In the prayer at the elevation in B and E, we have nine verses in an interwoven stave of one of the many arrangements of the rhyme, which were founded on

(1) Note, p. 312. (2) See as to this metre, note, p. 361.

Romance models, and are often to be met with in the English verse of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

MS. A.

Our MS. A is a fragment of 130 lines of the revised form of the Mass Book. Mr W. B. D. D. Turnbull, then an advocate at the Scotch bar,(1) well known for his antiquarian pursuits, and the founder and for many years the secretary of a kindred society, the Abbotsford Club, has already printed it under the title of "The Masse" with other pieces from the same MS.(2) This manuscript, he tells us in his introduction (p. vi), "is a small 4to volume of the 15th century, preserved in the Advocates' Library (Jac. v. 7. 27), consisting of 216 folios. It was from the same MS. that Mr. Weber printed the 'Huntyng of the Hare' in his collection of Metrical Romances."

The Reverend T. Milville Raven was good enough to give me a transcript for this edition, which had the advantage of being examined by Mr. Cosmo Innes.(3) I afterwards obtained copies of complete manuscripts, and consequently have not printed it at length, for it is both late and corrupt.

Text B.

This text is from the MS. in the King's Library, now in the British Museum, where it is catalogued as "Royal MS. 17 B. xvii." It is quoted by Mr. Maskell in his *Ancient English Liturgies* as the Museum manuscript.

The volume in which it is contained is described in Casley's *Catalogue of the MSS. of the King's Library*, 4to, London, p. 263,

(1) Some years later Mr Turnbull was called to the English bar, and edited *The Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland* for the Rolls Series in 1858. He was afterwards employed to calendar State Papers (Foreign Series) of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, but gave up his appointment, though the highest testimony was borne to the fairness and ability with which he had done his work, in consequence of exceptions that were taken against the employment of a man, who had become a Roman Catholic, in calendaring papers so much mixed up with the reformation. He died in 1863 in the fifty-second year of his age.

(2) *The Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations and other fragments of early poetry, hitherto unedited.* 8vo. Edinburgh, 1843. The impression was restricted to one hundred and five copies.

(3) Note, page 245(1).

but by a singular carelessness, this piece is not specified, though it stands first in the volume, the first entry being "1. *Speculum Utile istius Mundi*, An English Poem, XV." [century], which we may account for, by our text having no title prefixed to it, and by the above title appearing in the colophon of the piece that follows it.

The volume was bound after the catalogue was printed, as appears by the date on the cover, "G. II. R. 1757." It had at one time belonged to John, Lord Lumley,(1) and his autograph, "Lumley," is on a blank leaf (*fol.* 1), but there is no other remaining clue to what might have been the history of the book.

There are nine other pieces; one of them, the last in the volume, seems to have been written by the same scribe, and in this there does not appear to be any trace of a northern dialect, which I mention, as a proof, if proof were wanting, that the northernisms in that text were not due to the scribe.(2)

The MS. is on vellum $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is very neatly written. Date about 1375.

The rubrics are in a smaller character than the "black letter," but are not written in red, being only underlined in red throughout, except lines 520—523, 536—539, and 546—549, which are properly rubrics, and are so written in text F, but in this MS. are left unmarked.

The rubrics are further distinguished from the devotions by the initials being only two-line letters, except the capital thorn letter at the beginning; whereas the initials in the black letter devotions are all three-line, except the I (line 205) and two or three others as shown in the print.(3)

(1) His library was "noted for a choice collection of books" (Surtees' *Durham*, II. 159). He succeeded his grandfather John Lord Lumley in his estates, but not in his title, his father Sir George Lumley having been attainted and executed at Tyburn in 1537 for his share in Aske's rising. He was restored to the peerage in the first year of Edward VI; made a Knight of the Bath in the first year of Philip and Mary, and High Steward of the University of Oxford in 1558. He was himself a Cambridge man, and gave presents of books to both universities. He died in 1609 without issue, leaving his estates to his kinsman Richard Lumley, ancestor of the present Earl of Scarborough.

(2) *Ante*, page lvii—lxi.

(3) The number of lines for the size of the "great" letters was a matter of express stipulation. See note (3), page 401.

The MS. was copied for the Society by Mr E. Brock, and the proof-sheets were collated with it by the editor, who, in any doubtful case, had the advantage of the opinions of Mr Thompson, now Keeper of the Manuscripts.

Text C.

This text is the last but one of sixteen pieces in a vellum MS. now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (C. C. C. MS. 155). It was written for the Cistercian Abbey of Rieval or Rievaulx, in the valley of the Rye, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and is inscribed both at the beginning and the end as follows: "Liber beate Marie de Rieualle ex procuracione domini Willelmi Spenser, Abbatis eiusdem."

This inscription, taken in connection with the omission of the prayer for the queen, shows that the manuscript was written, probably in the scriptorium of the abbey, when it was added to the library—one of those rich monastic libraries of which there remains a catalogue, and that of the previous century, to prove how much has been lost.(1)

In line 183 the king and the lords of the land are prayed for; and as all the other manuscripts insert a prayer for the queen in this place, we can have no hesitation in explaining the omission by the fact of there being neither a queen consort nor a queen dowager at the time when the MS. was written. There was an interval of more than seven years, during the minority of Henry VI. and until his marriage with Margaret of Anjou in 1445, when there was no queen, Joan of Navarre, widow of Henry IV, having died in 1437, and his own mother, if she were still prayed for as queen after the exposure of her marriage with Owen Tudor, having died six months before her.

I have not succeeded in my search for the date of Abbot William Spenser's appointment. His predecessor was Henry Burton, a monk of Salley, who was confirmed on the 18th November, 1423; and he was succeeded by John Inkelay. His "free and voluntary resignation" is dated the 4th April, 1449,—Inkelay subscribing his "obedience" to the Archbishop of York on the 8th of the same month,(2)

(1) This is preserved in a 14th-century MS. in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge. N. B. 17, pp. 180—189. "Hi sunt libri sancte Marie Rievallensis." It is printed in Edward's *Memoirs of Libraries*, I. 333.

(2) Archbishop Kempe's *Register*, fol. 420*b*.

—so that he may very well have been abbot during the time there was no queen to be prayed for.

The ritual changes that were made in this manuscript to adapt it for use in the monastery have been pointed out.(1) In respect to the dialect, as might have been expected in a Yorkshire Abbey, it is unquestionably northern as to the verbal and participial endings, though there are many indications of the change that was taking place in northern literary English by the adoption of southern forms. For example, though we have *at* (C 278), the preposition *to*(2) sometimes replaces *till*, *fro* is used as well as *fra*, *gode* and *gude*; *boke* and *buke*, *oon* and *noon*(3) as well as *a*, *ane*, and *nane*; *so* and *also*, with *swa* and *alswa*. *Sere* is retained for the rhyme, though *many* replaces it in the middle of the line, as *ever* does *ay*, but both words were perhaps becoming obsolete.

Mr George Parker of the Bodleian copied this text from the manuscript and also collated the proofs with it.

MS. D.

This MS, Gg. 5. 31, No. 1 of the University Library, Cambridge, is a 4to. on parchment, and the handwriting is said to be of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. It is of the revised form and generally agrees with our text C, except in respect to what I have described as the monastic modifications, but the dialect is a purer northern, or rather, not modernized as that is, though written more than fifty years later.(4)

Text E.

This text is copied from a MS. which is one of several on paper and parchment that are bound up in a folio volume in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and catalogued MS. 84(2). This is on paper, pages 173—179 of the volume, two columns on a page, badly written in a hand of the middle of the fifteenth century; and that it is so, is confirmed by an entry (page 195 of the volume) in a

(1) *Ante*, p. lxiii.

(2) The scribe overdoes his adaptation by writing *to* (C 91) for *till* or *until*.

(3) Note, p. 400.

(4) In places it preserves the true reading, where it has been changed in text B. See note (2), page 53.

calendar in the same handwriting: "This Kalender hath his begynnyng in the yere of oure Lorde *Jhesu* a Mill cccc · xl. and iij."(1)

This MS. contains the same matter as text B, but is derived from an independent transcript of the original; and in some cases preserves evidence of the original reading where it has been lost in B. The dialect is West Midland of a very broad type.

The scribe has made many mistakes, some of which are pointed out in the notes, from ignorance of northern or archaic forms. He has also made the most unaccountable transpositions,—not at the beginning of a page, for there are catch-words throughout—and apparently without any suspicion on his part that they are utterly destructive of the sense. For the sake of comparison I have arranged the text according to the proper order as in B, but it is written as follows, the references being to the corresponding lines in B as numbered in the print. 1—4, 39—48, 5—38, 49—260, 336—397, 261—337, 398—621, and this is followed by the last line (E 615, as printed), which is not found in text B.

Text F.

This text is from a manuscript the property of Mr. Henry Yates Thompson of Thingwall, Liverpool, Vice-President of the Holbein Society, and was copied by Professor Skeat. He not only placed his transcript at my disposal, as I have already mentioned in the preface, but also corrected the proof of the text. He informs me that it is written on eleven blank pages at the end of the MS. of *Piers Plowman*, which he has collated for the text B of his edition. He considers that the *Piers Plowman* was written early in the fifteenth century, and the *Mass Poem* in a later hand of about the year 1450.(2) The rubrics are written in red, and it is the only one of our texts which has them complete.

It is of the later revised form, but differs from the other copies by transferring the prayer (F 15—38) which in them occurs after the

(1) For this information I am indebted to the Revd Dennis Hall, of the University Library, who procured the transcript for the Society and collated the proof with the manuscript.

(2) See also his description of the manuscript. *Piers the Plowman*, Text B, p. xiv.

mutual confession of priest and people to the beginning, in order to be used whilst the priest is vesting.(1) It also, to the damage of the meaning, trans-metres the confession (F 43—60) from *versus caudati*, or cowee to rhyming couplets.

The scribe was West-Midland, and uses Southern forms to a very great extent, though it is not difficult to read the northern original between the lines ; and like the scribe in B, he often leaves it unmutilated for the rhyme.(2) He uses *fyndest, ert* (2 sing.), *maketh, doth on* (3 sing.), *hereth, lasteth, beth* (3 plur.), and so forth.

Sometimes he is tolerably successful in his attempt to get rid of unwelcome rhymes :

> "And gif thame grace to laste and lende
> In þy servyce to þere *last* ende."—C 206-7.
>
> "Grace euere-lasting thu ham sende
> In thi seruice to here laste ende."—F 183-4.
>
> "Fra alle pyne and fra alle kare
> Into þe joye þat lastes eueremare."—C 267-8.
>
> "Fram alle paynes to heuuene blis,
> With angeles to dwelle euere endeles."—F 245-6.

but for the most part he alters very much for the worse.

The following are some of the northern or archaic words which the scribe has got rid of ; *kyd, lende, loute, mot, þir, wissed.* He changes the following words :

folk	*to*	pepil	pyne	*to*	payne
gude	„	welfare	sere	„	many
hele	„	helthe	sirly	„	diversli
hethen	„	hennes	sib men	„	kinnes men
ilk	„	eche	skille	„	resoun
kirk	„	chirche	swilke	„	sucche
lese	„	loose			

He is not, however, equally successful in every instance. He renders *halowes here* (*army of saints*) by *halwes dere ; sere* by *i-fere* in one place (F 236) ; and he has entirely missed the meaning of *fremd*, a word still in every-day use here in the north, and, instead of it, writes *frend.*

(1) See Note, p. lxii. (2) *Ante*, p. lviii.

The Lay-Folks Mass-Book.

FOUR TEXTS.

B. British Museum—Royal MS. 17 B. *xvii.*

C (Rievaulx). Corpus Christi College, Oxford—MS. 155.

E. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge—MS. 84 (2).

F. MS. in Library of Henry Yates Thompson, Esq.

WITH VARIOUS READINGS FROM

A. MS. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh—19, 3, 1. Art. 7.

D. MS. University Library, Cambridge—Gg. 5. 31. No. 1.

The Lay-Folks Mass-Book,

TEXT B.
[fol. 3]

Of things on earth, the mass is of most worth;

Þo worthyest þing, most of godnesse,
In al þis world, [*hit*] is þo messe.
In alle þo bokes of holy kyrc,
þate holy men, þat tyme, con wyrc,
þo m[*esse is p*]raysed mony-folde;
þo [*vertus mi*]ght neuer be [*t*]olde,
for if [*thousand*] clerkes d[*id nogh*]t ellis,
After þat [*þo boke*] tellis,
bot tolde [*þo vertus of*] messe syngynge,
and þo [*profet of m*]esse herynge,

its praises have been told in church books at all times,

but authors, however learned, could not tell the fifth part of them,

ȝit shuld þa[*i never þo*] fift parte
for al þaire wit & alle þaire arte,
telle þo vertu [*me*]des & pardoun
to hom þat [*with devocyo*]un

TEXT C.
[fol. 250 *b*.]

(Incip. Præmia Missæ.)

THe worthyest thynge, þe maste of gudnes,
In alle þe werlde, þan is the mes.
In alle þe bokes of haly kyrke,
þat haly men, þat tyme, gone wyrke,
þe messe is praysed many falde;
þe vertues may neuere be talde;
For if a M[l] clerkes did noght els,
After þat þe boke tels,
Bot talde þe vertus of messe singynge,
And þe profet of the messe herynge,
ȝitte soulde thay neuere fifte parte
For alle þere crafte *and* þere arte,
Telle þe vertus, medes, [*and*] pardone
To þame þat with deuocyon

or Manner of Hearing Mass.

TEXT E.

A Worthy þyng, moste of godnesse,
In aH þe world, hit is þe messe.
In al bokus of holy kyrke,
þat holy tyme men com wyrke
þe messe is preysud mony-folde ; [page 173]
þe vertuus may neuer be tolde.
þaf a M^le^ clerkus dyd noght ellus,
But after as þis boke tellus,
But told þe vertuus of messyngynge,
And þe profettus of messe herynge,
ȝyt schuld þei neuer telle þe fyfte parte,
ffor aH hore wytte and aH artte
Telle þe vertuus medus *and* pardon
To hom þat han deuocion

TEXT F.

Adapted to the practice of smaller churches and chapels in England, where the priest vested before the people.

m an or woman þat wol lere,
A masse deuou[t]ly for to here,
Gode entent þou ȝeue þereto,
And as þis boke techeth, so þow do,
For hit is wretyn what þou schalt say,
Whane þow schalt rest, whane þou schalt pray
Bothe for þe quyke and for þe dede ;
As þow fyndest wryte, so make thy bede.
Whiles the prest maketh hym boune,
Vpon thi knees sette the doune ;
And hew vp thyn herte wyt gode entente,
The whiles he doth on his westemente,
To god thu pray on þis manere,
As next thu fyndest wrytyn here.

A prayer whilst the priest is vesting ;

Now lord god, for thi godenesse,
At the begynnynge of this messe,
Thou graunte to alle that hit schal here,

TEXT B.

where men of a clear conscience are minded to reverence it aright.

In clennes [*and in gode ent*]ent
dos worship [*to*] þis sac*ra*ment. 16
In boke fynde I [*wryten*] of ane,
dam Ieremy was his name,(1)
a deuoute mon & a religyus,
In his boke he spekis þus; 20

Dan Jeremy gives weighty examples against talking at mass,

he saies, þou shulde gode tent take,
þat þou at þo messe no ianglyng make;
grett sau*m*pel he settis þer-to,
whi hit is ful ille to do; 24

and directions for hearing it, whether sung or said,

als-so he telles þo manere,
how þou shulde þi messe here.
when þo p*re*ste saies he, or if he singe,
to hi*m* þou gyue gode herknynge; 28
when þo p*re*ste p*ra*ies i*n* p*ri*uete,
tyme of p*ra*yere is þen to þe.

TEXT C.

In clennes and gode entente
Dos worschyp to *þat* sac*ra*mente. 16
[fol. 251] In boke fynde I writen of ane,
Saynte Ierome was his name,(1)
A deuoute man *and* religyous,
In his buke he spekes thus: 20
He says þou soulde gude entent take
þat þou at þe mes na Iangelynge make;
Grete ensaumple he sett*es* þ*er*e-to
Why it is fulle ylle to do; 24
Als swa he telles how
þou soulde þe mes *þat* þou heris now.
¶ When the priest sayes, or if he synge,
To hym þou gif gude herkenynge. 28
When the prieste prayes in p*ri*uate,
Tyme of prayere than is to þe.

(1) In a boke fynd I of a man
þat Jeremye was his name.—A.
In bukes fynd I of ane
Sayne Jerome was hys name.—D.

TEXT E.

In clannes *and in* gud entent
Dos worschyp to þe Sac*ra*ment.
In a boke fynde I of on,
Dane Ieremi was his nome,(1)
A deuowte mon *and* religyus,
In hys boke he tellus þus:
þ*at* þou schalt gud tent take,
At þe messe no yangully*ng* make.
Grete sampul he sett*us* þ*er* to,
Why h*it* is ful hely to do:
Also he tellus þo manere
How þ*o*u schalt þo messe here.
When þe preyst says, or yf he syng,
To hy*m* þ*o*u gyf gud herkenyng:
When he pr*e*yus in pr*i*uyte,
Tyme of pr*e*ying is þen to þe.

TEXT F.

That in concience thei may be clere;
Lord, thu saue the prest, þat hit schal say,
Fram gret temptacioun this ilke day,
That he be clene in dede and thought,
That yuel spirit noy him nought
To fulfylle this sacrament
With clene herte and gode entent;
First princypaly to thyn honour*e*,
That souereyn ert and socour*e*,
And to thy modere, maiden clene,
And to thyne seyntes alle bi-dene,
And all*e* that hit hereth to here soules helthe,
Thu help hem with thi grace and thi welthe,
And all*e* that we haue in mynde,
Sib or any frend bi any kynde;
And, lorde, graunt ham for this messe,
Of all*e* hare synnes forgifnesse,
And rest and pes that lasteth ay,
To cristene soules that beth passyd away;
And bryng us to ioie with-outen ende
And to us all*e* thi socour*e* sende. Amen.

which in the other forms is appointed to be said at the Office.

TEXT B.

when I vp-on þo boke know hit, [fol. 3 b.]
which I English. In-til englishe þus I draw hit. 32
when þo aut*er* is al dight,
The priest fully vested, except the chasuble, takes it from off the altar. & þo p*re*ste is reuysht right,
þen [*he*] takes i*n* bothe his hende
a clothe o-pon þo aut*er* ende, 36
and comes obac a litel doune,
dos hit o-pon hi*m* al a-boune.
alle me*n* knelen, bot he stondes,
and haldes to god vp bothe his hondes; 40
He stands to make his confession to the people, þere, or he þo messe bi-gynne,
wil he meke hi*m* for his synne;
til alle þo folk he shryues hi*m* þare
of alle his synnes lesse & mare: 44
and the clerks confess to him. so dos þo clerk a-gayn to hi*m*
shryue*n* ho*m* þere of al hor sy*n*n,
and askes god forgyuenes,
or þai bigy*n*ne to here þo mes. 48
He pronounces absolution to literate and lay, who are willing to confess, þo p*re*ste assoyles ho*m* þe*r*e belyue,
lered & lewed þ*a*t wil ho*m* shryue,
& knowe to god þ*a*t þai are ille,
whe*þer* hit be i*n* loude or stille. 52
þ*er*fore knelande on þi knese,
als þou bisyde þe o*þer* sese,
wherefore do thou confess thy sins; and that thou mayest receive the benefit, add a Hail-mary to Pater-noster, shryue þe þ*er*e of alle þi sy*n*nes,
bigy*n*nande þus when he bigy*n*nes, 56
als next binethe þis robrik standes,
and þ*er*-w*ith* ioyntly hold þi handes;
and þ*a*t hit so may be
eke to pater and* aue, 60

TEXT C.

If þou apon the boke kan knawe it,
Readers who may be able to construe Latin may translate for themselves. Into Inglische þou drawe it. 32
¶ When þe priest hym revistis, *and* þe messe bigynnes,
And mekes hym to god for his synnes,(1)

[* *read* an]

TEXT E.

When he oponowt þe boke me kneu hyt
In to englys he turneth hyt.
When þe awter is aH dyght,
And þe prest is re-wesshut ryght,
þen he takus *in* bothe is hond*us*
A chesepuH clothn on þe awt*er* hong*us*,
And komus a lytul downe,
And dows hyt al a-poune.
AH men knelun, bot he stondus [page 178]
And holdyt vp bothn hys hondus:
þer, or he þe messe be-gynnus,
Wel he makunhyt hy*m* of aH hys synnus;
To aH þe folke he schryues hy*m* ȝare
Of aH hys sy*nnus* lesse *and* mare.
So dos þe clerke a-ȝeyn to hym
Schryuet hy*m* þere of aH hys syn,
And askut god for-ȝyfnes,
Or þey be-gy*nn*e to here þo messe.
þe prest asoyl*us* hem þer blyue,
lerud *and* lewd þat wyl he*m* schryue
And know to god, þat harowd helle,
Whe*þur* h*i*t be lowde or stylle.
þer fore kneland on þi kneus,
As þou be-syde o*þer* seus,
Schryue þe þer of aH þi synn*us*,
By-gynnand þus as þou bygynn*us*,
As nexte þis rubrycn stond*us*
And þer wyht iountly hald þi hond*us*;
And, þat h*i*t so may be,
Eke þerto say pat*er* nost*er and* aue,

TEXT F.

Whanne the prest is reuest and begynnes,
Whan he marketh him for his synnes,(1)

(1) When þo prest revest*is* hy*m* mass to be-gyn and mek*is* hym to God for his syn.—A.
When *the* prest revest mess by-gynnys and mekes hym to god for hys synnes.—D.

TEXT B. and also a Creed.

and, or þou ryse, þou saie þi crede, [fol. 47
al þo bette*r* may þou spede.
many saien confiteor (1);
were als gode saie þis *þer*-for. 64

A general confession in English to God, the Blessed Virgin, the whole host of saints, and the priest.

I know [*to Go*]d, ful of myght,
& [*to his*] modir mayden bright,
& [*to alle h*]alouse here,
& [*to þe, fa*]dre gastly, 68
þat I [*have s*]ynned largely.
In mony synnes sere:
In thoght, *in* speche, & *in* delite,
In worde, & werk I am to wite 72
and worth to blame;

Pray for the prayers of St Mary and all saints, and the priest,

þer-fore I *prai*e saynt mary
and alle halouse haly,
In gods name, 76
and þo *pre*ste to pr*aye* for me,

TEXT C.

þan say þou w*ith* hym þy Confiteor,
Or elles on ynglische þus *þer*-fore. 36
I knawe to god fulle of myght,
And to his moder, mayden bryght,
And to alle halowes here,
And to þe, fader gastly, 40
þat I haue synned largely
[fol. 251 *b*.] In many synnes sere.
In thoghte, in speche, *and* in delyte,
In worde, in werke, I am to wyte 44
And worthy forto blame.
þerfore I praye the, marye,
And thy halowes haly,
In goddes haly name, 48
And þe priest to praye for me,

(1) MS. corfiteor.

TEXT E.

And or we say þe crede,
Al þe bett*ur* we may spede.
Mony sayn *confiteor*,
Were als gud say þis *þer*-for:
I know to god ful of myght,
And to hys mod*ur*, mary mayd bryght,
And to all here,
And to þe fad*ur* gostely,
I haue syn*n*ud largely,
In mony syn*n*u*s* sere,
In þowthg, *in* speche, *and in* delyte,
In word, *in* werke, I am to wyte,
And worthy for to blame.
*þer*for I pray sent Mari
And all þe halows holly,
here *in* godd*us* name,
And þe prest to pray for me,

Thanne say thu with him confiteor,(2) TEXT F.
Or in englische thus therfore.

I know to god ful of myght,
And to his moder, mayde bright,
And to alle his halwes dere,
In many synnes of diuerse manere,
And to the, fader gostely,
That I haw synned largely.
In thought, in speche, in delite,
In worde, in werke, I am to wite,(3)
And worthi I am to blame,
For falsly I haw take goddys name.
There-fore I pray seynte mari
And alle halwes specialy,
And the preste [*to*] pray for me,

(2) MS. confiteore. (3) MS. witte.

TEXT B.

that Christ, in that He has taken our nature, would pity and forgive.

þat god haue merci & pyte,
for his manhede,
of my wreched synfulnes,
& gyue me grace & forgyuenes
of my mys-dede. Pater. aue. credo.

After confession the people stand and the priest finds his places and begins the Office.

When þou þi crede þus has done,
vp-on þi fete þou stande vp sone,
for bi þis tyme, als I gesse,
þo prest bigynnes office of messe;
or ellis he standes turnande his boke
at þo south auter noke.
euen þen so stondande,
wolde I þat þou were þis sayande.

[fol. 4 b.] A prayer to be said, still standing, that all present may be well prepared, and that the priest be kept this day

God, for þi godnes,
at þo bigynnyng of þis mes,
graunt alle, þate hit shal here,
of conscience be clene & clere;
lord, saue þo prest þat hit shal say
fro temptacions to day,

TEXT C.

þat god haue mercy and pite
for his grete mede
Of my wricchyd synfulnes,
And gif me grace of forgifnes
Of my mysdede. Amen.
¶ When þou þere þy confiteor has done,
Say a pater-noster *and* an Aue fast þereon:
þan with-owten any tariynge
On þis wise be saiynge:
¶ God, for þi gudnes,
At the beginnynge of þis mes,
Graunte alle þat it salle here
Of þere synnes þat þay be clere;
Lorde, saue the priest, þat it salle saye,
Fra temptacyon þis ilke daye,

þat god haue mercy *and* pete, TEXT E.
ffor his mon̄-hedde,
Of my wrecched synfulnes,
And gyf me grace of for-ȝyfnes
Of aH my mysdede. pat*er* noste*r* Aue *and* Crede
When̄ þou þ*us* þi crede has done,
Vp-on̄ þi fete stond vp sone,
ffor be this tyme, as I gesse, [page 174]
þe preyst begynn*us* þe offys of þe messe,
Or ell*us* he stond*us* t*ur*nand his boke
At þe sowt awter noke.
Anon̄ so stondande,
Wold I þat þu were seyande:
Lord, for þi godnesse,
Let hy*m* bygynne þo offesse of þe messe.
Grawnt aH þ*at* h*it* schaH here,
Of conciens gud *and* clere.
Lord saue þe preyst þ*at* h*it* schaH say
ffro aH temtacion̄ to day,

That god haw merci and pitte TEXT F.
Of mi mysdede þat mochel is,
For his manhode and his godnys,
And of me wreche that synful is,
And ȝew me grace of for-ȝeuenys.

The prayer, in F. 15—38, *is here again inserted for comparison.*

[Now lord god, for thi godenesse,
At the begynnynge of this messe,
Thou graunte to alle that hit schal here,
That in concience thei may be clere;
Lord, thu saue the prest, þat hit schal say,
Fram gret temptacioun this ilke day,

TEXT B.

without sin,

and complete the mass to the honour of Christ, His mother, and all saints;

the souls' health of the hearers and their friends;

everlasting rest to the dead,

and glory everlasting to all.

þat he be clene *in* dede & þoght,
þat yuel spiritis noy hi*m* noght,
þat he fulfille þis sac*ra*ment
with clene he*r*t & gode entent,
first heghly to þin honoure,
þat souerayne is of al socoure;
& to þi modir, mayden clene,
& to þi halouse alle bi-dene;
& to alle þat heres hit, soul hele,
helpe & grace & al kyns wele;
and to alle þate we haue *in* mynde,
sib [*or fre*]mde bi ony kynde,
go[*d lo*]rd *gra*unt ho*m* for þis messe
of alle hore synnes forgyfnesse;
And rest & pese þat lastis ay
to *c*risten soules passed away;
and til vs alle þi socoure sende,
& bring vs to ioy *with*-oute*n* ende. Amen.

TEXT C.

[fol. 252]

þat he be clene of wille *and* thoght,
þat þe ille wild spirite noy hym noght,
þat he fulfille this sacramente
With clene herte *and* gude entent;
Firste hyghly to þe hono*ur*,
þat suffrayne is of alle soco*ur*,
And to þe, moder, mayden clene,
And to thy halowes alle be-dene,
þat this mes be tille *our*e sawlle hele,
Helpe *and* *gra*ce in allekyns wele;
and to alle þat we have in mynde,
Syb and fremd be any kynde,
Gode lorde, grau*n*te for this mes
Of þ*er*e synnes forgifnes,
And reste and pes þat lastes aye
To cristenyd sawlles passyd awaye;
And to vs alle thy soco*ur* sende
And brynge vs alle to þy ioy *with*-outen ende. Amen.

TEXT E.

þat he be clene *in* dede *and* þowght,
þat hille spirit*us* nye hy*m* noght,
þat he fulfylle þe sac*ra*mente
Wyt clene hert *and* gud entente,
ffurst heley to godd*us* honowre,
þat sufren) art of aH socowre,
And to þi mod*ur*, maydon) clene,
And to þi halows aH by-dene;
And to aH þat herun) hit sowle hele,
Helpe, *and* grace of aH kynn*us* wele;
And to aH þat we haue *in* mynde,
Syb or fremde or any kynde,
God grawnt hom) for þis messe
Of aH hor synn*us* for-3yfnesse;
And reste *and* pes þat last-het ay
To cryston) sowl*us* passe *and* way;
And to vs aH þi socur sende,
And brynge vs aH to gud ende.

TEXT F.

That he be clene in dede and thought,
That yuel spirit noy him nought
To fulfylle this sacrament
With clene herte and gode entent;
First princypaly to thyn honoure,
That souereyn ert and socoure,
And to thy modere, maiden clene,
And to thyne seyntes alle bi-dene,
And alle that hit hereth to here soules helthe,
Thu help hem with thi grace and thi welthe,
And alle that we haue in mynde,
Sib or any frend bi any kynde;
And, lorde, graunt ham for this messe,
Of alle hare synnes forgifnesse,
And rest and pes that lasteth ay,
To cristene soules that beth passyd away;
And bryng us to ioie with-outen ende
And to us alle thi socoure sende. Amen.]

TEXT B.

On high days, when the Angels' song is appointed,

On hegh festis, or on haly dayes,
when-so men outher synges or sayes
gloria *in* excelsis *in* hor mes,
saie þou þen als here wryten es.

do thou say it as here written, with a farce in English.

Ioy be vnto god *in* heuen,
with alkyns myrthe, *þat* men may neuen;
and pese *in* erthe, alle men vntille,
[fol. 5] *þat* rightwis are, & of gode wille.
we loue þe, lord god almyghty,
and als we blesse þe bisyly,
we worsh[*ip* þe], als worthi es,
& makes [*ioy to*] þe more & les;
we than[*k* þe *go*]d of al þi *grace*,
for þo g[*rete ioy*] *þat* þou hase,
oure lord, [*oure*] god, oure king heuenly,
oure god, oure fadir almyghty.
oure lord, þo son of god of heuen,
Ihesu crist, comly to neuen,
oure lord, lamb of god, name we þe,
& son of god, þi fadir fre.
þou *þat* wostis þo worlds synne,
haue mercie on vs, more & mynne;
þou *þat* wostis þo worlds wrake,
oure praiere *in* þis tyme þou take;
þou *þat* sittes on þi fadir right hande,
with merci help vs here lyuande,
for þou art holly, made of none,
bot of þi selue, & lord alone.
þou art þo heghest, of wisdam most,
Ihesu crist *with* þo holy gost,
wonand *with* þo fadre of heuen,
In more ioy þen mon may neuen;
vnto *þat* ioy, ihesu, vs ken
thorght prayere of þi modre, amen.

TEXT C.

If literate,

¶ If þou of letter kan,
To þe priest herken þan

On Sunday or on holi dayus, TEXT E.
Whe*þur*-so men syngus or sayus,
Glo*ria in* excels*is in* hor messe,
Say þou þen as here wryton is:
Ioy be on-to God in hewon,
Wyt all kynnus myrthe, þat mon may newon
And pees *in* herthe all men to tell
[*A line left out in MS.*]
We loue þe, lorde all-my3thy,
And also we blessun þe bysyly;
We Worschyp þe, as worthy is,
And makun to þe joy more *and* lasse;
We þonkun þe, lord, of all þi *gra*ce
ffor þe grete joy þat þou hase,
Howre lord owre god kyng lelly,
Owre god, owre almy3thy,
Owre lord of hewon,
Ihesu *cri*ste, comely to newn,
Owre lord, lombe of god, neme we þe,
And sun of god, þ[*i*] fad*ur* fre.
þou þat wast*us* þe wordus synne,
Haue mercy on vs, more *and* mynne;
þou þat wast*us* þo wordus wrake
Owre preyer *in* þis þou take;
þou þat sytt*us* on þi fad*ur* ryght hande,
W*ith* þi m*er*cy help*us* here lyuande,
ffor þou art holy, made of name,
But of þi self, lord al onne.
þou art he of wysd*am* moste,
Ihesu *cri*ste wyt holy goste,
Wonnying w*ith* þe fad*ur* of heun,
In more joy þen mon may neun.
Wnto þat joy, ihesu, vs kenne
Wyt þe preyere of mod*ur*, amen.

Whanne confiteor thus is done, TEXT F.
Pater-noster folweth sone.
To the prest herkyn than,
3efe thu ought of the lettre can,

TEXT B.

Then kneel and say pater-nosters [fol. 5 b.] all through the collects and epistle.

And when þou has þis al done,
knele doun on þi knese sone;
If þai singe messe, or if þai saie,
þi pat*er*-nost*er* reherce al-waie,
til deken or pr*e*st þo gospel rede.
stonde vp þen & take gode hede;

The priest moves the book to the north end of the altar; he makes crosses, as directed in the rubric.

for þen þo pr*e*st flyttes his boke
north to þat oþ*er* aut*er* noke,
And makes a cros vpon þo letter
w*ith* his thoume, he spedes þo bette[*r*],
and sithen an oþ*er* open his face;

He has need of grace in reading God's word; and

for he has mikel nede of grace,
for þen an erthly mo*n* shal neuen
þo wordes of ihesu c*r*ist, gods son of heuen.

both readers and hearers need teaching,

bothe þo reders & þo herers
has mykil nede, me þenk, of lerers,
how þai shulde rede, & þai shulde here
þo wordes of god, so leue & dere
Men aght to haue ful mikel drede,
when þai shuld here or els hit rede;
and loue als-so vnto þ*at* swete
þ*at* w*ith* þoo wordes oure bale wold bete

but our present concern is hearing,

bot syn oure matir is of hering
þ*er*-of newe shal be oure lering.
Clerkes heren on a manere,
bot lewed me*n* bos anoþ*er* lere.

TEXT C.

then make the responses, or read the Latin:

Hys office, pr*a*yere, *and* pistille,
And answere þ*er*e-to w*ith* gude wille,
Or on a boke þy-selfe it rede.
I wate þ*er*fore nane vnspede (1)
If þ*o*u kan noghte rede ne saye·
þy pat*er*-nost*er* rehers alwaye
To Dekyn or pr*e*ste þe gospelle salle rede
þ*er*e-tille þ*o*u take righte gude hede;

if not, say pater-noster; thy want of learning will not hinder thy prayer.

[fol. 252 b.]

(1) I wat *th*ar-off na noy*e* bede.—D.

TEXT E.

And when þou hast aⱡ done,
Knele downe on þi kneus sone;
If þay synge, or þay say,
þi pater noster rehers alway.
When þo decun or þe prest þo gospel rede,
Stonde vp þen, *and* take gud hede,
ffor þen flyttu is his boke
Northe to þe awter noke,
And makud a ✠ on þe letter
With his þowmb he speduⱡ þe bettur,
And secⱡ a noþur on his face,
ffor he hase nede of goddus grace,
ffor þen a hertly mon schal neun
þe blessud wordus of Ihesu of heun.
Botⱡ herersse *and* redersse
haue muche nede of lerersse,
how þay schul rede *and* here
þo wordus of goddus lawus dere.
Men auhȝt to haue mycul drede,
When þay schul hit here or hit rede,
And lowe to þat suete,
þat with þe wordus owre bale wolde bete.
But sethun owre mater his vp hereyng
þer-of schal be owre leryng.
Clercus herun on o manere,
But lewed men be-howus anoþer to lere.

[page 175]

TEXT F.

The office, the orison, and the pistil,
And answere him wel with gode wil,
Or on the bok thi-self hit rede,(2)
There-to take thu wel gode hede.
ȝef thu can noght rede, ne say,
Thi pater-noster reherse alway,
Til the decon or þe prest the gospel rede,
There-to thu take wel gode hede;

(2) MS. redde.

TEXT B.

Sign thyself with a cross, and standing up,

At þo bigy*nn*yng tent þou take,
a large cros on þe þou make,
stonde & saye on þis manere,
als þou may se wryten here.

pray in the name of the Trinity in Unity, that thou mayest gladly receive God's word.

In þo name of fadre, & son, & þo holi gost,
a sothfast god of mightes most;
Bi* gods worde welcome to me; [* MS. bi; *read* be]
Ioy & louyng, lord, be to þe.

At the Gospel meditate on thy Redeemer, and

Whils hit is red, speke þou noght,
bot þenk on hi*m* þ*at* dere þe boght,
sayande þus i*n* þi mynde,
als þou shalt aft*er* wryten fynde.

pray for His grace and strength to do His will.

Ihes*u*, myne, gr*a*unt me þi gr*a*ce,
and of amendme*n*t might & space,
þi word to kepe & do þi wille,

[fol. 6]

þo gode to chese & leeue þo ille,
and þ*at* hit so may be,
Gode ihes*u*, gr*a*unt hit me. Amen.

Repeat this to thyself, and at end of the gospel make a cross and kiss it.

Reherce þis oft i*n* þi þoght,
to þo gosple be don for-gete hit noght;
Som-where bisyde, when hit is done,
þou make a cros, and kys hit sone.

When the mass-creed is said, say the Apostles' creed in English, but not else.

Men oen to saie þo crede som tyme,
when þai saie hore, loke þou saie þine;
þis þ*at* folouse i*n* englishe lett*er*,
I wold þou sayde hit for þo bett*er*.
bot þai say hore, say þou non ellis,
bot do forthe aft*er*, als þis boke tellis.

TEXT C.

At the biginny*n*ge tente þou take
A large crosse on þe þ*o*u make,
Saiand þus on this manere,
Als þ*o*u may se writen here:
¶ þe name of the fader *and* sone *and* haly gaste,
And† sothfast god of myghtes maste, [† *Sic* MS. *Read* a=one.]
Goddes wordes be welcome vnto me,
Ioy and louuynge, lorde, to þe.

TEXT E.

At þe begynnyng gud tente þou take,
A large ✠ on þe þou make,
Stonde *and* say on þis manere,
As þou may see wryton here:
In þe name of þe fad*ur and* þe son*ne and* þe holy goste,
On stydfast god of myghtt*us* moste,
Be godd*us* worde welcu*m* to me,
Ay ioy *and* luf be to the.
Whyl he hyt rede, speke þou noghte,
But þynke on hym þat þe dere bogthe,
Sayande þ*us in* þi mynde,
As þou aft*ur* schal wryton fynde
Ih*esu*, my lorde, grawnte me grace
Of amendmente myghte *and* space,
þi worde to kepe, *and* al þi wylle,
þe gud to chese, *and* leue þe ylle.
And þat hi*t* so may be,
Eke "Ih*esu* lord, grawnt hi*t* me."
Rehersse hyt i*n* þi þowghte,
Tyl þe gospell be don forgete hi*t* noghte.
Sone besyde when hyt is done
þou make a ✠ *and* kus hyt sone.
Men owght to say þe crede su*m* tyme,
When men herun hyt, say þou þine.
þis þat folows i*n* englys lett*ur*
I wold þou sayd hyt for þi bett*ur*;
But qwen þay sayn, say þou not ell*us*,
But do as þo boke þe tell*us*.

"Glory be to Thee, O Lord."

TEXT F.

And at the begynnynge tent thu take,
A large cros on the thu make,
Seyenge thus in this manere
As thu maist se writen here.
In the name of the fadir, the sone, and þe holigost,
On sothfast god of myghtes most,
Wel-come, lorde, thi worde to me,
As, ihesu, lowynge be to the.

TEXT B. **here to loke þou take gode hede,**
for here is wryten þin englyshe crede. 204

The Apostles' creed with a farsure in English.

I Trow *in* god, fader of might,
þat alle has wroght,
heuen & erthe, day & night,
And alle of noght. 208
And *in* ihesu þat gods son is
al-onely,
bothe god & mon, lord endles,
[fol. 6 b.] In him trow I; 212
thurgh mekenes of þo holy gast,
þat was so milde,
he lyght *in* mary mayden chast,
be-come a childe; 216
vnder pounce pilat pyned he was,
vs forto saue,
done on cros & deed he was,
layde *in* his graue; 220
þo soul of him went *in*-to helle,
þo sothe to say;
vp he rose *in* flesshe & felle
þo thryd day; 224
he stegh til heuen *with* woundis wide,
thurgh his pouste;
Now sittes opon his fader right syde,
In mageste; 228
þeþin shal he come vs alle to deme
In his manhede,
qwyk & ded, alle þat has ben
In adam sede. 232
wel I trow *in* þo holi gost,
And holi kirc þat is so gode;
The Body and Blood of Christ both in form of bread. And so I trow þat housel es
bothe flesshe & blode; 236

TEXT C. After þe gospelle ay whil þe crede.
þe tyme is nere *with*-owten drede

Hereto loke þou take gud hede, TEXT E.
ffor here is wrytun̄ þe̅ englys crede
I beleue *in* god, ful of myȝhte,
þat al has wroghte,
Heun̄ *and* erthe,
and al of noghte.
And *in* Ihesu, þat godd*us* son̄ is,
al holly,
Both̄ god *and* mon̄, endles,
in hym trowe I;
þoro þe mekenes of þe holy gost,
þat was so mylde,
He lyȝhte *in* to mari maidon̄ chas
to cum a chylde.
Vnd*ur* pownse pilate pynnd was he,
vs to saue
Down̄ on þe ✠ *and* ded he was,
and leyd *in* his graue.
þo soule of hym wente to helle,
þo sothe to say,
Vp he ros as fel
vp-on̄ þe thryd day;
Vp he ros w*ith* his wond*us*
þoro his pouste;
Now syttus he on his fad*ur* ryȝhte honde
in maieste̅.
ȝyt schal he kum vs al to deme
in hys monhedde
Quyk *and* ded *and* al þat haue bene
of adam sede.
Wole I trowe *in* þo holy gost,
and holy kyrke þat is gode;
And so I trow þat howful is
bothe flesche *and* blode;

After the gospel whiles he seyth the crede. TEXT F.
The time is nei whit-oute drede

TEXT B. of my synnes*, forgyfnes, [* MS. ſynnes]
If I wil mende;
vp-risyng als-so of my flesshe,
and lyf *with*-outen ende. 240

[fol. 7] Then go up with a mass penny, or else remain in thy place.

After þat, fast at hande,
Comes þo tyme of offrande;
Offer or leeue, whe*per* þe lyst,
how þou shulde p*ra*ye, I wold þou wyst. 244

Either way, say this prayer:

I-whyls þou stondes, I rede þou saye,
als next is wryten, god to paye.(1)

As with the Magi, so may Christ receive our prayers to His praise,

Ihesu, þat was *in* bethlem borne,
And thre kynges come þe by-forne, 248
þai offerd gold ensense & myrre,
and þou forsoke none of þirre,
bot wissed hom wele alle thre
home a-gayne to hor contre. 252
Right so oure offrandes þat we offer,
and oure p*ra*ieres þat we p*ro*fer,
þou take, lorde, to þi louyng,
& be oure helpe *in* alkyn thyng, 256

TEXT C. þat men soulde p*ro*fer þere offrandes,
Or the priest take water to his handes. 104
Offer or leve, whether þe liste;
How þou soulde praye I walde þou wyste.
Als nexte is writen, I rede þou saye,
On this man*e*re, god to paye.(1) 108
Ihesu, þat was in bedlem borne,
And thre kynges come þe biforne;
þere thay offerd þe golde, ensens, *and* myrre,
And þou forsoke noon of þir, 112
Bot wyssed(2) þame wele alle three
Hame agayne to þere cuntre.
Right so *o*ure offrandes þat we offyr,
And *o*ure pr*a*yers þat we p*ro*fere, 116
[fol. 253] þou take, lorde, to thy lowynge,
And be *o*ure helpe in alkyn thynge,

(1) pey.—A. (prey.—*Turnbull*). pray.—D.

TEXT E.

And of my synn*us* for-ȝyfnes,
if I wold a-mende;
Vp-rysynge also of my flesche,
and lyfe w*ith* owtun ende.
Aft*ur* þat, faste on honde,
Cometh tyme of offeronde;
Offur whe*þ*ur þe luste,
How þ*ou* schuld pray, I wold þ*ou* wyste.
And whyl þ*ou* stond*us*, I rede þ*ou* say,
As is wrytun, god to pay: (1)
Ihesu, þat was in bethlem borne,
And iij kyng*us* come þe beforne,
þey offurud-don gold, ȝensse, *and* myrre,
þ*ou* forsoke non of hem þere,
But wyssud (2) hem þi wyl aꝺ thre
Whom a-ȝeyne into hore cuntre.
Ryȝꝺt so þe offeryng þat we offur,
And owre preyowr*us* þat we p*ro*fur,
þ*ou* take, lord, to þi lonynge,
And be owre lord of aꝺ kynn*us* þinge,

TEXT F.

That men schulle profre here offrendes,
Or the prest tak water to his handis.
Offere or lete, whethere thu list;
How thow schalt pray, I wolde thu wist.
As next is wryten, I rede thu say,
On this manere, god to pay.(1)
Ihesu, that in bedlem was borne,
And thre kynges come the biforne,
Thei offred gold, mirre, and encense,
And thu forsoke not here presense,
Bot blessede (2) hem alle thre,
Aȝen thei wente to here contre;
Right so, lorde, offrynge that we offre,
And oure prayeris that we here profere,
Thu take ham, lorde, to thyn lowynge,
And be oure help in alle thynge,

(2) wende.—A. wylled.—D.

TEXT B.

fulfil our good desires, and be our help in time of need.

Be saying pater-nosters, whilst the priest is washing. Then he bows before the altar

and turns to ask thy prayers:

do thou smite on thy breast and pray aloud:

[fol. 7 b.]

that the Holy Ghost may come upon him and rule his heart.

Þat alle perels be for-done;
oure gode ȝernynges Þou graunt vs sone,
of al oure mys Þou vs amende,
In al oure nede vs socoure sende. amen.

Saye pater-noster, ȝit vp-standande
al Þo tyme Þo prest is wasshande,
Til after wasshing Þo preste wil loute
Þo auter, & sithen turne aboute.(1)

Þen he askes with stille steuen,
Ilk monnes prayers to god of heuen.
Take gode kepe vnto Þo prest,
when he him turnes, knoc on Þi brest,
And Þenk Þen, for Þi synn
Þou art noght worthe to pray for hymm,
bot when Þou prayes, god lokes Þi wille,
If hit be gode, forgetis Þin ille.
for-Þi with hope in his mercie,
Answere Þo prest with Þis in hie.

Þo holi gost in Þe light,
& sende in-to Þe right,(2)
Reule Þi hert & Þi speking
to gods worship & his louyng.

TEXT C.

Þat alle perils before* done, [* *Sic* in MS. *Read* be for-done.]
Oure gode ȝernynge Þou graunte vs sone,
Of alle oure mys Þou vs amende,
In alle oure nedes vs socour sende. Amen.
After the waschynge, Þe priest wille loute
Þe awter, and sithen turne hym aboute; (1)
Þat he askes with stille steven
Ilke man prayers to god of heuene.
Swilke prayers I walde ȝe toke
Als nexte folowes on the buke.
¶ The haly gaste in Þe light,
And sende grace into Þe righte (2)
To rewle thy herte and Þy spekynge
To godes worschep *and* his lovynge.

(1) After Þo weschyng Þo pryst wyl lowte
Þo awter kyste and storne hym a-bowte.—A.
(2) Þo holy goste Þat is on hyght
Send hus grace to leue ryght. Explicit.—A.

TEXT E.

þat aH perelus beyn) for-don):
Owre lord, of for-gyfnes grawnt*us* son),
Of aH owre mysded*us* þou vs a-mende,
In aH owre nede vs sokowre sende.
Sey pat*er* noster ryght upstondyng, [page 176]
Al tyme þe preyste is wassyng,
þen aft*ur* þe wassyng þo preyste wyl lowte
To þo awter & syt t*ur*ne hym) abowte.(1)
þen he hasket w*ith* stylle stewon)
Ilke monn*us* prayere to god of hewon).
Take gud kepe vn)-to þo preyste,
When) he t*urnus*, knoke on) þi breste,
And thynke þen) for þi synne
þow art ioynud to pray for hyme.
When) þou prayuste, god loc*us* on) þi wylle,
If h*it* be gud, he for-ʒeuus þo ille.
ffor-þi w*ith* hope in his m*er*cy,
Onswere þo preste w*ith* in þis hoy: [*read* þis in]
þo holy gost *in*-to þe lyghte,
And sende *in*-to þe ryghte
To rule þi herte & þi spekyng
To godd*us* worschyp & his lonyng.

TEXT F.

That alle pereiles be fro vs don,
Oure gode desire thu graunt vs son;
Off all oure mis-dedis thu us amende,
And in alle oure nede socour thu vs sende.
Aftir wasschynge, the prest wol lowte
To the auter, and torne him abowte (1);
Thanne he asketh wyth gode steu[*e*]ne
Al men praeris to god of heuene.
Suche praiere I wolde thu toke
As next folweth in the boke.
The holi gost in the lyght,
And sende his grace vn-to the right,
He ruwele thyn herte and thi spekynge
To godis worschepe and his lowynge.

(2) *The* haly gast in *the* lyght
And send hys *grace* vnto *the* right.
Rewle *thi* hert and *thi* spekyn·
To goddes wyrscype an louynge.—D.

TEXT B.

When the priest is praying, do thou kneel,

Þen þo prest gos to his boke
his priuey prayers for to loke,
knele þou doun, & say þen þis,
þat next in blak wryten is:
hit wil þi prayere mykel amende,

and with uplifted hands pray God

If þou wil holde vp bothe þi hende
to god with gode deuocioun,
when þou sayes þis [o]resoun,

to receive the sacrifice of the priest and all present,

God resayue þi seruyce
And þis solempne sacrifice,
for þo prest & for vs alle,
þat now are here, or here be shalle,
þis messe to here or worship do,
þo sakring to se, or pray þer-to;
And for alle þat lyuen in gods name,

for help to the living, and eternal rest to the dead.

þat þai haue helpe fro synne & shame,
And for þo soules þat hethen are past,
þat þai haue rest þat ay shal last. amen.
Pater noster: Aue maria: Credo.

Loke pater-noster þou be sayande,
I-whils þo preste is priuey prayande;
þo prest wil after in þat place
Remow him a litel space,

[fol. 8]

The priest comes to the midst of the altar; then lift up heart and body,

To he come til þo auter myddis.
stande vp þou, als men þe biddis,
hert & body & ilk a dele,
take gode kepe & here him wele,

TEXT C.

God resceyf thy servyce,
And this solempne sacrifice
For the priest, and for vs alle,
þat now er here, or [*here*] be salle,
this mes to here, or worschep do,
þis sacrynge to se, or praye þere-to;
And for alle, þat leves in goddes name,
þat thay be kepyd fra synne and schame;
And for the saulles, þat er past,
þat thay have reste þat euere salle laste.

TEXT E.

þo preyste gos to þo boke
His pryuey *preyure* for to loke :
Knele þou downe & say þen þis
As nexte *in* blac wrytun is :
H*it* wil þi *preiur* mycul amendus,
If þou wolt holde vp þi hondus
To god wi*th* gud deuocyon,
When þou sayst þis orison.
God receywe þi *seruyse*.
And þis solenne sac*rifyse*
ffor þo preste & for vs alle,
þ*at* here now aru*n* or here be schalle,
þis messe [*to*] here or worschyp do,
þo sacryng to see, or pray þ*er*-to ;

And for þo sowl*us*, þ*at* hensse ben passud,
þ*at* þai haue rest þ*at* ew*ur* lastus.

Loce pat*er* noste*r* þou be sayand
Whyl he is p*reuele preyand* ;
þo preyste wyl aft*ur* in þ*at* place
Remo hym a lytul space,
Tyl he cu*m* to þo awt*er* mydd*us* :
Stond þen, aH men he bydd*us*,
Hert & body & ylka dele :
Take gud kepe, & here hy*m* weH,

TEXT F.

God reherse thyn seruyse,
And solempne this sacrifise
For the prest, and for vs alle,
That now ben here, or here be schal,
This masse to here, or worschepe do,
The sacryng to se, or pray there-to ;
And for alle, the lyues in godes nam,
That thei haue help fram synne and scham ;
And for the soules, that hennes be past,
That thei haw rest that ay schal last.

TEXT B.

when the priest has ended the secreta and begun the preface aloud.

þen he bygynnes per omnia,
And sithen sursum corda.
At þo ende [*he*] sayes sanctus thryese, 308
In excelsis he neuens twyese.
Als fast als euer þat he has done,
loke þat þou be redy sone,

Then say this prayer;

and saye þese wordis with stille steuen 312
priuely to god of heuen.

yielding a thankful heart unto the Lord, and praying

In world of worlds with outen endyng
þanked be ihesu, my kyng.
Al my hert I gyue hit þe, 316
grete right hit is þat hit so be;
with al my wille I worship þe,
Ihesu, blessid mot þou be.
with al my hert I þank hit þe, 320
þo gode þat þou has don to me;
swete ihesu, graunt me now þis,

that thou mayest evermore praise him with angels in the bliss of heaven.

þat I may come vn-to þi blis,
þere with aungels for to syng 324
þis swete song of þi louyng,
sanctus: sanctus: sanctus.
Ihesu graunt þat hit be þus. Amen.

Kneel when the Canon begins, and offer thy thanksgivings

When þis is sayde, knele þou doune, 328
and þat wyth gode deuocioune;
Of al gode þou thonk god þan,
And pray als-so for ilk a man (1)

TEXT C.
[fol. 253 b.]

¶ The priest wille than in þat place
Sethen bigynne the preface, 144
þat begynnes with per *omnia*,
And sethen with *sursum corda;*
And at the ende says *sanctus* thryes,
In excelsis he newen bot twys. 148
Of alle gude þou thankes god þan,
And praye also [*for*] euere ilke aman (1)

þen) he begynn*us per omnia*, TEXT E.
And siþun *sursum corda.*
And *sanctus* he says thryus,
In excelcis he nomus twyus.
As fast as he has done,
Loke *þat* þou be redy sone,
And say *þus* wyt stylle stewon) [page 177]
*Priu*ely to god of hewon):
In word, *in* werke, *with* owtun) endyng,
þonkud be Ihe*s*u, my souereyn) kyng.
And al herto I ȝif hyt þe,
Grete & ryche h*i*t is ryghte *þat* h*i*t so be.
With aH my wyH I worschyp þe,
Ihe*s*u, blessud mot þu be:
With al my hert I þonke þe,
AH þe gud þou haste don to me.
Swete Ihe*s*u, graunte me now þis,
þat I may com to þi blis,
þer with angels for to synge
þo swete song of lowynge.
Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus.
God grawnte *þat* h*i*t be *þus*.
When þis is seyd, knele a-don),
And wyt gud deuocion),
Of aH gode þou þonke god þen),
And als so for aH men) (1)

The prest wil sone, in that plase, TEXT F.
Swythe begynne the preface,
That begynneth with per omnia,
And afterward sursum corda.
Of alle gode thu thanke god than,
And pray also for eche man,(1)

(1) And pray alswa for ilk a man.—D.

TEXT B. [fol. 8 *b.*] and intercessions for all estates of men.

Of ilk [*a*]state, and ilk degre,
so wil þo law of charite;
for-þi w*ith*-outen taryinge
on þis wise be þi sayinge.

Act of thanksgiving for good gifts;

Lord,(1) honourd mot þou be,
w*ith* al my hert I worship þe;
I þonk þe, lord, als me wele owe,
Of more gode þen I con knowe,

talents of nature,

þat I haue of þe resayued,
Syn þo tyme I was co*n*sayued:
My lyue, my ly*mm*es þou has me lent,

right mind,

my right witt þou has me sent,

and grace in divers perils.

þou has me keped of þi grace
fro sere p*er*ils *in* mony place.

All these are the gifts of our Redeemer.

Al my lyue & al my lyuynge
holly haue I of þi gyuynge;(2)
þou boght me dere w*ith* þi blode,
and dyed for me o-pon þo rode;

TEXT C.

Of ilke a-state and ilke degre,
So wille the lawe of charite;
þ*er*-fore begy*nn*e this p*ra*yere sone,
When þe preste the p*re*face has doone:
Oure lorde,(1) honourde þou be;
With alle my herte and my degre
I thanke the, lorde, as me wele awe,
Of mare gude, than I kan knawe,
þ*at* I haue of þe resceyved
Sen the tyme I was consauyd;
My lyfe, my lyms, þou has me lente,
My righte witte þou hase me sente;
þou has me kepid of thy grace
Fro many p*er*ils in many place;
Alle my helpe and my levynge,
Haly hafe [*I*] of thy givynge.(2)
þou boghte me dere w*ith* thy blode,
[fol. 254] And dyed for me opon the rode;

(1) Loverd God.—D.

Of state & of ilke degre, TEXT E.
So wolde þe lawe of charyte.
ffor-þi *with*-owton̄ tariyng
On þis wyse *þou* be saiyng.
Lord,(1) anowryd mot *þou* be, [page 175]
With al my hert I worschyp *þe*;
I *þonke* þe, lord, as I wel owe,
Of more gud þen I con̄ knowe,
Syth̄ þe tyme *þat* I was *con*sewud,
þat I haue of þe recewud:
My lyfe, my lymm*us* þou haste me lente,
My rygh̄t wytte *þou* haste me sentte,
þou hast me kepte al of þi *grace*
ffro sere *perell us in* mony place.
AH̄ my lyf *and* al my lykynge,
Wholly haue I of þi gou*er*nynge.(2)
þou bo3te me dere *with* þi blode,
And dede for me on̄ þe rode.

For eche astat, and eche degre, TEXT F.
So wol the law of cherite;
And therfore begynne this *pra*yere sone,
Whanne the prest hath his preface done.
Lord god,(1) honoured thu be,
With alle myn herte I worschepe the.
I thanke the, lorde, as I wel owe,
Of mi godnesse, that I can wel knowe,
That I haw of the resceyued
Setthe tyme that I was conceyued;
Mi lyfe, my lymes, thu hast me sent,
Mi rigth witte thu hast me lent;
Thu hast kept me of thi grace
Fro many perel in many place;
Alle myn helthe and alle my lyuynge,
Holi haw I of thi gyuynge.(2)
Thu bought me dere with thi blode,
And deiede Fore me on the rode:

(2) Haly I have of *th*i gyfyng.—D.

TEXT B.

I haue done a-gaynes þi wille
synnes mony, grete & ille;
And He is ready to forgive our sins. þou art redy, of þi godnesse, 352
for to graunt me forgyuenesse
Thanksgiving for good gifts; Of [*þes*] godes,(1) and mony moo
I þonk þe, lord, I *praye* als-soo
prayer for pardon of past sins, þat al my gylt þou me forgyue, 356
and be my helpe whils I shal lyue;
strength in the future, and a good will to do God's will. And gyue me grace for to etchewe
to do þat þing þat me shulde rewe;
And gyue me wille ay wel to wirk. 360
Intercessions for Church, king, and nobility. Lord, þenk on þo state of holy kirk,
And þo bishops, *prestes* & clerkes,(2)
þat þai be keped *in* alle gode werkes,
þo kyng, þo quene(3), þo lordes of þo lande, 364
þat þai be wele mayntenande
hore states *in*(4) alle godnesse,

TEXT C.

I have done agayne thy wille
Synnes many, grete and ille;
þou erte redy of thy gudnes
Forto graun*n*te me forgifnes. 172
Of this gude (1) and many ma
I thanke the, lorde, *and* prayes alswa
þat alle my gilte þou me forgif,
And be my helpe whils I. salle lyf. 176
Gif me grace forto eschewe
To do þat me salle rewe,
And gif me wille aye forto wyrke.
Lorde, thynke of state of haly kyrke, 180
Of the pape, byschope, priestes, clerk*es*,(2)
þat þay be kepyd in alle gude werk*es*;
the kynge,(3) the lordes of the lande,
þat thay be wele mayntennand 184
þ*er*e states and(4) alle gudnes,

(1) thes gud.—D. (2) pape, bischopes & clerkes.—D.

I haue don, a-ȝeynus þi wylle, TEXT E.
Synnus mony, grete *and* grylle.
þou arte redy of þi godnes
ffor to grawnt vs for-gyfnes.
Of þis godnes (1) *and* mony moo
I thonke þe, lord, *and* pray also,
þat my gylt þou me for-gyffe,
And be my help whyl I schal lyfe ; [page 176]
And gyf me grace to eschwe
To do þat þinge, þat schuld me rewe,
And ȝyf vs ay wylle to wyrke ;
And þinke on þe state of þe kyrke,
þo pope, þo byschopus, preystus, *and* clerkus,(2)
þat þay be keptte in gode werkus ;
þo kynge, þo qwene,(3) þo lordus of þe londe,
þat þai be wel mayntonande
Her status in (4) alle godnes,

I haw done, aȝen thi wille, TEXT F.
Synnes diuers, bothe foule and ille,
And ȝut art thu redi of thi godenes
To graunt me ay forȝefnesse.
Of thes godys, and many mo,
I thanke the, lord, and pray also,
And alle mi gult thu me forȝeue,
And be myn help the whiles I leue.
Thu graunt me grace for to enchiwe
To do that thynge, that me schold rywe,
And ȝeue me wil ay wel to worche.
Swet lorde, thenke on the state of holi chirche,
On the pope, bisschopes, and* clerkes,(2) [* MS. ad]
That thei be bysi in alle gode werkes ;
The kynge, the queene,(3) the lordes of the londe,
That thei be in wile of gode meyntenande
Here state in(4) alle godenes,

(3) *the* qwene—*ins.* D. (4) in.—D.

TEXT B.

and reule þo folk *in* rightwisnesse ;

For kinsmen, friends, tenants, and servants;

Oure sib men, and oure wele-willandes,(1)
Oure frendes, tenandes,(2) & seruandes,
Olde men, childer & alle wymmen,(3)
marchandes, m*en* of craft, & tilmen,

all of every age and station;

Riche men, & pore, grete & smalle,
I pray þe, lord, for ho*m* alle,
þ*at* þai be keped specialy
In gode hele & lyue haly.

for all living in sin or sorrow;

To ho*m* þ*at* are *in* ille lyue,
In sclaunder, myscou*n*forth, or *in* stryue,

for the sick and captive, the poor, banished, and dispossessed;

seke or p*r*isonde, or o-pon þo see,
pore, exilde, deserit,(4) if þer be,
til alle ho*m*, þou sende socoure,
to þi worship and þin honoure.(5)

for such as stand,

Alle þ*at* are *in* gode lyue to day,

TEXT C.

And rewle the folke in rightwisnes ;
Oure sybmen and (1) oure wele-willand*es*,(1)
Oure frendes, sugett*es* (2) *and* servand*es*.
Pat*er* nost*er*. Aue. Credo *et cetera*
Alle thy childer *and* wy*m*men,(3)
M*er*chau*n*d*es*, men of craft*es*, *and* tilmen,
Ryche *and* pore, grete and smalle,
I pray the, lorde, for thame alle
[fol. 254 b.] þ*at* thay be kepyd specially
In gode hele, and lyfe haly ;
To thame þ*at* er in ille lyfe,
In sclau*n*der, myscomforth, or in stryfe,
Seke men, or p*r*isoned ; or apon þe se,
Pore or exsilȳd, disheryd(4) if thay be,
To alle this, þou sende socoure,
To hym worschep *and* hy*m* honou*r*e.(5)
Alle þ*at* er in gude lyfe to daye,

(1) & well lyfand.—D. (2) tenundes.—D.
(3) Ald men, childer, and women.—D.
(4) *disheryd*] om.—D, F.

And rewle þe folke i*n* ryghtwyues ; 364 TEXT E.
Owr*e* syb men), our*e* wyl wyllande,(1)
Our*e* fryndus, our*e* seruandus *and* tenandus,(2)
Olde men), chyldurn), *and* aH wymmen),(3)
Marchandus, men) of crafte, *and* tylmen), 368
Ryche men), *and* pore, grete *and* smalle,
I pray þe, lord, for hom) alle,
þat þai be kepte specyally
In gud lyfe *and* in holy ; 372
ffor hem) þat ar*e* i*n* heuy lyfe,
I[*n*] sclawndure, mys-conforde, or i*n* stryfe,
Seke or presund, or on þe see,
Pore, exylde, dysesud,(4) if þai be, 376
To hem) aH sende socure,
ffor þi worschyp *and* þin) onowre.(5)
AH þat ar*e* i*n* gud lyfe to day,

And rewele her*e* pepil in rightwisnesse. 164 TEXT F.
Our*e* sibbe, and our*e* wel-willynge,(1)
Frendes, tenauntes,(2) and vs seruynge,
Olde men, children, and wy*m*men,(3)
Marchaunte, men of crafte, and tilme[*n*]. 168
Riche men, poure, and smale,
I pray to the, god, for hem bi tale,
That thei be kepe specialy
In gode helthe, and life holi ; 172
To alle that ben in wikete lyfe,
In sclandere, miscomfort, or strife,
Sike, in pr*i*sone, or vppon the see,
Poure, or exiled this lond, thow thei be, 176
To alle thes, thu sende socoure,
To þin worschepe,(5) and (6) þin honore.
Alle that ben in gode lif to-day,

(5) To *th*i wyrscepe and *th*ine hono*u*r.—D.
(6) Here the MS. has *to* inserted above the line; but it is not wanted.—*Mr Skeat.*

TEXT B.

& clenly lyuen to þi pay,
and please Thee, the grace of perseverance; kepe hom, lord, fro alle foly, 384
and fro alle synne for þi mercy,
And gyue hom grace to last & lende,
In þi seruyce to hor [*last*] ende.(1)
order the course of this world for our good; þis world þat turnes mony wayes, 388
make gode til vs in alle oure dayes;
send weather that we may receive the fruits of the earth; [fol. 9 *b*.] þo weders (2) grete & vnstable,
lord make gode & sesonable;
þo froytes of þo erthe make plenteuus, 392
als þou sees best, ordayn for vs,
ordain for us as seemeth best for our everlasting glory. swilk grace til vs þou sende,
þat in oure last day, at oure ende,
when þis worlde & we shal seuer, 396
Bring vs til ioy þat lastis euer. Amen.

Loke pater-noster þou be sayande,
to þo chalyce he be saynande:
At the ringing þen tyme is nere of sakring,(3) 400

TEXT C.

And clene lyues to þy paye,
kepe thame, lorde, fro alle foly, 204
And fro alle synne for thy mercy;
And gif thame grace to laste and lende
In þy servyce to þere ende.(1)
þis werlde, þat turnes many ways, 208
Make gude to vs in alle [*oure*] days;
The wedders (2) grete and vnstabille,
lorde, make gude and sesonabille;
þe frute of the erthe make plentevous; 212
As þou seys best, ordan for vs,
Swilke grace to vs þou sende,
þat on oure laste daye at oure laste ende,
When this werlde and wee salle seuere. 216
Bringe vs to þat ioye þat lastes euere. Amen.
Pater noster. Aue maria *et cetera*.
¶ Than is the tyme nere of þe sacrynge,(3)

(1) unto *th*air ende.—D.
(2) wedirs.—D.

And lelly ben þe to pay, 380 TEXT E.
Kepe hem, lord, fro aH foly,
And fro aH synnus for þi mercy;
And gyf grace to laste *and* lende
In þi seruise to here ende.(1) 384
In þis worde, þat turnus mony wayus,
Make hyt gud to vs in oure dayus;
þo word is (2) grete & vn-stabuH,
Lord, make hit gud & sencybuaH; 388
þe frutus on þe erthe make plentuus,
As þou sees best, orden for vs;
Suche grace to vs þou sende,
þat at in owre laste ende, 392
When þis word & we schal seuure,
Bryng vs to þat ioye þat lastny euure.
Loke pater noster þou be seyande, [page 17]
To þo chales be vp-heuande; 396
þen tyme is of þe sacrynge,(3)

And clenli leuen vn-to thi pay, 180 TEXT F.
Thu kepe ham, lord, fram alle folie,
And fram alle schame fore thi mercy.
Grace euere-lastynge thu ham sende
In thi seruice to here laste ende.(1) 184
This worlde, that torneth many wayes,
Be gode to vs in alle oure days;
Wedres (3) grete, that ben vnstable,
Lord make ham gode, and sesenable; 188
The frutes on þe erthe make plenteouse,
As thu seist best, ordeyne for ouse,
Sucche grace to vs, swete god, þu sende,
That [*in*] oure laste day and laste ende, 192
Whanne this worlde and we schulle seuere,
Thu brynge vs to ioy that lasteth euere.

Thanne is time ney of sacrynge,

(3) *Th*an es tyme nere *th*e sakering
A litill bell me*n* use to rynge.—D.

TEXT B.

A litel belle men oyse to ryng.

of the sacring bell do reverence to the presence of Christ,

þen shal þou do reuerence
to ihesu crist awen presence,
þat may lese alle baleful bandes;
knelande holde vp bothe þi handes,(1)
And so þo leuacioun þou be-halde,
for þat is he þat iudas salde,
and sithen was scourged & don on rode,
and for mankynde þere shad his blode,
and dyed & ros & went to heuen,
and ȝit shal come to deme vs euen,
Ilk mon aftur he has done,
þat same es he þou lokes opone.

Warning against disbelief,

þis is þo trouthe of holy kirk,
who trowes noght þis mone sitt ful myrk;

and advice to behold the mystery with good purpose and to use some prayer at each one's liking.

for-þi I rede with gode entent
þat þou biholde þis sacrament.
swilk prayere þen þou make,
als lykes best þe to take.
sondry men prayes sere,(2)
Ilk mon on his best manere.

[fol. 10]

Short (3) prayere shulde be with-outen drede,

TEXT C.
[fol. 255]

A litille belle men is to rynge:
þan is skille to do reuerence
To ihesu criste awghen presence,
þat may lese alle bandes;
Kneland halde vp thy handes,(1)
And with inclinacyon
Behalde þe Eleuacyon.
Swylke prayere þan þou take,
As the likes best forto make.
Many men prayes sere,(2)
Ilke man prayes on his manere.
Schorte (3) prayer soulde be with-owten drede.

(1) Knele downe & hald up bath handys.—D.
(2) Sundyrer men prayers serer.—D.

A lytul beH men vsuþ to rynge. TEXT E.
þen schal þou do reuere*n*sse,
To Ihe*s*u crist owne p*re*sensse,
þat may lese alle baful bond*us*;
Knele & holde vp botH̄ þi hond*us* (1)
And so þou þo leuacion̄ beholde,
ffor þat is he þat iudas solde
And Sythun̄ schowrgut, on̄ þo rode
ffor mon̄-kynde sched hys blode,
And ded, & rose & went to hewon,
And ȝit schal come to demus ewon̄,
Ilke man̄ aft*ur* þat he hase don̄.
þo same is he þou locus upon̄,
Hyt is þo feythe of holy kyrke:
Who trowe þis not schal sytte wel marke;
ffor-þi I rede w*ith* gud entente
þat þou be-holde þe sacramente.
Suche prayer þen̄ schal þou make,
As licus beste to þe þu take.
Dyuerse men̄ preyu*s* sere,(2)
Ilke mon̄ on̄ his beste manere.
Schort(3) prayer schuld be w*ith*-owtu*n* drede,

A litil belle he wol to vs rynge. TEXT F.
Thanne is resoune that we do reuerence
To ihesu criste presence,
That may loose of alle balful bondes;
Therefore knelynge, hold vp thyn hondes,(1)
And with inclinacion of thi bodi,
Be-hold the leuacioun reuerently.
Sucche praere there thanne thu make,
As liketh the best for to take.
Sum men* maketh here praierys (2) [* MS. Sumen]
In here best manerys,
For(3) praieris scholde be thanne wyt-out drede,

(3) Swylk.—D.

TEXT B. **and þer-with pater-noster & þo crede.**

A prayer is set down, if no other is preferred,

If þou of aue* be vn-puruayde, [* *sic* in MS. *Read* ane] 424
I set here aue* þat may be sayde; (1)
þof I merk hit here in lettir.
þou may chaun[g]e hit for a bettir.

lauding and blessing Christ, for all His good gifts.

Loued be þou, kyng; 428
& blessid be þou, kyng;
of alle þi gyftes gode,
& þanked be þou, kyng;
ihesu, al my ioying, 432
þat for me spilt þi blode,
and dyed opon þo rode,
þou gyue me grace to sing
þo song of þi louing. 436

pater noster; aue maria; Credo.

When þou has sayde al þi crede,
þis short prayere I rede þou rede,
þat next is wryten in blak letter, 440
ful mykel shal þou fare þo better.

A short prayer after the levation for mercy;

Lord, als þou con, & als þou wille,
haue mercie of me, þat has don ille;
for what-so þou with me wil do, 444
I holde me payde to stonde þer-to;

TEXT C. And þere-with a pater-noster *and* crede. 232

[† *Read* a *or* ane] I set here *and*† may be sayde,

Prayer to Christ present in form of bread.

If þou be vnpuruayde; (1)
If I merke it here in letter,
þou may schewe (2) it for a better. 236
¶ Welcome, lorde, in fourme of brede
For me þou sufferde herd deede;
Als þou bare the crowne of thorne
[‡ MS. beforlorne] þou suffer me noghte be forlorne ‡ 240

(1) I set here ane *that* may be sayd
If *thu* of ane and be vnpurwayde.—D.
(2) chaunce.—D.

And þere with pater-noster, aue & crede. 420 TEXT E.
If þou of any be vn-purueyde,
I set þe here onꝺ þat be seyde.(1)
If I make hit for þo bettur,
þou may teH hit here in lettur: 424
Lowod be þou, kyng,
And blessud be þou, kyng,
Of aH þi gyftus gode;
And þonkud be þou kyng, 428
Ihesu all my Ioyng
þat for me spylt þi blode,
And dede for me vponꝺ þo rode.
þou gyf me grace to synge 432
þo songe of þi louynge.
[*Pater-noster; Ave-Mary; Crede*]
Whenꝺ þou hast donꝺ al þi crede,
þis schalte þenꝺ þou rede,
As nexte is wryton in blac lettur, 436
fful mycul schal þou fare þo bettur.
Lord as þou konꝺ, & as þou wylle,
Haue mercy onꝺ me, þat hase donꝺ ille,
ffor what-so þou wolt with me do, 440
I holde me payud to stonde þer-to.

And there-with-al þe pater-noster and þe crede. 208 TEXT F.
I sette here oyn that may be sayd,
ȝef of oyn thu be vn-purueyd; (1)
Thu maist hit chaunge(2) **for a bettere,**
Thow I make hit here in lettere.* 212 [* MS. mlettere]
Welcome, lord, in fourme of brede,
For me thu tholedest a pyneful dede;
As thu suffredest the coroune of thorne,
Graunt me grace, lorde, I be nought lorne. 216
Or elles thus in latyn speche,
Thu maist hym pray and be-seche. 218
Aue ihesu christe. &c. &c.
[*Here follow Latin hymns, see Notes.*]

TEXT B.

þi merci, ihesu, wold I haue,
and I for ferdnes durst hit craue,
bot þou bids aske, & we shal haue; 448
swete ihesu make me saue,
And gyue me witt & wisdame right,
to loue þe, lord, with al my might.
When þou has made þis orison, 452
þen shal þow with deuocion
Make þi prayeres in þat stede
for alle þi frendes, þat are dede,
[fol. 10 b.] And for alle cristen soules sake, 456
swilk prayere shal þou make.
Lord, for þi holy grace,
here oure prayers in þis place,
graunt now, lord, for oure prayere, 460
þat cristen soules, þate passed here (2)
fro þis lyue, þat synful esse,
þat ilk one haue part of þis messe;
for hore soules, I pray derly, 464
þate I shal neuen serly,(3)

for Christ has said, Ask, and ye shall have.

Then after the sacring, pray for the dead,

that they may have part in the mass,

TEXT C.

When the preste the eleuacyon has made,
He wille sprede his armes on-brade,
Sethen dres ðam* in þe firste stede;(1) [* MS. dresdam]
þan is tyme to praye for þe dede, 244
For alle cristen saulles sake,
[fol. 255 b.] Swilke [*prayere*], as þou wille take.
God, for thy haly grace,
Here oure prayere here in this place. 248
Graunte vs, lorde, for oure prayere,
þat cristen men, þat passed er(2)
Fra this life, þat synfulle es,
þat ilke an have parte of this messe; 252
For þere saulles I praye derly,
þat I salle neven sekirly,(3)

The priest spreads his arme abroad to form a cross, and then brings them to their former position.

(1) He wyll sprede his armes o-brade
Sethen dresse *thaim* in *th*aier friste stede.—D.

TEXT E.

þi mercy, Ihesu, wold I haue,
And I for ferdnes durste hit craue;
But þou byddus aske & haue.
Swete Ihesu, make all saue.
And gyf me wytte & wysdam ryghte,
To lowe þe, lord, with al my myghte.
When þou hase made þis orison,
þen schal þou with deuocion
Make þi preyer in þat stede
ffor þi fryndus, þat are dede;
And for all sowlus sake
Suche a preyer schal þou make.
Lord, for þi holy grace,
Here owre preyurs in þis place,
Grawnt now, lord, for owre preyere,
þat criston sowlus, þat passud are(2)
ffro þis lyfe, þat synful is,
þat ilke one haue parte of þi blysse.
ffor horé sowlus I prey derly,
þat I schal prey fore serly,(3)

TEXT F.

Whanne the prest hath the leuacioun made,
He spredeth his handes thanne abrade,
Setthen he dresseth him in þe ferst stede,(1)
Thanne is tyme to pray for the dede;
For alle cristene sowles sake
Suche praere I rede thu take.
Gode lord, for thyn holi grace,
Thu here oure praierys in this place.
Graunt vs, lord, for this praiere,
That cristene sowles that passeth the aiere(2)
Fro this lif, that synful is,
That eche of hem haw part of þis messe;
And fore here soules I pray inwardli,
That I schal neuene dyuerşli,(3)

(2) Graunt vs lord for oure prayeres *That* cristen saules *that* passed es.—D.
(3) neuen serly.—D.

TEXT B.

þat þis messe may be hore mede,
helpe & hele fro alkyns drede,
specially for parents, kinsmen, well-wishers, and benefactors, fader soule, moder soule, breþer dere,
Sisters soules, sib men & oþer sere,
þate vs gode wolde, or vs gode did,
or ony kyndnes vntil vs kid;
and all souls in purgatory, and til alle *in* purgatory pyne,
þis messe be mede & medicyne;
til alle cristen soules hely
graunt þi grace & þi mercy;
forgyue hom alle hor trespasse,
for their release and everlasting glory. lese hore bondes, & let hom passe,
fro al-kyns pyne and [*fro*] al care,
In-til þo ioy þat lastis euer-mare. amen.
Continue thy prayers till the priest concludes his, **Loke pater-noster þou be prayande,**
Ay to þou here þo preste be sayande
per omnia secula al on hight,(1)
þen I wold þou stode vp-right,

TEXT C.

þat þis may be þam mede,
Helpe *and* hele fro alkyn drede;
For fader saulles, moder *and* brother dere,
Syster saulles, sybmen *and* other sere,
þat vs gode wolde, or vs gude dydde,
Or any kyndenes vnto vs kydde,
And to alle in purgatory pyne,
þis messe be mede *and* medecyne;
To alle cristen saulles haly
Graunte þy grace *and* thy mercy,
Forgif thame alle þere trespase,
lese thame of þere bandes, *and* lat thame passe
Fra alle pyne *and* fra alle kare,
Into þe ioye þat lastes euremare.
[* MS. for þe] ¶ When þe preste forþe* righte
Says *Per omnia* alle on heghte,(1)

TEXT E.

þat þis masse may be hore mede,
Help & hele to al kynn*us* drede,
ffad*ur* sowle, & mod*ur* sowle, brod*ur* sowle dere
Sust*ur* sowle sybmen*nus* sowl*us* & o*þur* sowl*us* sere,
þat vs gud wold, or vs gud dyd,
Or any kyndnes to vs haue kyd;
And to hom aH þat byn i*n* pu*r*gatory pyne,
þo messe be to hom) mede & medicyne.
To aH cryston sowl*us* holly [page 178]
Grawnt þi *grace* & þi m*ercy*;
ffor-3yf hom) aH hore trespas,
Vnloke hor bond*us*, & let hom) passe,
ffro aH pyne & aH care,
Into þo ioy lastyng eu*ur*mare.
Loce pat*er*-noste*r* þou be preyande
Ay tyl þo tyme þo preyst be seyande
*P*er *omnia secula* al om) heyghte.(1)
þen) I wold þou stode preyng hyt,

TEXT F.

That this messe be hem to mede,
Socour*e*, and help, in al her*e* nede;
Fadir and modir*e*, and brother*e* sowles so der*e*,
Soster and sibbe men, and other*e* ifer*e*,
That vs gode wolde, or vs gode do,
Or any kyndenesse to vs haw ido,
And to alle tho, *þat* in purgatori haue payne,
Lord, this messe be mede and medecyne.
And to alle cristene sowles holi,
Swet lord, thu graunt thi mercy,
For-3ew hem alle her*e* trespasse,
Lowse her*e* bondes, and lete ham passe
Fram alle paynes to heuuene blis,
With angeles to dwell*e* euer*e* endeles.

(1) *th*an *th*e prest furt ryght
Says p*er* *omn*ia al on heght
We will saye w*it*h heghe steuen
Pat*er* noste*r* gude to neuen.—D.

TEXT B. [fol. 11]

for he wil saie *with* hegh steuen
pat*er*-nost*er* to god of heuen;
herken hi*m* w*ith* gode wille,
and whils he saies, hold þe stille,
bot answere at temptac*i*onem
set libera nos a malo, amen.
hit were no nede þe þis to ken,
for who con not þis are lewed men.
when þis is done, saye p*r*iuely (1)
other prayer none *þer*-by.
pat*er*-nost*er* first i*n* laten,
and sithen i*n* englishe als here is wryten.

Fader oure, þat is *in* heuen,
blessid be þi name to neuen.
Come to vs þi kyngdome.
In heuen & erthe þi wille be done.
oure ilk day bred *grau*nt vs to day.
and oure mysdedes forgyue vs ay,
als we do hom þat trespas us,
right so haue merci vp-on vs.
and lede vs i*n* no foundynge,
bot shild vs fro al wicked þinge. Amen.

Þen eft-sone þo p*re*ste wil saye,
stande stille & herken hi*m* al-waye.
he saies agnus thryse or he cese, (2)
þo last worde he spekis of pese.

and says the Lord's prayer aloud,

with the response of the people.

The Lord's Prayer in English.

When the priest continues, listen to him.

TEXT C. [fol. 256]

He wille saye with hygh steven
his pat*er*-*noster* to god of hevene;
Herken hy*m* *with* gode wille,
And answere hym, lowde or stille,
And saye it priualy (1)
Other prayer noon þ*er*e by.
Eftsones the prieste on-heght wille saye
Be redy at answere hym allewaye
Herken how he spekes on pes,
Says agnus thryes or he ses. (2)

(1) And se*th*en *th*u say it p*r*iuely.—D.

ffor þer he wyl pray with he stewon), 480 TEXT E.
Pater-noster to god of hewon).
he[r]kon) hym with gud wylle,
And whyl he says holde þe stylle,
But vnswere at *temtacionem* 484
Or *libera nos a malo.* amen).
Hyt were nede þen) þus to kenne,
But qwoso kenneþ not þis is leude men.
When) þis is done, sey priuely (1) 488
On) preyer anoþer þerby
Pater-noster & furste in latyne
And syþun) in englys as here is wryton).
Owre fadur, þat art in hewon), 492
Blessud be þi name to newon).
Cum to vs þi kyndome,
In hewon) & erthe þi wyl be done.
Owre ilke dayus bred grawnt vs to day, 496
And owre mysdedus for-ʒyf vs ay,
As we do hom) þat to vs trespas,
Ryght so haue mercy vp-on) vs,
And lede vs into no fowndyng, 500
But schyld vs fro aH wyccud þing.
þen aft þo preyst wyl say,
Stond styH, & herkun) hym al-way.
He seys *agnus* thryus or he ses,(2) 504
þo laste word he spekus of pes.

Thanne the prest seith with hie steu[e]ne TEXT F.
The pater-noster to god of heuene, 248
Herkene him with gode wile,
And answere him, loude or sti[l]le;
And sethen thu sey hit pryueli,(1)
For beter praeiere may thu non sey. 252
Efte-sone the prest wol somwhat say,
Be redi and answere him alway,
Herkyn hym how he speketh of pes,
And says agnus thries or he ses.(2) 256

(2) lese.—D.

TEXT B.

In þe þat pese may noght be,
Thou canst not be at peace, if not in charity; If þou be oute of charyte.
þen is gode of god to craue,
þat þou charyte may haue.
þere when þo prest [þo] pax wil kis,
knele þou & praye þen þis.
[fol. 11 b.] therefore at the Pax, pray for peace and charity. Gods lamb, þat best may
do þo synne of þis world a-way,
of vs haue merci & pite,
and graunt vs pese & charite.
Charity is three-fold: for in charyte are thre kyns loues,
þat to parfite pese nedlyng behoues.
þo first loue is certenly
first to love God; to loue þo lord souerenly.
þer-fore I pray þe, god of myght,
þou make my loue, both day & nyght,
sykerly sett euer-ilk dele
soueranly to loue þe wele,

TEXT C.

In þe þat pes may [þou] noght be
If þou owte of charite be;
than is gude on god to craue,
þat þou charite may haue.
Wharfore when the priest þe pax wille kysse,
loke þat þou be sayand this:
Goddes lambe, þat best maye,
Do the synne of þis werlde awaye,
Of vs haue mercy and pite,
And graunte vs pes and charite.
For in charite er thre kynde loues,
þat perfet* pes nedlynges behoues [* MS. profet]
The firste luf is certanly
To thy lorde souerandly.
þerfore I praye the, god of myghte,
þou make me lowe bothe daye *and* nyghte
[fol. 256 b.] Be sikirly set euerilke a dele
Soueranly to luf þe wele;

In þo laste pes may þou not be, TEXT E.
If þou be owte of charite,
þen is gud of god to craue,
þat charite þou may haue.
þere qwen þo preyst þo pax wil kusse,
Knele þen down & say þou þus.
Goddus lowmpe, þat best may,
Do þo synnus of þo word away ;
On vs haue mercy & pyte,
And grawnt vs pes & charite.
ffor in charite ar thre kynnus lowus,
þat þo perfet pes nedely be-howus.
þo furste loue is certenley
To luf þi lord so wortely.
þere-of I prey god of his myghte
To make me to luf þe, day & nyghte,
Sicurly to sette owur ilke a delle
Souerenly to luf þe welle.

Bot in that pes may thu nogth be, TEXT F.
ȝef thu be out of cherite ;
Therefore of god I rede thu craue,
That thu charite of hym may haue.
Therfore þe prest whanne þe pax schal kysse,
Loke that þu be seiende this.
Godes lombe, that best may,
Do the synne of þis worlde away,
On vs thu haue mercy and pité,
And graunt vs pes and charité.
Sut (1) **in charité beth thre manere of loues,**
That to parfite pes be-houes ;
The first loue* is certeynly, [* MS. pes]
To lowe thi lord souereynly ;
Therefore I pray god, ful of myght,
To make me loue, bothe day and nyght,
Sikerliche þe, lord, eueridel
Souereynli to low wel,

(1) *Sic* in MS. *Read* Suth = since.—*Mr Skeat.*

TEXT B.

Þat be Þi myght & gouernynge,
I be euer *in* [*Þi*] ȝernynge,
soueranly Þe to pay,
In al Þat euer I con or may ;
and prest be I, erly & late,
to my degre & myn a-state,
alle gode dedes to fulfylle,
& to eschewe alle Þat are ille.

Secondly, to love thyself;

Þo secunde is a priue loue,
Þat is nedeful to my behoue,

so that there may be peace between the spirit and the flesh.

Þo whilk loue is propirly
by-twix my soule & my body.
Þerfore make Þou, gode lorde,
my body & my soule of one a-corde,
Þat ayther part by one assent
serue Þe *with* gode entent.
Let neuer my body do Þat ille,
Þat hit may my soule spille.

TEXT C.

Þat be thy myghte and gouernynge,
I be euere in thy ȝernynge,
Soueranly Þe to paye
In alle Þat euere I kan or maye ;
And pyrst be, arly and late,
To my degre and myne astate,
Alle gude dedes to fulfille
And to eschewe [*alle*] Þat er ille.
¶ Þe secunde is a priuay luf,
Þat nedfulle is to my behoue,
Whilke loue is *pro*pirly
Betwix the saule and Þe body.
Þere make Þou, gude lorde,
My body and my saulle accorde,
Þat ayther be of oon assente
To saryf the *with* gude entente,
And lat neuere my body do Þat ille,
Þat it may my saulle spylle.

TEXT E.

Souere*n*ly þe to pay
In aⱡⱡ þ*at* ew*ur* I con̄ or may;
And to þe preyste erly & late,
To my degre & myn̄ astate,
Aⱡⱡ gode ded*us* to fulfylle,
To eschew þo þ*at* are ylle.
Þo secund is a pr*i*uey lowe
þ*at* is nedeful to my be-howe,
Þo whylke luf is pr*o*purly
be-twyx my sowle & my body.
þ*er*fore make þen̄, god lorde,
My body & my sowle on a-corde,
þ*at* ey*þur* part, be of on̄ a-sente
To serue the w*ith* gud entente.
Let my body new*ur* do þ*at* ille,
þ*at* I may new*ur* my sowle spyⱡⱡ.

TEXT F.

That bi thi myght and thi gouernynge,
That I be euere at thyn ȝernynge,
Souerenli the to pay,
In alle that euere I can and may;
And redi be, erli and late,
To myn degre and myn estate,
And gode dedes al to fulfille,
And to enchewe alle that ben ille.
The secunde is priue loue,
That nedeful is to mi be-houe,
The whiche is properli
Bitwixe mi soule and my bodi;
Therfore make thu, gode lord,
Mi bodi and soule of on acord,
That eythere parte, by on asent,
Serue the, lord, whit alle entent;
And late neuere my bodi to do þat ille
That by any way may my soule spille.

TEXT B. [fol. 12]

The third is external, or peace between man and man in the love of thy neighbour,

þo thrid loue is *with*-outen (1)
to loue ilk neghtbur me aboute[*n*],(2)
and of þat loue for no þing cese,
*þer*fore I p*ray* þe, prince of pese,
þat þou wil make, als þou may best,
my hert to be i*n* pese & rest,
& redy to loue alle man*er* of men,
My sib men namely, þen
Neghtburs, seruandes, & ilk sugete,
felouse, frendes, none to forgete,
bot loue ilk-one, bothe fer & nere,
als my-selue *with* hert[*e*] clere,
and turne hore hertis so to me,
þat we may fully frendis be,
þat I of hor gode, & þai of myne,
haue ay ioy *with* hert[*e*] fyne.

TEXT C.

¶ þe thyrde luf is *with* owten doute,
To luf thy neghbur the aboute,(2)
And of þat luf for no thynge þou ses
*þer*fore I praye the, prynce of pes,

þat þou wille [*make*], as þou may best,
Mikelle to be in pes and reste,
[fol. 257] And redy to luf alle man*er*e of men,
My sybmen namely, than
Neghburs, seruaun*t*z, *and* ilke suget,
Felawes, frendes, nane forget,
Bot luf ilkane fer and nere
Als my selfe *with* herte clere,
And turne *þer*e herte swa to me
þat wee fully frendes be,
þat I of *þer*e gude, *and* thay of myne,
Have a ioye *with* herte fyne.

(1) MS. *adds* doute.

þo thryd luf is *with*-owte dowte, 540 TEXT E.
To luf yche neghtbur aH abowte,(2)
And of þ*at* luf no þinge sese,
þ*er*fore I pray þe, furste of pes,
þ*at* þ*ou* wylt make, as þ*ou* may beste, 544
My hert to be *in* pes & reste,
And redely to luf aH man*er* of men),
And my tylmen) nomly þen),
Neghtburs & s*er*uand*us* & ilke soget, 548
ffelows, frynd*us*, non) to for-ȝete,
But luf ilkone, fer & nere,
As my selfe wyt herte clere.
And turne hor hert*us* so to me, 552
þ*at* we may fully frynd*us* be,
And þ*at* I of hor god*us*, & þei of myne,
Haue ay ioy, *with* herte fyne.

The thred loue is with-oute doute, TEXT F.
To low eche cristen man aboute,(2)
And of þat loue neuere ces;
Ther*e*fore I pray the, prince of pes, 296

That thu wilt make, as þu may best,
Myn herte to loue in pes and rest,
And redi to loue alle manere of men,
And speciali myne kynnesmen, 300
Neighbores, seruantes, and subiectes,
Frendes and foes, and for-ȝectes,
To loue echon, fere and nere,
As my-self with hert[*e*] clere; 304
And turne here hertes so to me,
That we fulli frendes be,
That I of here wel-fare, and þey of myne,
Haw cherité with herte fyne. 308

(2) þe thirde luf es *with*-outene
To ilk a neghbur me a-butene.—D.

TEXT B.

als I *pray* for my selue here,
*gra*unt so til o*þer* on selue manere,
so *þat* ilk mon loue wele othere, 564
as he were his owne bro*þere*.(1)
swilk loue among vs be,
þat we be wel loued of *þe* ;
þat be *þis* holy sac*rament*, 568
þat now is here *in* p*re*sent,
and be *þo* v*er*tu of *þis* messe,
we mot haue forgyuenesse
of al oure gilt & al oure mys, 572
& be *þi* help come to *þis* blis. Amen.

Loke pat*er*-nost*er* *þou* be sayande,
I-whils *þo* p*re*ste is rynsande.
when *þo* p*re*ste has rinsynge done, [fol. 12 *b*.] 576
opon *þi* fete *þou* stonde vp sone.
þen *þo* clerk flyttis *þo* boke
agayne to *þo* south aut*er* noke,
þo p*re*ste turnes til his seruyce 580
and saies (2) **forthe more of his office.**

that so in love and charity with all men and with God,

by the mass and presence of the sacrament,

we may obtain forgiveness and grace.

After the rinsing the priest goes on with his service;

the mass-book being brought again to the south end, as at the office.

TEXT C.

Als I praye for my selfe here,
Graun*te* so to other on this man*er*e,
So *þat* ilke man luf wel other
Als he ware his awen brother,(1) 336
And amange vs, be *þat* sac*ra*mente
þat now is in p*re*sente,
And be vertue of this messe,
Wee mowght have forgifnesse 340
Of *our*e gilte *and* *our*e mys,
þat wee may come vnto thy blysse.
¶ When the preste hase [*rynsyng*] done,
He wille speke (2) on-heghte sone 344
More forthe of his offys,
And sethen make ende of *þat* servyce.

(1) And swylk lufe o-mang vs be
Þat we be wel lufed of *þe*.
Þat by *þis* haly sacrament.—D.

As I prey for my selfe here,
Grawnte tyl oþur benꝺ þat onꝺ þo same manere,
So þat ilke monꝺ luf oþur,
As he were hys owne broþur.(1)
Suche luf amungus be,
þat we be wel lowyd of þe,
And be þis holy sacramente,
þat now is here in presente,
And be þo vertu of þo messe,
þat we may haue forȝyfnesse
Of aH owre gylte, of aH owre mysse, [page 179]
And be þi help cum to blysse.
Loke pater-noster þou be seyande,
WhyH þo preste is receyuande.
Whenꝺ þo preyste has receuyng done,
Oponꝺ þi fete þou stonde vp sone.
þenꝺ þe clerke flyttuþ his boke
Ageynꝺ to þo sowthe awter noke:
þo preyste turnus to his offys,
And says(2) forthe of his seruys.

TEXT E.

Right as I pray for my-self here,
I pray the, graunt to othere þe same manere,
That eche man loue wel othere,
As eche of vs were otheres brothere.(1)
Suche loue, lord, among vs be,
That we be loued of the,
That therwe the vertu of the messe
Thu graunte vs, lord, for-ȝewnesse
Of alle oure gylt and alle oure mysse,
And thorw thyn help [*we*] come to blysse.

Whanne the prest hath the rensynge don,
He wol make an ende son;
He seith(2) forth of his offis,
Sithe he maketh ende of his seruis.

TEXT F.

(2) say.—D.

TEXT B. **þen *with*-outen tarying**

Then do thou say this prayer to Christ for protection in all dangers;

on þis wyse be þi saying.

Jhesu, my king, I pray to þe,
bow doun þin eren of pyte,
And here my prayer *in* þis place.
gode lord, for þi holi grace
for me & alle þate here ere,
þat þou vs kepe fro alkyns were,
þat may byfalle on ony way,
In oure dedes do to day,
wheþer we ryde, or be goande,
lyg, or sitt, or if we stande;

and that, if prevented by sudden death, hearing this mass may avail instead of absolution and the viaticum.

what sodan chaunce þat comes vs tille,
oþerwayse þen were oure wille,
we praye þis messe vs stande *in* stede
of shrift, & als of housel-brede.
And, ihesu, for þi woundes fyue,
wys vs þo waye of rightwis lyue. Amen.

When þis is saide, knele doun sone,
saye pater-noster til messe be done,

Keep repeating paternosters till the mass is done,

for þo messe is noght sest,
or tyme of ite, misa est.
þen when þou heris say ite,
or benedicamus,(2) if hit be,
þen is þo messe al done;

and then say this prayer,

bot ȝit þis prayere þou make right sone;

TEXT C. [fol. 257 b.]

Euere þou gif gude herkenynge,
lowde or stille aye answerynge,
For þe mes is noght sest,
Or þe tyme of *ite*(1) *missa est.*
When þou has saide *Ite,*
Or *benedicamus,*(2) wheder it be,
þan is the messe alle done;
Bot ȝitte this prayer þou saye sone.

(1) MS. ita.

þer *with*-owtoun taryinge 576 TEXT E.
On þis wyse þou be seyinge.
Ihesu my kynge I prey þe
Bowe downe þi nere of pyte,
And here my preyer *in* þis place. 580
God lord, for þi holy grace,
ffor me & all þat here are
þu vs kepe fro all kynnus kare,
þat may be-falle *in* any way, 584
In owre dedus to do or say,
Where we ryde, or we be goand,
Lyg or sytte, or we stond;
What soden schamce coun vs tylle, 588
Oþur-weyus þen were owre wylle,
We preyun þis messe stond vs *in*-stede
Of schryfte & of howsul bred.
And, Ihesu criste, for þi woundus fyue, 592
Wyssus vs þe wey of ryztwes lyue.
When þis is seyd, knele þou downe sone,
Sey pater-noster tyl þe messe be done,
ffor þe messe is not cest, 596
Or tyme of *ite missa est*
þen þou heruste *ite*
Or *benedicamus*,(2) if þat hit be,
þen is þe messe al done, 600
But zit a preyer þou make sone;

There-to zew thu gode herkenynge, TEXT F.
Lowde or stil ay answerynge, 324
For the masse is noght cest,
Or the tyme of ite, missa est.
Bot whanne the prest seith ite,
Or benedicamus,(2) wether hit be, 328
Thanne is the masse alle do;
But zet this praiere thu say also,

(2) or *requiescant in pace*.—D.

TEXT B.

after hit, wele þou may
before leaving. In gods name wende þi way.(1)

Thank God,

God be þonked of alle his werkes,
God be þonked of prestes & clerkes,
God be þonked of ilk a mon,
and I þonke god als I con.
I thonk god of his godnesse,
specially for this mass, And nomely now of þis messe,
and pray for its acceptance. and of alle þo prayers þat here are prayde,
pray I to god þat he be payde.
Crossing thyself, in memory of Christ, ask the blessing of the Blessed. In mynde of god here I me blesse,
with my blessyng god sende me hesse.
In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. Amen
Pater noster. Aue maria. Credo.

Here ends my treatise. The rubric is good to refer to, and the prayers to learn by heart.

How þou at þo messe þi tym shuld spende
haue I told: now wil I ende.
þo robryk is gode vm while to loke,
þo praiers to con with-outen boke.

TEXT C.

After þat wele þou maye
In goddes name lyve to paye.(1)
God be thanked of alle his werkes,
God be thanked of priestes *and* clerkes,
God be thanked of ilke a man,
And I thanke hym *in* þat I kan;
I thanke god of his gudnes,
And alswa of this mes;
And of alle the prayers, þat here er prayed,
I pray hym þat he be payed.
In mynde of god here I me blysse,
With my blissynge god sende me hys.
How tyme of the messe is spendyd,
Have(2) I talde: now wille I endyd.
þe rubryke is gude vmwhile to luke,
þe prayers to cun with-owten buke.

(1) ga *thi* way.—D. (2) MS. How.

Aftur hyt wyl þou may TEXT E.
In goddus name wynde þi way.(1)
God be þonkud in aH owre werkus,
God be þonkud of preystus & clerkus,

I þonke god as I con),
I þonke god of his godnes,
And namly of þis messe.
Of aH þo preyurs þat now be preyud,
I pray god þat he be payud.
In mynde of god I here me blesse,
Wyt my blessyng god sende me hys.
In nomine patris et *filii* et *spiritus sancti.* Amen.
Pater-noster aue-mary & credo.
God send vs to owre mede. Amen).

And aftir for sothe wel þu may, TEXT F.
In godis name, go hom thi way.(1)
God be thanked of alle his werkes,
And thankede of prestes and clerkys;
God be thankede of eche man,
I thanke my lord, as hertly as I can;
I thanke him hertli of his kyndenesse,
And nameli now of this holi messe;
Of alle the praierys that here ben praied,
I pray my swete lord that he be paied.
In mynde of god I me blesse,
With my blessynge god sende me his.

How thu at the masse thi tyme schal spende,
I haw tolde now wel to þe ende.
The ribrusch * I rede thu loke somdel, [* *Sic* in MS.]
The praierys þu record with-oute boke wel;

TEXT B.

It is doubtless reason to honour the mass, for I have shown it worth more than all besides.

hit is skille w*ith*-outen doute,
þ*at* ilk mon [þ*e*] messe loue & loute,
for of alle i*n* þis world, þen is þo messe
þo worthiest þing, most of godnesse.

Explicit. Amen. fiat.

TEXT C.

It is swilke w*ith*-owten doute
þ*at* ilke man þe mes luffe*s* and loute,
For of alle thinges i*n* þis werlde is þe mes
[fol. 258] The worthyest and maste of gudnes.

Expliciunt p*re*mia misse!

TEXT F.

For hit is suche with-oute doute,
That cristene here hare masse, stil or loude,
For [*of*] alle that in this world is,
Most worthi thynge I hold the messe.
Whoso wol vse this deuocioun,
I pray him of his benisoun,

The writer beseeches the reader's prayers,

In eche a masse that he schal this here,
Sey a pater-noster for the writere,
And an aue-maria, ȝef he may;
For godis low sey noght nay.

and may God reward him.

And that hey holi god he queyte the thi mede,
Of whom we spek of when we say oure crede.

*Gra*tias. God, that his brede brake
at his maw[*n*]de whanne he sate
Amonge his postyllis twelue,
He bles oure brede and oure ayl
þ*at* we haw and haw schal,
and be with vs him-selwe.

Bidding Prayers

ACCORDING TO THE USE OF YORK.

I. Xth Century. Gospels—York Minster.

II. 1405. MS. Manual, Sir John Lawson, Bart.

III. *Circ.* 1440-50. MS. Manual, York Minster Library—xvi. M. 4.

IV. *Circ.* 1490-1500. A shorter form, written at end of same manuscript.

V. 1509. Manual, W. de Worde, Ripon Minster Library.

BIDDING PRAYER, I.

(*Before the Conquest.*)

† Wutan we gebiddan god ealmitigne heofena heah cyning 7 *sancta* marian 7 ealle godes halgan · *þaet* we moton godes ælmihtiges willan gewyrcan · þa hwil þe we on þyssan lænan life wunian · *þaet* hy ûs gehealdan 7 gescyldan · wiþ ealra feonda costnunga gesenelicra 7 ungesenelicra, Pat*er* n*oster*;

Wutan we gebiddan · for urne papan on rome · 7 for urne cyning · 7 forne arceb*isceop* 7 forne ealdorman · 7 for eallê þa þe us gehealdaþ friþ 7 freondscype on feower healfe into þysse halgan stowe · 7 for ealle þa þe ûs fore gebiddaþ binnan angelcynne 7 butan angelcynne · pat*er* n*oster* ·

Wutan we gebiddan for ure godsybbas · 7 for ure cumpeðran 7 for ure gildan · 7 gildsweostran 7 ealles þæs folces gebed þe þas halgan stowe mid ælmesan seceð · mid lihte 7 mid tigeðinge · 7 for ealle þa þe we æfre heora ælmessan befonde wæron ær life and æfter life · pa*ter* [*nost*]*er*

Bidde we _____

_____

_____

For þor[*fe*]rþes saule bidde we pa*ter* n*oster*. 7 for mícel mere saule 7 for ealle þa saula þe fulluht underfengan · 7 on crist gelyfdan fram adames dæge to þisu*m* dæge · pat*er* n*oster* ·

THE OLD ENGLISH MODERNIZED.

(*The inversions are retained.*)

Let us pray God Almighty, heavens' high King, and Saint Mary and all God's saints, that we may God Almighty's will work, the while that we in this transitory life continue; that they us uphold and shield against all enemies' temptations, visible and invisible: Our Father.

Prayer to do God's will, and for support and protection against the craft and subtilty of the devil or man.

Let us pray for our Pope in (*at*) Rome, and for our King, and for the Archbishop, and for the Alderman; and for all those that to (*with*) us hold (*maintain*) peace and friendship on the four sides towards (*of*) this holy place; and for all those that us for pray within the English nation, or without the English nation: Our Father.

For the Pope, King, Archbishop of York, the Alderman (*or* Senior of the Minster clergy); for plighted friends within the Minster bounds; and prayer-fellows of English or other race.

Let us pray for our gossips (*God-mothers*) and for our God-fathers, and for our gild-fellows and gild-sisters; and [*let us pray for*] all those people's prayer, who this holy place with alms seek, with light, and with tithe; and for all those whom we ever their alms receiving were before (*during their*) life and after life: Our Father.

For God-parents, gild-fellows, gild-sisters, and for the obtaining of the petitions of all benefactors to the Minster, by offerings or personal or testamentary gifts.

Pray we. (*The remainder of the line and the two following lines, are ruled and left blank in the manuscript.*)

For Thorferth's soul pray we a Pater-noster; and for many more souls, and for all the souls that baptism have undertaken and in Christ believed from Adam's day to this day: Our Father.

For souls whose names are recited from the bede-roll, and other souls, and all the souls that have received baptism, or seen the day of Christ afar off.

BIDDING PRAYER, II.

From *MS. Manual:* A.D. 1405. (Sir J. Lawson, Bart.)

PRO PRECIBUS DOMINICALIBUS.

Prayers are bidden

Deprecemur Deum Patrem omnipotentem pro pace et stabilitate sanctæ matris ecclesiæ.

for the whole state of Christ's Church.

ȝe sal mak your *pra*yers specially till our lord god almighti *and* til his blessyd moder mary and till' all' *the* haly court of heuen for *the* state *and th*e stabilnes of al halykirk. For *th*e pape of Rome and al his car-*di*nals and for *the* archebishop of York and for al ercebischops *and* bischops and for al men *and* women of religion and for *the* person of *th*is kirke *th*at has your saules to kepe *and* for all' *the* prestes and clerkes *th*at has serued or serues in *th*is kirk or in any other. And for al *pr*elates *and* ordiners and al *th*at halykirk reules *and* gouerns *th*at god len *th*aim grace so for to reuel *the* popil *and* swilk ensaumpil for to tak or schew *th*aim and *th*aim for to do *th*are-after. *th*at it may be louing unto god and saluacyon of *th*aire saules.

For the Pope and other bishops.

For all "religious." For the rector and clergy of the parish church, and for all ordinaries,

that God grant (lend) them grace to govern the people committed to their charge, and for example to set them.

Also ȝe sal *pra*y specially for *the* gode state of *th*is reume for *the* ky*ng and the* quene and for al *the* peris *and the* lordes of *th*is lande *th*at God send loue *and* charite *th*aim oma*ng* and gif *th*aim grace so for to reule it and gouern it in pes *th*at it be louing to God and *the* comons un-to profet.

For the good estate of the realm, the king, queen, and all the nobility;

and God's grace for the government of the kingdom to His glory and the benefit of the commons.

Also ȝe sal pray specially for *tha th*at lely and trwly payes *th*are tendes and *th*air offerandes til God and halykirk *and* for al *th*at other does *th*at God *th*aim amende.

And for them that loyally pay church dues, and for amendment to those who do otherwise.

Also ȝe sal *pray* specialy for *thaim that this* kirk first biggid *and* edefied and al *that* it up-haldes and for all *that thar*-in findes boke or chales vestiment lyght or towell' or any other anourment whare-*wit* godes seruys es sustend and for *thaim that* halybred gaf to *this* kirk to day and for *thaim that* first began and langest haldis on. And for al land tilland and for al see farand *and* for *the* wedir *and* for *the* fruyt *that* es on erthe. *that the* erthe may bring forthe his fruyt cristen men to profet. And for al pilgrymes and palmers and for al *that* any gode gates has gane or sal ga. and for *thaim that* brigges *and* stretes makes *and* amendes *that* god *grant* us *parte* of *thare* gode dedes and *thaim* of oures. Also ȝe sal *pray* for all' our parischyns whar-so *thai* be on land or on water *that* god saue *thaim* fra al missaunters *and* for all wymen *that* er *with* chield in *this* parische or in any other. *that* God delyuer *thaim* with joy and gife *the* child cristendom *and thaim* purificacion. and for al *that* er sek *and* sary *that* god al-mighthi conforth *thaim and thaim that* er in gode lyfe *that* God hald *thaim thare*-in. for *tham that* er in dette or in dedly synne or in prison *that* God bring *tham* out *thare*-of.

for *tham* and for us and for al cristen folke for charite says a *Pater*-*noster* and a aue.

For the founders and maintainers of the church,

and those who find the things necessary for divine service,

and provide holy-bread. 6

For husbandmen, mariners, seasonable weather, and for the fruits of the earth to the enjoyment of man.

For pilgrims and palmers, 11

and those who make or repair bridges or highways; and the imputation of all good works.

For fellow-parishioners. 16

That women labouring of child may have safe deliverance and the child baptism.

For the sick and afflicted.

For strength to such as do stand; and for deliverance to the debtor, the sinner, and the prisoner. 23

Ps*almus.*

Deus misereatur nostri **et cetera** Ps. (67) 66, and the doxology.

Gloria Patri.

Kyrie eleyson. *Chri*ste eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. 29

Pater noster.

Et ne nos. The priest aloud. THE SUFFRAGES.

Saluos fac servos tuos, et ancillas tuas, Deus meus.

Sperantes [*in te.*]

Esto eis Domine turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici. 35

Suffrages at length. (*Page 77, l. 27.*)

Domine, Deus virtutum.

Et ostende faciem.

Domine exaudi orationem.

Dominus vobiscum.

Ecclesiæ tuæ preces, Domine.

Oratio.

Prayer. (*Page 78.*)

Deus, qui caritatis.

Oratio.

Prayer. (*Page 78.*)

Deus a quo sancta desideria.

Prayer to the Virgin-mother for her advocacy with her Son.

¶ Also ȝe sal *pray* specialy til oure lady saynt mary *th*at sche becum oure auoket and at sche pray for hus specially till' hir' dere son.

For the brethren and sisters of the three Minsters in Yorkshire; for all to whom beholden, and that God would have prayed for.

And also ȝe sal pray specialy for *th*e breder' *and th*e sisters of saynt petir minster of york and of sant jon of beuerlay and of saynt wilfryde of rypon *and* for al *th*at ȝe er halden un-to and for al *th*at God wald ȝe prayed for says a Pater noster and ave.

Ant*iphona*.

Anthem. (*Page 79.*)

Ave regina cælorum.

In tempore. Paschali. Ant*iphona*.

At Easter-tide. (*Page 79.*)

Regina cæli, lætāre.

Versiculus.

Versicle. (*Page 72.*)

Post partum virgo.

Oratio.

Prayer. (*Page 79.*)

Famulorum tuorum.

For the souls of relations natural and spiritual,

Also ȝe sal pray specialy for oure fader' saules and oure moder saules and for oure god-fader saules and oure god-moder saules and for oure brether saules and oure sister saules and for oure eldir saules and for al *th*e saules of whame *th*e bodis es berid *in th*is kirk or in *th*is kirk-ȝerde and for al saules *th*at in purgatori godis mercy abydes and for al cristen saules of whame

and of those buried in the parish, and in purgatory,

we have had any god of says specialy a Pater-noster and Ave. and benefactors.

Ps*almus.*

De profundis. Ps. (130) 129.

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster.

Et ne nos.

Requiem æternam.

A porta inferi. Suffrages. (*Page* 73.)

Credo videre bona Domini.

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

Fidelium, Deus, omnium cond*itor* et red*emptor* animabus famul*orum*. Prayer for remission of sins to quick and dead. (*Page* 73.)

BIDDING PRAYER, III.

From MS. Manual, York Minster Library.

[* p. 173]

'Dep*rec*ac*i*o p*ro* pace eccl*es*ie et regni in die*bus* dom*in*icis.

Prayers are bidden

DEprecemur deu*m* p*at*rem om*n*ipotente*m* p*ro* statu et stabilitate *sanct*e matris eccl*es*ie *et* p*ro* pace regis et regni.

[* p. 173] for the whole state of Christ's church,

We sall make a speciall' prayer unto god all' myghty'. and to þe glorius uirgin his moder 'ouer lady sante mary. and to al þe fare felichyp of heuen. ffor alle þe state and þe stabilite of all' haly kirke. specially for our haly fader þe pope of rome. and for alle hys trewe cardinals. for þe patriark of ierusalem. and specially for þe haly crose. þat god was done opon. þat god for hys mercy. bringe itt oute of hethen men handes. into cristen menes kepyng.

and the recovery of the Holy Cross.

For the archbishop, bishop, and all "religious."

¶ Also we sall pray specially for our haly fader þe archbyschop of þis See. and for alle other archbischopes & byschopes ande for all maner of men and women of relygion. *þat* god gyfe þame grace *per*seuerance in onest and clene relygyon kepinge.

For the curate and all pastors;

¶ We sall pray specially. for þe person or for þe vikar of þis kirke þat hase ȝoure saules for to kepe. and for alle þase þat cure has tane of cristenmen saules. þat god gyf þame grace so well for to teche þare sugettis ilke curet in his degre. ande þe sugettes so weill to

wyrke efter heylfull teching þat bothe þe techers and þe sugettes may com [*to*] þe blys þat aye sall last.

¶ We sall pray specially for all prestes & clerkes þat redis or singes. in þis kirke or in any other and for all other thurgh whame goddes servys es maintened or uphalden

and other clergy of all orders.

¶ We sal prey specially for oure kynge and þe queyn and all' þe kynges childer and for þe peris and þe lordes and þe *gode com*muners of þe lande. and specially for all þas þat hafes. þe gude counsale of þe lande for to kepe þat god gef þame grase swilk counselle to take & orden and for to do þare efter þat itt may be louyng to god allmyghty. profet and weillfare to þe rem and schame and senchyp to ouer enmyse. gaynstanding and restrenyng of þare power & þare males.

For the King, Royal Family, Lords, Commons, and Council. [* p. 174]

¶ We sall pray especially for þe meer[,] þe xij[,] þe schirriues and þe xxiiij. and for all gode communers of þis cite. and for þame þat has þis cite for to govern. þat god gife þame grace so weil to rewle itt þat may be to god louyng & sauing to þe Citè[1] and profet & help to þe com*m*uners.

[1 Cité *sic* in MS.]

For the mayor and corporation of York.

¶ We sall pray specially for all our*e* gode parechens whare so euer þai be. on land or on water. þat god almyghty saue þame fra all maner of parels & bring þam whar þai walde be inquart[2] & heill both of body & of saule.

[2 *Read* in quart]

For fellow-parishioners that travel by land or water.

¶ We sall pray specially for all þase *þat* lely and trewly pays *þer* tendes & *þer* offerandes to god & to haly kirke. *þat* god do þame meid in þe blise of heuen. and þai þat dose noght so. *þat* god brynge þame sone till amendment.

For those that duly pay tithe; and amendment to defaulters.

¶ We sall pray also for all trewe pilgrams & palmers whare so euer þai be on lande or on water. *þat* god of his gudenes *graunt þame parte of our gode prayers & us of þare gode gates.

For pilgrims and benefit of their pilgrimage. [* p. 175]

For prosperity to husbandmen, and safety to seafaring people.

¶ Allso we sall pray specially for all lande tyllande þat god for his godenes and his he grace and thurgh our gude prayers. maynteyn þame so. þat þai may be upstandand. and for all þe see farand þat god allmyghtty saue þame fra all maner of parels & brynge þame and þer gudes in quart whare þaie walde be.

For deliverance from the bands of sins,

¶ We sall pray specially for all þaes þat er bun in dette or in dedely syn. þat god for hys mercy bryng þam sone oute þer of. And for all þase þat er in gode lyfe þat god maynten þame þare in and gif þame gode perseuerance in þer gudenes. And þat þis prayer may be harde and sped þe titter thurgh 3our praier. ilk a man & woman þat here is helpes hartly with a pater noster and a Ave.

and for perseverance in well-doing; and pray each one for this.

Ps. (67) 66. Deus miseriatur nostri *et cetera cum Gloria patri.*

Kyrieleeson. *Christeleeson.* Kyrieleeson.

Priest secretly. *Pater noster* [&c].

Priest aloud. **Sacerdos sine nota** Et ne nos [*inducas in temptationem.*]

People answer. [*Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*]

Suffrages. Sacerdotes tui [*induantur justitiam*
Et sancti tui exultent.]

Domine salvum fac regem.
[*Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te*]

Saluum fac populum *tuum domine* [*et benedic hæreditati tuæ*]

[*Et rege nos et extolle illos usque in æternum.*]

Domine fiat pax [*in virtute tua*]
[*Et abundantia in turribus tuis*]

Exurge *domine* [, *adjuva nos.*]

[*Et libera nos propter nomen tuum.*]

Domine *deus* virtutum [*converte nos*]
[*Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.*]

Domine exaudi [*orationem meam*]
[*Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*]

Dominus uobiscum
[*Et cum spiritu tuo*]

Oremus. **Oracio** 1

Ecclesie tue quesumus domine preces placatus admitte ut destructis aduersitatibus & erroribus universis. secura tibi seruiat libertate. 4 Prayer for the church.

Oratio

Deus a quo sancta desideria. Prayer. (*Page* 78.)

Oratio

Deus qui caritatis. Prayer. (*Page* 78.)

¶ We salle make a speciall prayer to our lady saynt mary. and to all þe feir falychyp *þat is in heuen for all þe brether & sistirs of our moder kirke saynt Petyr house of 3orke. saynt Iohn' house of Beuerlay. saynt Wilfride of Rypon. and saynt Mary of Suthwell. and specially for all þaes þat ar seik in þis parych or in any other. þat god of his godhede relese þame of þare panes & seknes and turne þame to þat way þat is maste to goddes louyng & heill of þare saules. 9 [* p. 176] For the four Minsters in the diocese of York; 13 and for the sick. 17

¶ We sal pray specially for all þaes þat wirchips þis kirke owther with buke or bell uestment or chales, awterclath or towel. or any other anourment þurgh qwilk haly kirke is or may be more honorde or wirchipt. For those that honour the church by gifts of ornaments. 21

¶ We sal pray also specialy for all þase þat gifes. or sends or in testment wytes. any gode in mayntenyng of þis kirk or kirkwarke. And for all þaes þat fyndes any lyght in þis kirke. as torche. serge. or lampe in wirchyping of god or any of his halouse. For those that give or bequeath for church work, or find light in honour of God or His saints. 27

¶ We sall pray also for all women þat er bun with childer in þis parichin or in any other þat god comforth þame and delyuer þame with ioy· & send þare childer cristendom & þe moders puryfying of holy kirk. and relese of payn in þare trauelyng. For women with child. 31

¶ We salle also pray for þame þat þis day gafe brede to þis kirk haly brede to be made of. for þame it first For those that give the holy bread.

For these and all, hail the Blessed Virgin with five Aves. [* p. 177]

began and langest haldes opon. ffor þame & for us and for all oþer þat neid has of prayer. *in* wirchyp of our lady saynt mary ilk man and woman hayls oure lady with v. Aues.

a*ntifona.*

Anthem.

Aue regina celo*rum*
aue d*omi*na angelo*rum*

V*er.*

Verse.

Post p*artum* [*virgo inviolata permansisti*]
[*Dei genetrix, intercede pro nobis.*]

Or*ati*o.

Prayer. (*Page* 79.)

Famulo*rum* tuo*rum*

tem*po*re pas*cha*li a*ntifona.*

Anthem. (*Page* 79.)

Regina celi

V*er.*

Verse repeated.

Post p*artum* [&c]

Or*acio*.

Prayer. (*Page* 80.)

Gra*tia*m tuam

For the souls of relatives, natural and spiritual,

¶ We sal make a specialle prayer for oure faders saules moder saules oure godfader saules godmoder saules. brether saules. sisters saules. and (for ellwill) all oure euenkyn saules. and for all our gudefrend*es* saules.

and those here buried,

and for all þe saules whas banes er berryd in þis kirke. or in þis kirk ȝerd. or *in* any other & specialy for all

and of all in purgatory.

þe saules þat abydes þe m*er*cy of god *in* þe paynes of purgatory. þat god for his mykill m*er*cy relese þame of þare payns if itt be his will. And þat oure prayers

With this intention say a paternoster and ave.

myght sumwhat stand þame in stede ilk man and woman helpes hertly with a p*ater* no*ster* and a ave.

P*salmus.*

Ps. (130) 129.

De profundis.
Kyrie*eeson. Christeleeson.* Kyrie*lson.*
p*ater* no*ster*

Et ne nos ind*ucas.*

Requiem eternam [*dona eis, Domine.*] [York Horæ, fo cxxxiiii.]
[*Et lux perpetua luceat eis.*]
Credo uidere [*bona domini*
In terra viuentium.]
A porta inferi.
[*Erue domine animas eorum.*]
Dominus uobiscum.
[*Et cum spiritu tuo.*]
Oremus.

Oracio.

Fidelium deus omnium [*conditor et redemptor animabus omnium famulorum famularumque tuarum remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum ut indulgentiam quam semper optauerunt piis supplicationibus consequantur.*] Prayer. [York Horæ, fo. xcvii.]

Requiescant in pace ffidelium anime per misericordiam [*dei. Amen.*]

BIDDING PRAYER, IV.

Added in MS. York Manual, York Minster Library.

[* p. 178] Der frendes. ye sall make a speciall *pra*yer unto gode allmyghty and to þat gloryes Virgyn [*his moder*] saynt mary and to all þ^e^ fay*re* fellischyp of heven ffor þe peas a*nd* þe stabylnes of all haly kyrke for o*ur* haly fadyr y^e^ pape of rome wyth all his trew cardynallys. And in generall for all men & women of relygyon. and specially for all þaes whilk has taken charge or cure of cristynmen sallys. þat gode gif þai*m* gras so for to do þ^r^ charge*s* y^t^ it may be plesyng to gode & salvacyon to all crystynmen sallys. Also ye sall p*ray* for y^e^ prosp*er*ite & wallfare of y^e^ Reygne for y^e^ kyng & his counsell y^t^ god sende hym gude counsell & wytt & gras so for do y*er*after yat it may be plesyng to gode, p*rof*et wyrchyp & salvacyon to y^e^ reygne. And for all y^e^ lordys gentylles & comynerrys and specially for all ou^r^ pareschynges yat Gode of his marcy wyll keype ye*m* for all moner of parellys of body & sall: also ye sall p*ray* for all crysten sallys yt er in ye paynes of purgotory yer ye m*er*cy of gode abydyng. And specially for all yos sallys y^t^ has moste nyde to be p*ra*yed for and fewest frendes has For ye . . . . . res and all oyer whilk gode walde haue p*ray*ed for & [*u*]ow ilk man and woman say iij p*ate*r n*oste*r & ji ave m̄ā and haue godd*es* blyssyng & o*ur* ladys & all haly kyrks.

For the state of Holy Church, the pope,

regulars, and parochial clergy.

For the Realm, King, and his council.

For nobility, gentlefolks, and commonalty. For fellow parishioners.

For all souls,

especially the friendless.

Say three paters and two aves, and obtain a blessing.

BIDDING PRAYER, V.

From "*Manuale secundum usum matris ecclesie Eboracensis*," W. de Worde, 1509.

Preces pro diebus Dominicis. [fol. 100 b.]

Preces in dominicis dicende. Deprecemur deum patrem omnipotentem pro stabilitate sancte matris ecclesie et pro pace terre. ¶ we shall make a specyall prayer unto god almighty: And to the gloryous virgyn his moder our Lady saynt mary: and to all the glorious company of heven. For the state of all holy chirche/ and for the peas of the royalme. And for all that are Trewe to the Kynge *and* to the crowne. Specyally for our holy Fader the [pope of Rome][1] and all his trewe Cardynals. And specially for the holy crosse that god was done upon that god for his merci bringe it out of the hethen *mennes handes into cristen mennes kepynge. ¶ we shall pray specyally for our holy fader the Archebisshop of this See. and for all other archebysshops *and* bysshops Abbottes Pryors· Monkes Chanons. *and* for all maner of men *and* women of relygion that god gyue them good perseuerance in honest and clene relygious lyuynge. ¶ we shall pray specially for the person of this chirche that hathe cure of mannes sowles: that god gyve them grace well for to teche theyr subgettes every curat in his degre: *and* the subgettes so well to worke after helefull techynge that bothe the techers *and* the subgets come to the blys everlastinge. ¶ we shall pray also for all prestes *and* clerkes that redys or singes in this chirche or in any other: and for all other thrughe whome goddis

Prayers are bidden

for the whole church, and the peace of the kingdom, and all loyal subjects,

[1 Struck out.]

the Pope and Cardinals, and the recovery of the holy cross.

[* fol. 101]

For bishops and regulars,

and for the rector of the parish,

and all other clergy.

service is in holy chirche mayntayned *and* upholden. ¶ we shall pray specyally for the kynge *and* the quene *and* the peers *and* lords and all the good commeners of this londe. *and* specyally for all those that hathe the good counsayle of the londe to gouerne: that God gyue them grace such counsayle to take and ordeyne and so for to worke therafter that it may be louinge to god almighty *and* profite *and* welfare to the royalme: *and* gaynstandinge *and* refrayninge of our enmyes power *and* malice ¶ we shall pray especially for all those that worshippes this chirche or any other with boke belle vestimente chalice auterclothe or towell: or any other ornament thrugh the whiche holy chirche *is or may be in any poynte nat[1] honowred or worshipped. ¶ we shall pray also specyally for al that giues or sendes in testament any good to the right mayntenaunce *and* upholdinge of the worke of this chirche. *and* for all theym that fyndes any lyght in this chirche: as in torche taper lampe in worshippynge of god or of our lady or of any of his sayntes. ¶ we shal also pray specially for all our good parisshens wheresover they be / on water or on londe. that god of his goodnes saue theim frome all maner of peryls and bringe them safe where they wolde be in helthe of body *and* sowle *and* also of goodes. ¶ we shal pray specyally for all those that are in dette or in dedely synne: that god for his great mercy brynge them sone therof. *and* for al those that are in good lyvynge / that god maynten them *and* gyue them good persueraunce in their goodnes. *and* that these prayers may be herd *and* sped the soner thrughe your prayers, euery man and woman that here is helpe them hertely with a. Pater noster and an Ave maria. &c.

For the King, Queen, Lords, and Commons.

For benefactors of the church, in ornaments,

[* fol. 101 *b*.]

[1 nat *sic*]

gifts,

bequests,

or light.

For parishioners,

in their bodies, souls, and property.

For unassoiled sinners,

and good livers,

pray heartily a pater and ave.

Ps. (67) 66.

DEus misereatur nostri, et benedicat nobis: illuminet vultum suum super nos *et* misereatur nostri.

Ut cognoscemus in terra viam tuam: *in* omnib*us* gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi populi deus: confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Let*en*tur et exultent gentes: quoniam iudicas popu- lor in equitate et gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi populi deus: confiteantur tibi populi om*n*es: terra dedit fructum suu*m*. [* fol. 103]

Benedicat nos deus deus noster be*n*edicat nos deus: et metuant eum omnes fines terre.

Gloria patri.

Kyrieleyso*n*. *Christ*eleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster. Priest secretly.

Et ne nos in.

Sed libera nos

Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitiam. Suffrages.

Et sancti tui exultent. The priest aloud.

Domine saluu*m* fac regem. The people answer.

Et exaudi nos in die qua inuocauerimus te.

Saluum fac popul*um* tuum domine et benedic hereditati tue.

Et rege nos *et* extolle illos vsq*ue* in eternum.

Domine fiat pax in virtute tua.

Et habundantia in turribus tuis.

Exurge domine adiuva nos.

Et libera nos propter nomen tuu*m*.

Domine deus virtutum converte nos.

Et oste*n*de faciem tuam et salui erimus.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Domin*us* vobiscu*m*.

Et cu*m* spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Or*acio*

ECclesie tue quesumus domine preces placatus ad- Prayer for church.
mitte: ut destructis aduersitatibus et erroribus universis secura tibi serviat libertate.

Oracio

Collect for health of mind and body.

DEus qui caritatis dona per gratiam sancti spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infundisti: da famulis et famulabus tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam salutem mentis et corporis: ut te tota virtute. diligant: et que tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant.

Oracio

Collect for peace.

DEus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia èt justa sunt opera da seruis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem.: ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita: et hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione [1]transquilla[1]: per christum.

[1 *sic*]

¶ ye shall knele downe deuoutly on your knese *and* [* fol. 102 *b*.] *make a specyall praer unto our blessed lady saint Mary

For the four Minsters in the diocese of York.

and to all the felawshyp of heuen/ for all the bretheren *and* sisters of our moder chirch saynt Peter of yorke.

For the sick.

saynt Johñ of Beuerlay. saynt wilfred of Ryppon: *and* saint Mary of Suthwell. and specially for all those that be seke in this parisshe or in any other that god of his goodnes / releas them of their peynes in theyr sekenes and turne them to the way that is moste to goddes plesure *and* welfare of theyre soules. vve shall

For those who "pay their duties,"

praye for all those that duely *and* truly payes theyr tendes and theyr offerynges to god and to the holy Chirche that god do them mede in the blisse of heven

and amendment to those who fail herein.

that euer shall last: *and* they that dose nat so: that god of his mercy brynge theym sone to amendemente.

For pilgrims and mutual imputation of good works.

vve shall pray also for all true pylgrymes *and* palmers vvheresoeuer they be on vvater or on londe that god of his goodnes graunt them parte of our good prayers *and* us parte of theyr good pylgrimages. we shall also praye

For husbandmen,

for all lande tylland, that god for his goodnes *and* for his grace *and* through our good prayers may[n]teyne

fair weather,

them that they may be saued frome all euyll wyndes and weders *and* from all dredfull stormes that god

sende us corne *and* catell for to lyue upon to goddes pleasu[*r*]e and the welfare of our sowles. we shall pray also for all women that be with chylde in this parysshe or any other, that god conforte them and sende the chil[*de*][1] *Christendom and the moder Purificacion of holy chirche / and releacynge of peyne in theyr trauelynge. ¶ we shall pray specyally for theym that this daye gave brede to this chirche: for to be made holy brede of. For them that it began and lengest upholdes. For them *and* for us and for all them that nede hathe of good prayers. In worshyp of our lady saynt Mary and of her .v. Ioyes. Every man and woman say in the honoure of hir .v. tymes Ave maria

and good produce. 2

For women labouring with child.

[1 *at end of line*] [* fol. 103]

For those who find the holy loaf. 9

Prayer in honour of the Blessed Virgin. 13

Ant*iphona.*

Ave regina celor*um*
mater regis angelorum
O maria flos virgin*um*
velut rosa vel lilium
funde preces ad filium
pro salute fidelium.

Anthem. 17 21

V*ersus.*

Post partum virgo *i*nuio.

Verse. (*Page* 72.)

Oremus. **Or***acio.*

Collect.

FAmulorum tuorum quesum*us* d*omi*ne delictis ignósce: ut qui tibi placere de actibus nostris non valemus genitricis filii tui d*omi*ni dei n*ost*ri intercessione saluemur. Per eunde*m* *christ*um d*omin*um nostru*m*. 25 29

Hec an*tiphona* **dicet***ur* **te***m***pore paschali.**

At Easter-tide,

Regina celi letare alleluya:
quia que*m* meruisti portare alle*luya*:
resurrexit sicut dixit alle*luya*:
ora pro nobis deum alleluya.

Anthem. 33

Verse repeated.

Versus.

Post partum virgo *in*uio.

Oremus. Or*acio*.

Collect.

GRatiam tuam quesumus d*omi*ne me*n*tibus nostris infunde: ut qui angelo nunciante *Christi* filii tui incarnationem cognouimus: per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloria*m* perducamur. Per eu*n*de*m* christum d*omi*nu*m* nostru*m*. Ame*n*.

For the dead, kneeling,

¶ ye shall make a speciall prayer for your faders sowles: for your moders sowles: godfaders sowles *and* godmothers sowles: broders sowles *and* sisters sowles: [* fol. 103 b.] *and* for all your elders sowles: *and* for all the *sowles that ye or I be bownde to praye for. and specyally for all the sowles whose bones are buryed in this chirche or in this chirche yerde: or in any other holy place. and in especyall for all the sowles that bydes the great mercy of almighty god in the bytter peynes of Purgatory: that god for his great mercy releas them of theyr peyne if it be his blessyd wyll. And that our prayers may sumwhat stande them in stede: Every man and woman of your charite / helpe them with a Pate*r* noster and an Ave maria.

Say a pater and ave.

Ps. (130) 129. **Ps***almus*. **D**e profundis. **etc.**

Kyrieleyson. *Christe*leyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster.

Et ne nos.

(*Page* 73.) Requiem eterna*m*.

Credo videre.

A porta inferi.

D*omi*nus uobiscu*m*.

Et cu*m* spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Or*acio*.

Prayer. (*Page* 73.) **F**idelium Deus omnium conditor, **etc.**

Fidelium ani*m*e per mi*sericordi*am dei in pace requiesca*n*t. AMEN.

York Hours of the Cross.

YORK HOURS OF THE CROSS.

[fol. 1] MATINS.

Lorde un-do my lyppis, ie*s*u, heuen kyng,
And my mouthe sall say þi loueyng.
Dom*i*ne labia mea apperies, et os meu*m*: et ce*tera*.

God þu be my help at my begy*n*nyng,
And me to help þu þe hy, at my endyng.
Deus in adiutoriu*m* meu*m* intende. Dom*i*ne ad, et ce*tera*.
Ioy un-to fadyr *and* þe son*n* *and* þe haly gast in heuen
þ*at* was at þe begynnyng *and* eu*er* es in heuen.
Gloria patri et filio et sp*irit*ui s*ancto*: sicut erat et ce*tera*.

The Memory. lord ie*s*u cryste, I p*ray* þe here my steuenen.
for þi swete modyr sak, þ*at* es qwhen of heuen;
Anthem. þi wysdome of þe fadyr, þe god ryghtwesnes.
God *and* man, at morne tyde, taken he es,
for-sakyne of hys frendes & left—w*it*outy*n* les.
His Betrayal. Be-trayede to þe jewys & dampnyde sackles.
lord for þ*at* ylk payn þu suffyrde at morne tyde
lat neu*er* my saule· on domis day be forlorne.
Patris sapiencia veritas diuina. De*us* ho*mo* et ce*tera*.

Versicle. We wyrchyppe þe cryste ie*s*u, god son.
Answer. For w*it* þi holy cros: þ*is* world haues þu won.
[fol. 1 *b*.]
Read Adoramus. **Adorarus te *Christ*e et be*n*edicim*us* t*ibi*: Q*ui*a p*er* crucem et ce*tera***

HORÆ DE SANCTA CRUCE SECUNDUM USUM EBORACEN.

Ad Matutinas. [fol. 2 b.]

Domine labia mea aperies : Ps. (51) 50, 15.
Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende : Ps. (70) 69, 1.
Domine ad adiuvandum me festina. 4

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto :
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in [* fol. 3]
secula seculorum. Amen.

(Antiphona)

Patris sapiencia, veritas diuina, 8 [fol. 13]
Deus homo captus est hora matutina,
A notis discipulis cito derelictus,
A iudeis traditus, venditus, afflictus.

(Versus)

Adoramus te *Christe* et benedicimus tibi : 12

(Responsorium)

Qui[a] per sanctam crucem tuam redimisti mundum.

The Prayer.

lorde iesu cryste, leuand god sone,
Þu set þi deyd, þi cros, and þi passione,
Be-twix þi dome, & my saul, for deyd *þat* I haue don,
Now [*and*] at my endyng *þat* I be noght fordon.
And *gra*unte us m*er*cy, & grace whyls we er on lyue
Un-to þi kyrke, un-to þi rewme, for þi wondys fiue;
forgyuenes & reste to þai*m* *þat* to ded ere dryue,
joy to al synful: *þis* graunt us be-liue.
Þu *þat* liues, þu *þat* reynnes, god w*it*-owtyn ende
in werld of werles w*it* ioy *þat* eu*er* sal lende.
Dne ihu *Christe* **fili dei uiui pone passione***m.* **et ce***tera.*

PRIME. His Mocking.

At p*ri*me led was ie*s*u unto Pilate
yai (*sic*) band hym as a thefe, and sor hy*m* smate;
many fals witnes, þai wryed hym many gate,
þai spytted ie*su*ys face, þe light of heuens yate.

lord for *þat* ilk shame· þu soffird at prime,
lat neu*er* my saul on domesday mystime.
[fol. 2] **Hora prima ductus est** i*esu*s **ad pilatu***m* **et** ce*tera.*

TIERCE. His Scourging.

At þe tyme of oundron þai gun cry & call,
For hethyng þai hy*m* cled *in* purper & in pall,
þai set on his heyde a cron of thorn w*it*-all,
and gerte hy*m* bere on his bak þe cros to þe pynstal.

lord for *þat* ilk shame, þu sofyrd in *þat* place,
of deydly synne me to shryue, þu gyue grace.
Crucefige clamita*nt* **hora terciarum. et** ce*tera.*

SEXT. His Crucifixion.

At þe tyme of myd-day þai dyd hy*m* on þe rode
Betwix two theues *þat* had spylt manys blode;
for þe panys he threstyd il· þai gaue hi*m* dry*n*k ungod,
Bytt*er* gall [. . . . .] he wald noght of þat fod.

lord for *þat* ilk shame *þat* was þi body neghe
Scheld me fro my il fays, þe world, fend & fleshe
Hora sexta i*esu*s **est cruci conclavatus et** ce*tera.*

(Oracio) Oremus.

Domine iesu *Christe*, fili dei uiui, pone passionem crucem *et* mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum et animas nostras, nunc et in hora mortis nostre, et largiri digneris uiuis misericordiam et gratiam, defunctis veniam et requiem, ecclesie regnoque pacem et concordiam, infirmis sanitatem, et nobis peccatoribus vitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui vivis et regnas [deus, Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen]. From printed Horæ, fo. xlii.

(Versus)

Gloriosa passio domini nostri iesu *christi* perducat nos *ad uera gaudia paradisi: Amen. [* fol. 13 b.]

(Ad Primam)

Hora prima dominum ducunt ad *pilatum, [fol. 16]
Falsis testimoniis multum accusatum
In collo percutiunt, manibus ligatum,
Vultum dei conspuunt, lumen deo gratum.
Adoramus te *Christe*. Quia per. [**ut supra**]

[Ad Terciam]

Crucifige clamitant hora terciarum, [fol. 17 b.]
Illusus induitur veste purpurarum:
Caput eius pungitur corona spinarum,
Crucem portat humeris ad loca penarum.
Adoramus. Quia. [**ut supra**]

[Ad Sextam]

Hora sexta iesus est cruci conclavatus, [fol. 19]
Et est cum latronibus pendens deputatus:
Pre tormentis s[i]ciens felle satur[at]us,
Agnus crimen diluit sic ludificatus.
Adoramus te *Christe*. Quia per.

NONES. His Death.

At þe tyme of none *ies*u gun cry;
he wytte his saul to his fadyr, [*Eli*].
A knyght smat hi*m* to þe hert, had he no m*er*cy;
þe sone be-gane to wax myrk qw*en* *ies*u gu*n* dy.

[fol. 2 *b*.]

lord out of þi syd ran a ful fayre flude
As clere as well wat*er* our rannson be þi blode.
Hora nona d*omin*us *ies*us expirauit: Et ce*tera*.

EVENSONG. His taking from the Cross.

At þe tyme of euen-sang þai tok hy*m* fro þe rod
his myght was *in* his godhede, so *gra*cius & god,
þe meydcyne of his paynes, þe schedy*ng* his blod,
Be noryschyng to us of or gastly fod.

lord for þat ilk schame *þat* þu dou*n* was tane
lat neu*er* my saul w*it* deydly syn be sclayne.
De cruce deponitur hora uesp*er*tina. Et ce*tera*.

COMPLINE. His Burial. [Cambridge MS. Maskell M. R. 2, 70.]

[At our of comepelyn, thei leiden hym in graue,
The noble bodi of Iesu, that mankind schal saue:
With spicerie he was biried, hooli writ to fulfille,
Thenke we sadli on his deeth, that schal saue us from helle.]

From the Prymer of 1543. Maskell M. R. 2, p. xvii.

[O blessed chryst these houres canonycall,
To thee I offer with meke deuocyon:
For us thou hast suffered those paynes all,
In thy greuous agony by lyke reason,
So by the remembraunce of thy passyon,
Make me accordyng to my busynes,
Partaker of thy crowne and glory endles.]

[Ad Nonam]

Hora nona *domi*nus i*esus* expirauit, [fol. 20 *b*.]
Heli clama*ns* a*nim*am p*atri* com*m*endauit :
La*tus* eius lancea miles *per*forauit ;
Terra tunc co*n*tremuit, et sol obscurauit.

[Versus]

Adoramus te *Christe*. Quia p*er*

[Ad Vesperas de cruce.]

De cruce deponitur hora uespertina, [fol. 22]
Fortitudo latuit in mente diuina :
Talem mortem subiit vite medicina,
Heu corona glorie iacuit supina.
Adoramus te *Christe*. Quia per *sanct*am.

(Ad Completorium)

Hora completorii datur sepulture [fol. 24]
Corpus *Christi* nobile, spes vite future ;
Conditor aromate, complentur scripture, Frag. Con*ditur*.
Jugis sit memoria mortis michi cure.(1)

[Recommendatio] Title from Horæ, 1536. [fol. 24 *b*.]
Has horas canonicas cum devotione
Christe tibi recolo pie racione, Frag. "pia."
Tu, q*ui* pro me passus es amoris ardore,
Sis michi solacium mortis in agone.

V*ersus*.

Adoramus te, *Christe* et b*e*nedicimus tibi : Verse.
quia per sanctam cruc*em* tuam redimisti mundum Response.
Qui passus es p*ro* nobis
Domine miserere nobis.

O*ratio*. Domine iesu. Amen. Prayer. (*Page* 85.)

(1) Jugi sit memoria mors hec michi cure. . . . . Printed Hours and Fragment (*York*); Horæ 1536 (*Lincoln Cathedral Library*).

Appendix.

I. The Order of Mass for Trinity Sunday, according to the use of York—(from MS., about A.D. 1425) with an English Translation.

II. Authorized Expositions of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, put forth in English, A.D. 1357—1515.

III. Præparatio Eucharistiæ, or considerations before receiving the Sacrament of the Altar.—MS., about A.D. 1400.

IV. How a Man should hear his Mass.—From Vernon MS., about A.D. 1370.

V. Lydgate's Merita Missæ.—From Cottonian MS., about A.D. 1460.

APPENDIX I.

ORDO MISSÆ IN FESTO SANCTÆ TRINITATIS SECUNDUM USUM MATRIS ECCLESIÆ EBORACENSIS.

(From *MS., York Minster Library*, xvi. A. 9.)

Quando presbyter lavat manus ante missam dicat hanc orationem sequentem.

Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens pater, ut sic[*ut*] hic abluuntur inquinamenta manuum : ita a te mundentur pollutiones mentium, et crescat in nobis augmentum sanctarum virtutum ; Per *Christum Dominum.*

Antiphona.

Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat iuventutem meam.

Psalmus. Judica me, Deus.

Gloria patri.

Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson

Pater noster.

Sacerdos introeat ad Altare, præcedentibus in ordine ministris.

Dicat :

Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus :

Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.

Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis, fratres, quia ego peccator peccavi nimis corde, ore, opere, omissione, mea culpa : ideo precor gloriosam dei genetricem Mariam et omnes sanctos Dei et vos orare pro me.

A VERBAL RENDERING

OF THE

ORDINARY OF THE MASS, WITH THE SERVICE OF TRINITY SUNDAY, ACCORDING TO THE USE OF YORK.

When the presbyter washes his hands before mass, let him say the prayer here following. The Priest, before Mass.

Grant to our understandings, Almighty Father, that like as the filth of our hands is here washed away, so the defilement of our minds may be cleansed by Thee, and the growth of holy virtues may increase in us; through Christ our Lord.

Anthem.

I will go in unto the altar. [*From* Ps. (43) xlii, 4.] *Psalm* (43) xlii, and *Gloria Patri.* On entering the Church.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, &c.

Let the priest go in to the altar, the ministers going in order before him.

Let him say [*the Versicle*].

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious: for his mercy endureth for ever. [Ps. (118) cxvii, 1.]

I confess to God, Blessed Mary and all His saints, and to you, brethren, that, sinner, I have sinned exceedingly in heart, in mouth, in things done, in things left undone, by my fault; wherefore I beseech Mary, the glorious mother of God, and all the saints of God, and you, to pray for me. The Confession of the Priest. *Page* 6, B. 42-3.

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra; liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducat vos ad vitam æternam.

Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ pœnitentiæ, emendationem vitæ, gratiam et consolationem sancti Spiritus, tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Deus.

Chorus. Amen.

Factaque ante gradus altaris confessione, ascendat ad altare dicens.

Deus, tu conversus vivificabis nos.

Et plebs tua lætabitur in te.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.

Et sancti tui exultent.

Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.

Et ostende faciem tuam, [*et salvi erimus.*]

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad [*te veniat*].

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Inclinatus ad altare dicat Oremus.

Oratio.

Aufer a nobis, Domine, iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum mereamur puris mentibus introire. Per Dominum nostrum.

¶. Erectus signet se, et in dextro cornu altaris dicat officium et cætera.

[In Festo sanctæ Trinitatis. Officium.

Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas atque indivisa Unitas:

(*The answer of the ministers and people and their confession are not inserted in the Manuscript.*) Confiteor in English. *Page* 8—10.

Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life. (*The Answer.*) Amen. The answer of the priest to the confession of the ministers and people.

[*The priest.*] Almighty and merciful God grant unto you absolution and remission of all your sins, space for true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit. *The Choir.* Amen. The General Absolution. *Page* 6, B. 48.

And the confession ended before the altar step, let him go up to the altar, saying:

O God, when thou art turned again, thou wilt quicken [us.
And thy people shall rejoice in thee.

Show us thy mercy, O Lord.

And grant us thy salvation. [Ps. (85) lxxxiv, 6 & 7.]

Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness.

And let thy saints rejoice. [Ps. (132) cxxxi, 9.]

Turn us again, thou God of hosts.

And show the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole. [Ps. (80) lxxix. 7.]

Lord hear my prayer.

And let my cry come unto thee. [Ps. (102) ci, 1.]

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

"*Inclining afore*" *the altar, let him say,* Let us pray.

Orison.

Take away from us, O Lord, our iniquities, that, with pure minds, we may be worthy to enter into the holy of holies; through Christ our Lord. The Orison.

Standing upright let him sign himself (*with the cross*), *and at the right corner of the altar let him say the Office with* Gloria Patri, *and* Kyrie eleyson, &c. The Office. *Page* 10, B. 88, and Kyries.

The Office of Trinity Sunday.

Blessed be the Holy Trinity and the undivided

confitebimur ei quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Psalmus.

Benedicamus Patri et Filio: cum Spiritu Sancto.]

Et postea incenset altare.

In medio altaris erectis manibus incipiat Gloria in excelsis.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te, Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, Rex cœlestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.

Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris, Qui tollis peccata mundi,(1) suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Tu solus Dominus, Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe cum Sancto Spiritu, In gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

Postea conversus sacerdos ad populum dicat:

Dominus vobiscum.

[*Et cum spiritu tuo.*]

Et reversus dicat Oremus. **cum collecta.**

[Oratio

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti nobis famulis tuis, in confessione veræ fidei, æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere: et in potentia maiestatis adorare Unitatem, quæsumus, ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis. In qua vivis et regnas Deus. *per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*]

Notandum quod ad missam juxta Romanum ordi

(1) The MS. does not insert *Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*

Unity: we will praise Him, for He hath wrought His merciful kindness upon us.

Psalm.

Let us bless the Father and the Son with the Holy Ghost.

And afterward let him cense the altar.

In the midst of the altar, with uplifted hands, let him begin the Gloria in Excelsis.

On high days. *Page* 14, B. 115.

Glory be to God on high, And in earth peace, towards men of goodwill. We praise thee, We bless thee, We worship thee, We glorify thee, We give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

The Gloria in Excelsis, or Angelic Hymn.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, That takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; Thou only art the Lord; Thou only, O Christ Jesus, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Afterwards let the priest turn to the people and say:

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

And let him turn to the altar again and say, Let us pray, *with the collect.*

The Collect of Trinity Sunday.

The Collect for the day.

Almighty and everlasting God, who hast given unto us, thy servants, grace by the confession of the true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of thy majesty to worship the Unity: We beseech thee that by stedfastness in this faith, we may evermore be defended from all adversities, in which [*Unity*] thou livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen.

It is to be noted that at mass, according to the

nem una collecta dicitur propter unitatis sacramentum: et tres exemplo Domini, qui ter ante passionem orasse legitur, vel propter Trinitatis mysterium: quinque propter quinquepartitam Domini passionem, in cuius commemoratione eadem celebrantur officia: septem, quia septem dominicæ orationis petitiones ad consecrationem eorum mysteriorum apostoli frequentasse leguntur, vel ad impetranda (1) septem dona Spiritus sancti: quem numerum (2) nemo excedere ulla ratione permittitur.(3)

Dum legitur Epistola et canitur Gradale et Alleluya vel Tractus vel Tropus, sedeat cum ministris ad legendum evangelium.

[Lectio libri apocalypsis beati Iohannis apostoli. In diebus illis . . . . . in sæcula sæculorum.]

Dum petit diaconus benedictionem, respondeat sacerdos:

Dominus aperiat tibi os ad legendum et nobis aures ad intelligendum sanctum evangelium pacis. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Et vicarius

Da mihi, Domine, sermonem rectum et benesonantem in os meum, ut placeant tibi verba mea; et omnibus audientibus propter nomen tuum in vitam æternam.

[Gradale

Benedictus es, Domine, qui intueris abyssos et sedes super cherubim.

Versus.

Benedicite Deum cœli: quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Alleluya.

(1) impetrandam—MS. (2) numeros—MS.

Roman Order, one collect is said on account of the sacrament of Unity: and three after the example of our Lord, who is read to have prayed thrice before his passion, or on account of the mystery of the Trinity: five on account of the fivefold passion of the Lord, in commemoration of whom these same offices are celebrated: seven because the apostles are read to have repeated the seven petitions of the Lord's prayer for the consecration of the mysteries, or for the obtaining of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and this number no one is on any account allowed to exceed. Rubric for number of Collects.

At the reading of the epistle, and the singing of the gradual and alleluya, or the tract or trope, let (the priest) sit with the ministers until the gospel is to be read.

The portion of scripture appointed for the epistle is [*Chapter* iv. *vv.* 1—10] of the Book of the Revelation of Saint John. The Epistle. *Page* 16, C. 85.

When the deacon asks a blessing, let the priest answer: The deacon, before reading the gospel, asks the priest's blessing.

The Lord open thy mouth to read, and our ears to understand the holy gospel of peace. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And let the vicar[-choral answer]

Give me, O Lord, unto my mouth, speech, right and well-sounding, that my words may be pleasing unto thee; and for thy name's sake [*may they be*] to all that hear them unto everlasting life.

The Gradual of Trinity Sunday. The Gradual or Grayle.

Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths, and sittest upon the cherubims. [Dan. (*Apocr.*) iii, 32.]

Verse of Gradual.

Bless ye God, ye heavens, for he hath wrought his merciful kindness upon us.

Alleluya.

(3) The long rubric as to the ending of the collects is given in the notes.

Versus

Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum: et laudabilis in sæcula.

Sequentia.

Benedicta [*sit beata Trinitas . . . . a iudice præmia.*]

Evangelium

In illo tempore . . . . . eternam.]

Post lectum evangelium dicat sacerdos: (1)

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Postea osculetur textum.

Statim sacerdos in medio altaris incipiat excelsa voce:

Credo in unum Deum . . . . . venturi sæculi. Amen.

¶. **Notandum est quod** Credo **dicitur generaliter omnibus dominicis diebus per totum annum . . .** (&c)

Dum canitur Credo **subdiaconus cum textu et acolytus cum thuribulo chorum circumeant. Post conversus sacerdos ad populum dicat:**

Dominus vobiscum.

Et reversus dicat:

Oremus.

Et canat cum suis ministris offertorium.

[**Offertorium**

Benedictus sit Deus Pater, Unigenitusque Dei Filius, Sanctus quoque Spiritus, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.] (2)

Et componat hostiam super corporales pannos et dicat:

Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego miser indignus peccator offero in honore tuo, et beatæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro peccatis et offensionibus meis, et pro salute vivorum et requie

(1) The Rouen edition of the Missal (1517) and other editions here add "*secrete.*"

Verse of the Alleluya.

Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers, and worthy to be praised for evermore. [*From* Dan. (*Apocr.*] iii, 3.)

The Sequence of Trinity Sunday. The Sequence.

Blessed be the Holy Trinity, &c.

The Gospel. Trinity Sunday.

[St John, iii, 1—15.] Reading the Gospel.

After the Gospel is read, let the priest say: *Page* 16, B. 153.

Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.

Then let him kiss the book of the gospels.

Forthwith let the priest in the midst of the altar begin with a loud voice:

[The Nicene Creed, known as the "Mass-Creed."] The Creed. *Page* 18, B. 195.

It is to be noted that the Creed is said without exception on all Sundays throughout the year, &c. &c.

Whilst the Creed is in singing let the subdeacon with the book of the gospels and the acolyte with the censer go about the quire. Afterwards let the priest turn to the people and say:

The Lord be with you.

And let him turn again (to the altar) and say:

Let us pray.

And let him sing the Offertory with his ministers. Offertory.

The Offertory. Trinity Sunday.

Blessed be God the Father, and the Only-begotten Son of God, and also the Holy Spirit, who hath wrought His loving-kindness upon us.(2) *Page* 22, B. 241-4

And let him lay in order the host upon the corporas-cloths and say: Presenting the Oblations, or Sacrifice.

Accept, O Holy Trinity, this oblation which, miserable, unworthy sinner, I offer in honour of thee and blessed Mary and all thy saints; for mine own sins and offences, for the salvation of the living and the repose

(2) After the Offertory in parish churches on Sundays came the Bidding of Prayer in the vulgar tongue.—*Pages* 62—80.

fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Item calicem cum vino et aqua et tunc dicat:

Acceptum sit sacrificium istud omnipotenti Deo.

Lavet manus et dicat:

Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas: et circumdabo altare tuam, Domine.

Hymnus.

Veni creator spiritus **& cætera**

Postea ante medium altare inclinatus dicat:

In spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito suspiciamur Domine, a te, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo, ut a te suscipiatur hodie: et placeat tibi, Domine Deus meus.

Et ingrediendo osculetur altare, et signet sacrificium dicendo

Sit signa✠tum ordi✠natum et sancti✠ficatum hoc sacrificium nostrum.

Post versus ad populum dicat.

Orate, fratres et sorores, pro me peccatore ut meum pariterque vestrum Domino Deo acceptum sit sacrificium.

Chorus (1) **respondeat**

Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribulationis

usque Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui.

Post versus ad altare dicat secretas:

[Secreta.

Sanctifica quæsumus Domine Deus noster per sancti

(1) The Rouen edition of 1517 and other printed Missals insert "*secrete*"—a very significant alteration.

of the faithful departed, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

And the chalice also with wine and water, and then let him say:

May this sacrifice be acceptable to Almighty God.

Let him wash his hands and say:

I will wash my hands among the innocent (*in innocency*): and I will compass thine altar, O Lord. [Ps. (26) xxv, 6.] The Washing. *Page* 24, C. 123.

The Hymn.

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire."

Afterwards let him bow before the midst of the altar and say:

In a spirit of humility and with a contrite mind may we be accepted of Thee, O Lord, and may our sacrifice be so offered in thy sight that it may be accepted of Thee this day, and may be pleasing to Thee, O Lord, my God. Prayer for acceptance of the Sacrifice.

And let him go up to and kiss the altar, and sign the sacrifice (with the sign of the cross), saying: *Page* 24, B. 263.

May this our sacrifice be signed, "set in order" (*Exodus* xl, 23), and sanctified. The old form of Oblation.

Afterwards, turning to the people, let him say: The priest asks the people's prayers. *Page* 24, B. 265.

Pray, brethren and sisters, for me a sinner, that the sacrifice, mine and yours not less, may be accepted by the Lord our God.

Let the choir answer:

The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble: the Name of the God of Jacob defend thee; Answer. *Page* 24, B. 274.

Send thee help from the sanctuary: and strengthen thee out of Sion;

Remember all thy offerings. [Ps. (20) xix, 1—3.]

Afterwards turning to the altar, let him say his secret prayers. The priest prays secretly. *Page* 26, B. 280.

For Trinity Sunday.

Sanctify, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, the

tui nominis invocationem et per Unigeniti tui virtutem huius oblationis hostiam, et cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per eam nosmet ipsos tibi perfice munus æternum. Qui in Trinitatis perfectione]

Et concludat.

Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat.

Et dicat

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. **Cum alta voce.**

Et sequatur præfatio quæ pertinet ad diem.

Subnotatur. Pelagius [papa] constituit cantari has ix præfationes: I. de Nativitate; II. de Apparitione; III. de Quadragesima; IIII. de Passione et de Cruce; V. de Pascha; VI. [*de*] Ascensione; VII. de Pentecoste; VIII. de Trinitate; IX. de Apostolis Petro et Paulo, et etiam de pluribus apostolis dicitur. Gregorius [papa] decimam adiecit de sancto Andrea apostolo, et etiam Urbanus [papa] (1) **undecimam de Sancta Maria addidit.**

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

[*Amen*]

Dominus vobiscum

[*Et cum spiritu tuo*]

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro

Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine, Sancte Pater, Omnipotens,

[Præfatio in die Trinitatis et in dominicis diebus quando de dominica agitur, a festo sanctæ Trinitatis usque ad Adventum.

Æterne Deus, Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus: non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius Trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloria, revelante te, credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine

(1) "*Papa*," erased.

sacrifice now being offered by the invocation of thy holy name, and by the power of thy Only-begotten; and do Thou, the Holy Ghost working therewith, by it perfect us, even us, for an everlasting offering unto Thee, who livest and reignest in the perfection of the Trinity.

And let him end (except when another ending is appointed, as on Trinity Sunday).

Through Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee.

And say For ever and ever *with a loud voice.* The priest ends the *secreta* and

Then let there follow the preface for the day.

Note. Pope Pelagius appointed these nine prefaces to be sung: The first, [at masses] of the Nativity; the second, of the Epiphany; the third, of Lent; the fourth, of the Passion, and [festivals of] the Cross; the fifth, of Easter-tide; the sixth, of the Ascension; the seventh, of Whitsuntide; the eighth, of Trinity; the ninth, is said [at masses] of the apostles Peter and Paul, and also of many apostles. Pope Gregory added a tenth of Saint Andrew, the apostle; and, moreover, Pope Urban added an eleventh [for masses] of Saint Mary.

For ever and ever. [The ending of the *Secreta.*] begins the preface with these words. *Page* 28, C. 145.

Amen.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts. *Page* 28, B. 307.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is very meet and right, just and salutary that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, The constant beginning of the Preface,

(*Proper Preface for Trinity.*) Everlasting God, who with thy only begotten Son and the Holy Ghost art one God, and one Lord: not in the singleness of one Person, but in the Trinity of one substance. For what we believe of thy glory, as thou dost reveal, the same do we think of the Son, the same of the Holy continued as appointed for Trinity Sunday.

differentiæ discretione sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque Deitatis, et in Personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in Maiestate adoretur æqualitas. Quam laudant angeli atque archangeli cherubyn quoque ac seraphyn, qui non cessant clamare una voce, dicentes :]

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua : Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in [*nomine*] Domini ; Hosanna in excelsis.

[Canon Missæ.]

Junctis manibus sacerdos inclinet se dicens :

Te igitur clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus :

Hic erigat se et osculetur altare, faciendo signum super calicem.

Uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc ✠ dona, hæc ✠ munera, hæc ✠ sancta sacrificia illibata, In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, [una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro *N.*](1) et antistite nostro *N.* et rege nostro *N.* et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

Hic commemoratio vivorum.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum *N.* et omnium circumstantium atque omnium fidelium Christianorum quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio ; pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo, vivo et vero.

(1) Mention of Pope erased in MS.

Ghost, without distinction of difference; so that in the confession of the true and everlasting Godhead there may be adored a property in the Persons, a unity in the essence, and an equality in the majesty: Which Angels and Archangels are praising, Cherubim also and Seraphim, who cease not to cry with one voice, saying:

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory; Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest. The Sanctus. *Page* 23, B. 308.

Canon of the Mass.

Let the priest with his hands together bow himself and say:

Thee therefore most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, we humbly pray and beseech: Renewed prayer for acceptance of the Oblations.

Here let him raise himself and kiss the altar, and making a cross over the chalice (let him say):

That thou wouldest hold accepted and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy undefiled sacrifices, which first of all we offer to thee for thy holy catholic church, which do thou vouchsafe to keep in peace, to watch over, to knit together and govern, throughout the whole world, together with thy servant our Pope, and our Bishop N, and our King N, and all right believers, and maintainers of the Catholic and Apostolic faith. Prayers for the whole Church, the King, and Faithful, *Page* 28, B. 331.

Here the Commemoration of the living.

Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens, N and all here standing around, and all faithful Christians, whose faith is known and devotion noted by thee; for whom we offer unto thee, or who are offering unto thee, this sacrifice of praise, for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and unto thee, eternal God, living and true, are rendering their vows. with special mention of the congregation, in the name of all whom the sacrifice is offered in thanksgiving for redemption and for the hope of glory.

Communicantes et memoriam venerantes: In primis, gloriosæ et semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

Eugenius septem(1) **instituit. Et cum dicat, parum tangat calicem, dicens:**

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Quam oblationem tu Deus omnipotens, in omnibus, quæsumus, bene✠dictam, adscrip✠tam, ra✠tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis cor✠pus et san✠guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Alexander papa instituit. Inclinato capite, super linteamina,(2) **hostiam accipiendo:**

Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas, **Hic elevet oculos** et elevatis oculis suis in cœlum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, bene✠dixit, ac **Hic tangat hostiam** fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, Hoc est enim(3) corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas et venera-

(1) VII—MS. (2) linthiamina—MS.

In communion with and venerating the memory, first of all, of the glorious and ever-virgin Mary, the mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, as also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddæus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Grisogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints: To whose merits and prayers grant that we may in all things be defended by the help of thy protection, through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Communion with saints departed,

and prayer for their intercession.

Eugenius appointed the seven [words *or* crosses]. *And whilst speaking, let him somewhat touch the chalice, and say:*

This oblation therefore of our service as also of thy whole household, we beseech thee, O Lord, that having been reconciled thou wouldest accept; and wouldest order our days in thy peace, and ordain that we be delivered from eternal damnation and numbered with the flock of thine elect; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Renewed presentation of the oblations,

Which oblation, do thou, we beseech thee, O God Almighty, vouchsafe to render altogether blessed, counted, reckoned, reasonable and acceptable, that it may be made unto us the Body and Blood of thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Page 36, B. 329. and prayer that God would accept them for the purpose of the Sacrament.

Pope Alexander appointed [*the* Qui pridie]. *With head bowed over the linen cloths* (*let him say*) *at taking up the host:*

Who on the day before he suffered took bread into his holy and most honoured hands, (*Here let him raise his eyes*) and with his eyes raised up towards heaven, unto Thee, O God, his Father almighty, giving thanks to Thee, he blessed and (*Here let him touch the host*) brake and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this, for this is my Body. In like manner after supper, taking also this most excellent cup into his holy and most

The Institution.

(3) Without capital letter in MS.

biles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, bene✠dixit deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes, Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei,(1) novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, [*here in MS. is a space of two half lines as if for a rubric*] qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum,

Hic superponit corporalia.

Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

Hic extendit brachia ad modum crucis

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cælos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis

Hic retrahat brachia et faciat signum crucis.

Hostiam ✠ puram, hostiam ✠ sanctam, hostiam ✠ immaculatam, ✠ panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et ✠ calicem salutis perpetuæ.(2)

Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione, sacrosanctum Filii tui Cor✠pus et san✠guinem(3) sumpserimus omni bene✠

(1) Without capital letter in MS.

(2) In the MS. these crosses are inserted above the line in very pale red ink—apparently *secundâ manu.*

honoured hands, and likewise giving thanks unto Thee, he blessed and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of this, for this is the cup of my Blood, of the new and everlasting covenant, a mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins:

Here the priest covers the chalice with the corporasses.

As often as ye do (*or* offer) these things; ye shall do them in memory of me.

Here the priest spreadeth abroad his arms after the manner of a cross. Page 42, C. 242.

Continued presentation, in remembrance of Christ, of the oblations given to God, His own of His own.

Wherefore also we thy servants, O Lord, and also thy holy people, in memory as well of the blessed passion of the same Christ, thy Son, our Lord, as of his resurrection from the dead, and also of his glorious ascension into the heavens do offer unto thy excellent majesty, of thine own gifts, albeit given unto us,

Here let him draw back his arms and make the sign of the cross Page 42, C. 243.

a pure, a holy, an undefiled sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation;

Still is their acceptance prayed for,

Upon which do thou vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and hold them accepted, as thou didst vouchsafe to hold accepted the offerings of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that holy sacrifice, the pure offering, which thy high priest Melchizedek did offer unto thee.

and that all who eat of the altar may be partakers of the benefits of the Sacrament.

We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, Command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel, to thy altar on high in the sight of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as of this partaking of the altar shall have received the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly

(3) Without capital letter in MS.

dictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur, Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum **N.** qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis; ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eundem Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus, famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum, Dominum nostrum, [*space in MS.*] per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sancti✠ficas, vivi✠ficas, bene✠dicis, et præstas nobis.

Per ip✠sum, et cum ip✠so, et in ip✠so est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria,

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Amen.

Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere:

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo, sic in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut ut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: et ne nos inducas in tentationem,

Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

benediction and grace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens N, who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep the sleep of peace; unto them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we entreat that thou wouldest grant a place of refreshing, light, and peace; through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Second Memento, or prayer for the faithful departed, *Page* 42, B. 454.

Unto us sinners also, thy servants, that hope in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints, unto whose company do thou admit us, not weighing our merits, but freely granting pardon, we beseech thee; through Christ, our Lord, by whom all these good (*creatures*) thou, O Lord, ever createst, sanctifiest, fillest with life, blessest, and bestowest upon us.

and for fellowship with them.

Through him and with him, and in him is unto thee, God the Father almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"The second Sacring." *Page* 44, B. 482.

[Here ends the Canon.]

Let us pray. Admonished by healthful precepts and informed by the divine instruction, we are bold to say:

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, As in heaven, so in earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, As we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation;

The Lord's Prayer. *Page* 46, B. 484.

The people. But deliver us from evil. *Page* 46, B. 488.

The Priest. Amen.

Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris: et intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa semper virgine Dei genetrice Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea, cum omnibus Sanctis tuis.

Hic accipiat patenam et osculetur istam: signat eadem in facie ✠ pectore ✠ a capitis vertice (1) usque ad pectus ✠ ad dextram usque ad sinistram, dicendo:

Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris; ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adiuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni purturbatione securi.

Et dicat

Per eundem Dominum nostrum

Et frangat corpus in tres partes

Jesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum regnat in unitate spiritus Sancti, Deus, Per omnia sæcula sæculorum

Pax Do✠mini sit sem✠per vo✠biscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis [*peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.]

Tertiam partem in sanguinem et dicat:

Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat nobis et omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis; et ad vitam æternam capessendam præparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Det osculari calicem et corporalia et [*ut*] postea erectus dare[*t*] pacem ministris, dicens:

(1) a capite u*er*tite—MS.

Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils past, present and to come; and inasmuch as there is interceding for us the blessed and glorious ever-virgin mother of God, Mary, and thy blessed apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew, with all thy saints. *Page* 46, B. 406-7.

Here let him take the paten and kiss it: he makes a cross therewith on his face, [and] *breast: from the crown of the head down to the breast, on the right across to the left, saying:*

Favourably give peace in our days, that we, being succoured by the help of thy merciful kindness, may both be free from sin, and safe from troubles;

And let him say:

Through the same, our Lord,

And let him break the Body into three pieces. The Fraction.

Jesus Christ thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.

The peace of God be with you always.

And with thy spirit.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. The Agnus. *Page* 46, B. 508.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us thy peace.

Let him put the third piece into the Blood and say: The Commixture.

May this all-holy mingling of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto us and to all that receive, health of mind and body, and a healthful preparation for laying hold on eternal life, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let him give (to himself) *to kiss the chalice and the corporasses, and* (that), *risen up, he might give the* Pax *to the ministers, saying:* The Pax. *Page* 48, B. 513.

Habete vinculum pacis et caritatis ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei.

Oremus.

Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, da nobis hoc corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini Dei nostri ita sumere ut mereamur per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum accipere et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri; quia tu es Deus et præter te non est alius, nisi tu solus; Qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Perceptio corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine Jesu Christe, quam ego indignus sumere præsumo, non mihi veniat ad judicium nec ad condemnationem, sed pro tua pietate prosit mihi ad tutamentum animæ et corporis; Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti; libera me, per hoc sacrum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et universis malis meis; et fac me tuis obedire præceptis, et a te nunquam in perpetuum separari permittas; Qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus per omnia sæcula [*sæculorum.*] Amen.

Ad corpus

Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam. Amen.

Ad sanguinem.

Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet me in vitam æternam. Amen.

Ad corpus et sanguinem.

Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus meum et animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Receive the bond of peace and charity that ye may be meet for the most holy mysteries of God.

Let us pray.

Prayer for worthy reception by priest and people.

O Lord, holy Father, Almighty everlasting God, grant us so to receive this Body and Blood of thy Son the Lord, our God, that we may be worthy thereby to obtain remission of all our sins and to be replenished by thy Holy Spirit; for thou art God, and beside thee, there is none other, but thou only, Who livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

The Priest for himself.

Prayer at reception by priest.

May the partaking of thy Body and Blood, O Lord Jesu Christ, which I unworthy, am daring to receive, come upon me neither unto judgment nor unto condemnation, but for thy pity's sake may it be profitable unto me for defence of soul and body; who with God the Father and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the living God, who of the will of the Father, and with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by thy death given life to the world; Deliver me by this thy holy Body and Blood from all my iniquities, and from all that is evil in me; and make me to be obedient to thy commandments, and never suffer me to be for ever separated from thee; who with God the Father and the same Holy Spirit livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

At taking the Body.

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto me an everlasting medicine unto eternal life. Amen.

At receiving the Blood.

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve me unto everlasting life. Amen.

At receiving the Body and Blood.

The Body and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my body and my soul unto everlasting life. Amen.

[*"Resinceret sacerdos manus suas."*—Rubr. Missalis Sarum.]

Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus: et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum in vitam eternam. Amen.

Hæc nos, Domine, communio purget a crimine, et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

[**Communio.**

Benedicimus Deum cœli et coram omnibus viventibus confitebimur ei:

Quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.]

[**Postcommunio**

Proficiat nobis ad salutem corporis et animæ, Domine Deus, huius sacramenti perceptio et sempiternæ Sanctæ Trinitatis eiusdemque individuæ Unitatis confessio. In qua vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.]

[*"Deinde diaconus.*

(e.g. In Festo S. Trinitatis.) Benedicamus Domino

In alio vero tempore.

Ite, missa est."—*Rubr. Missalis Sarum.*]

When the priest has rinsing done. *Page* 54, B. 576.

What we have taken with our mouth, O Lord, may we receive with a pure mind; and from a temporal gift (2 Cor. iv, 18) may it be made unto us an everlasting remedy unto eternal life. Amen. Prayer in the name of the communicants

May this communion, O Lord, cleanse us from guilt, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy, through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Communion-Anthem for Trinity Sunday. at the south end. *Page* 54, B. 581.

We bless the God of heaven, and will praise him in the sight of all that live; for he hath wrought his merciful kindness upon us. [*From* Tobit xii, 6.]

The Postcommon or Prayer after the Communion.

May the receiving of this sacrament, O Lord God, be profitable unto us for the health of body and soul; and also the confession of the eternal Holy Trinity, and of the same undivided Unity, in which Thou livest and reignest, for ever and ever.

The deacon. Let us bless the Lord.

At other times. Depart, the congregation is dismissed. ["Go ye, Mass is done."—*Myroure* (E. E. T. S.), 332.] *Page* 56, B. 604.

After *Ite, missa est*, the priest standeth in the midst of the altar and so blesseth the people. (*Meditacyons, f.* 25.)

The missal appoints the prayer *Placeat tibi* to be said by the priest, and adds other devotions for priest and clerks, beginning with the canticle *Benedicite omnia opera* (the Song of the Three Children), as an anthem, and ending with the collect, *Deus qui tribus pueris.* *Page* 56, B. 607.

APPENDIX II.

AUTHORIZED EXPOSITIONS

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST PUT FORTH IN ENGLISH, CONTEMPORARY WITH THE MSS. OF THE LAY MASS BOOK.

1. EXTRACT FROM THE CATECHISM OF JOHN THORESBY, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

A.D. 1357. *Put forth with the advice of his clergy, the 25th Nov.*, 1357.

(From the authentic MS., Thoresby's Register, *fol.* 296 *b.*)

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

[*The Sacrament of the Altar.*]

Every man and woman, that is come to age,

The ferthe is the sacrement of the auter,
cristes owen bodi in likeness of brede,
als hale as he toke it of that blessed maiden;
whilk ilk man *and* woman, that of eld is,

ought to receive the Body of Christ at Easter,

aught forto resceyve anes in the yhere,
that is at sai, at paskes, als hali kirke uses,
when thai er clensed of syn thurgh penaunce,

pon pain of excommunication, unless a reasonable cause be shown.

of payne of doyng + out of hali kirke.
bot if thai forbere it be skilwise cause,
that aught to be knawen to thaim that sal gif it,
for he that takes it worthili, takes his salvation,
and who-so unworthili, takes his dampnation.

The corresponding Paragraph, from the original Latin, as approved by the clergy of the diocese of York

in Synod, and by the clergy of the northern province in Convocation, and entered in Archbishop Thoresby's Register, *fol.* 298 *b.*:—

¶ **Eucharistia** est unum corpus Christi, et illud, si digne sumatur, sumenti proficit ad vitam æternam; si indigne, ædificat ad gehennam.

2. JUDICIAL DETERMINATION AT THE TRIAL OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

A.D. 1414.

(From the "*Processus magnus domini* Thomæ Arundel *Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis contra Johannem Oldcastel, militem, sed hereticum.*"—Fasciculi Zizaniorum (*ed.* Shirley). Master of Rolls Series, 1858.)

F. Z. p. 450.

On the 23rd September, 1413, Sir John Oldcastle appeared before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops his assessors, in charge of the Keeper of the Tower, when he produced and read the following schedule:—

"I Johan Oldcastell knygt, lord of Cobham, wole "that alle crysten men wyte and understonde, that y "clepe Almyghty God in to wytnesse that it hath be, "now is, and ever, with the help of God, schal be myn "entent and my wylle, to beleve, feythfully and fully, "alle the sacramentys that ever God ordeyned to be do "in holy chirche.

F. Z. p. 438. He declares his desire to hold rightly the sacraments ordained of Christ;

"And more over for to declare me in these foure "poyntys, I beleve that the moost worshipful sacra- "ment of the auter is Crystis body in fourme of bred; "the same body that was born of the blessyd virgyne "oure lady seynt Mary, doon on the crosse, deed & "beryed, the thrydde day roos fro deth to lyve, the "whyche body is now glorefyed in hevene."

and his belief as to the sacrament of the altar.

F. Z. p. 439.

(Here follow articles on penance, images, and pilgrimages.)

It was intimated to him that his statement contained some things sufficiently catholic, but savoured of

This was held insufficient,

and his further answer was required to certain determinations, sent to him in Latin with an English translation.

heresy in others. He constantly refused to give any further answer, and the bishops therefore sent him certain determinations in Latin, "*pro leviori intellectu ejusdem in Anglicum translatis,*" and required him to give his answer fully and clearly. The tenor is as follows :—

F. Z. p. 441. The tenor of the article as to the Eucharist,

"The feyth, and the determinacion of holy chyrche "towchyng the blysful sacrament of the auter, is thys : "that after the sacramental wordys ben seyd be a prest "in hys masse, the materyall bred that was before is "turnyd into Chrystys verray body ; and the materyal "wyn that was before, is turnyd into Chrystys veray "blood, and so there levyth in the auter no materyal "bred, ne materyal wyn, the whyche were there before "the seyinge of the sacramental wordys. How leeve "ȝe thys article?"

F. Z. p. 442. and more particularly as to the desition of the material elements.

(Here follow determinations as to confession, the authority of the pope and clergy, and pilgrimages.)

F. Z. p. 443.

On the 25th September he again appeared, and answered thus :—

To which the accused answered in explanation,

F. Z. p. 444.

"Quod sicut Christus hic in terra degens habuit in se divinitatem et humanitatem, divinitatem tamen velatam et invisibilem sub humanitate, quæ in eo aperta et visibilis fuerat, sic in sacramento altaris est verum corpus et verus panis ; panis videlicet quem videmus, et corpus Christi sub eodem velatum, quod non videmus." He denied that the determination of the Roman church which had been sent him could be or was the determination of the primitive church.

and, being excommunicate, was burnt as a heretic.

Persisting in his answer, he was excommunicated as a heretic, more especially as to the sacraments of Eucharist and penance, by sentence, dated 10th December, 1413, and, although he escaped from the Tower, he was eventually burned in pursuance thereof.

3. THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR. A.D. 1515.

(From the *Festyvale*, W. de Worde, 1515, fol. 169 *b*.)

The fourth is the holy sacrament of the awter, the whiche is crystes owne body, his flesshe *and* blode in fourme of brede: the same that was borne of *the* virgyn Mary, and done on the rode, this is made thrugh the vertue of goddes wordes of *the* priest that hath power, which power neyther aungel ne archaungel hath, but only man in my*n*de of hymselfe. This sacrament is every man *and* woman bounde by the lawe ones a yere as at eester, yf he be xiiii yeres of aege, *and* haue dys-crecyon to receyue it, wha*n* they ben with shryft and penau*n*ce made clene of theyr synnes, and elles to be put out of the chyrche, and of cryste*n* buryelles, but yf it be for sikenesse, or for some reasonable cause, whiche cause he must certefy his curate of. For he that unworthely receyueth this sacrament receyueth his dampnacyon.

The Festival furnishes a popular statement of the doctrine, similar to that in Thoresby's Catechism (*page* 118) without the scholastic subtleties which cost Lord Cobham his life,

8

and specifying the age, more generally referred to in the older document. (*Page* 188, *l.* 4.)

16

4. EXTRACT—EXHORTATION BEFORE COMMUNION.

(From *Festyvale*, *In die Pasche*, fol. 38.)

"I charge you in goddes name that none of you come thus to goddes borde but yf ye be i*n* perfyte loue and charite, and be clene shryve*n* *and* in full purpose to leve your syn*n*e."

Men must come to the Lord's table holy and clean, and in love and charity with their neighbours.

APPENDIX III.

[*Ashm. MS.*, 1286, *fol.* 223.]

Here sueþ a preciouse mater. how a man schal make hym cleer *and* p*er*fite clene bifore þe resseyuynge of þe sacramente of þe auter.

Six considerations before communicating.

BIfore þe resceyuynge of cristis body syxe þingis þer ben to concidere.

¶ The firste is þat a man knowe by v*er*tu of dis-
What he receives. cressiou*n*. what he schal resceyue. and what he is þat
8 resseyueþ it. ¶ Lo! lo! what schal he resceyue? soþely ih*es*u crist—sooþfaste god and man, þat made alle þing of nouȝtte, And sooþfaste man þat dyed for vs
What he is. on þe crosse—in forme of breed. what is he þat re-
12 sceyueþ it? soþely a man and no beeste, ne feende, þerfore alle feendis malice. and alle beestelynesse of synne
[* fol. 223 *b*.] he owiþ to caste *from hym.

He must receive with devotion,

¶ þe secunde is deuociou*n* of herte; for he schal concidere, þat whom he resseyueþ he shal resseyue it in
17 as myche holinesse as he may: *and* loke he þat he
a softened heart and diligent prayer, here-wiþ putte awey from hym bittirnesse and blyndenesse of herte, wiþ compassiou*n* of teeris and þorouȝ besynesse of preyers.

with reverence at drawing near to One so great,

¶ þe þridde is wiþ reuerence of herte. þat suche a vyle creature and a wrecchid synner be aferde to
23 neiȝ hem suche a lord; For if a man were dipped alle in stynke, vnworþi he were to stonde in presence of þe
when so unworthy, kyng ¶ I preye þee þenne—how myche more vnworþi is eny man, as of hym silf, for to resceyue crist in þe preciouse sacrame*n*te. For whi alle oure good deedis. ben as vnclennesse in his siȝtte, what ben oure synnes
29 þenne? trewely nouȝt. ¶ But not wiþstandande alle

þat, his goodnesse and his pitee is more þenne al oure wrecchidnesse; and þer-fore do we þat is in vs. and in triste of hym wiþ reuerente drede goo we to hym, For whi his worþinesse schal maken vs worþi to do hym seruise. but trusting in his mercy, we come to him, and he will enable us to serve him truly.

¶ þe fourþe is loue and desyre of herte. wherfore a man owiþ to be war þat he go not to þis sacramente rechelesly, ne wiþ heuinesse, ne wiþ irkynge of herte, but loke he do it deuoutely and gladdely. and wiþ greet desyre, wherfore it semiþ myche wondir to me þat euery man in resceyuynge of þis worþi sacramente meltiþ [*not*] al in-to loue. With a loving and glad heart,

¶ þe conciderynge of cristis passyou*n* and of his loue vn-to vs is souereyne meene to steere a mannes affeccio*un* to deuoute resceyuyng of þis hooly and blessydful sacramente. which is most of all moved by considering Christ's love in dying for us.

¶ The fyȝfte is a meke deuoute preyere. For whi for þat encheson amonge oþur was þe sacramente ordeyned. so þat a man þorouȝ offry*n*ge and takynge of it schulde aske forȝeuenesse of synnes and grace of good lijf. With devout prayer for pardon and grace.

[* fol. 224]

¶ þe sixte is þat he be a preste þat schulde mynistre þis sacrame*n*te. so þat he do alle his diligen*c*e aboute it. in þat, þat in hi*m* is. ¶ For siþen a man is besy. to serue an eerþely man. or a lord wiþ al his diligence abouten hym, miche more schulde he ben besy. for to serue to oure lord god. ¶ And þerfore alle maner of men of moste honeste. and of sobrenesse. and of good continuau*n*ce. and here-wiþ to ben wel avysed. is þenne moste nedeful to ministre þis moste worschipeful sacramente ¶ And so þ*at* a preeste may þe bettir do þis worþi ocupacio*un*. I counceyle hym þat he absteyne hym fro*m* alle þingis tymely þat myȝtte fylen his soule þat is þe wonyinge of crist. þe heuenly kyng. so þat he may bere(1) myche more stiffeloker groundyd in goddis seruise. ȝe, ȝe, myche more þenne eny oþur seculer man. Considerations if he be the priest that has to administer this sacrament.

He should abstain from things of this world,

(1) *Read* ben.—*Compare* ben. *l.* 25.

and especially when going to mass.

and namely þenne whenne he schal go to masse. þat he hym redily speede.

A man must withdraw into himself,

¶ The seuenþe is þat he wiþdrawe his mynde from alle outward þingis. and gadre hym silf al hool in-to hym silf, if he may, so enteerly. þat neiþir he be scatered by bodily witte ne wiþ veyneglorie. ¶ And

and search and examine his own conscience,

þenne ransake his owne concience. and þat þat he fyndeþ vncleene. loke þat he wasche hem awey wiþ teeris of conpunccioun. þenne bihoueþ him go to his

and go to confession.

confessoure. and caste out wiþ meke schrifte alle venym of synne.

In all-humility he must think of the meekness of God

¶ And whenne he haþ doon þus. þenne muste hym lifte vp his herte wiþ alle maner of þe moste humilite. and concidere þe mekenesse of god. and þe wrecchid

and his own frailty;

freyelte of his owne fleische. ¶ How myche and how worþi þat god is and how litle and how vnworþi hym silf is / and þus schal he of hym silf make nouȝtte and

[* fol. 221 b.]

magnifye god. þat he *may be turned in-to god. so þat he se noon oþur þing. ne feele but god ¶ þenne if he suffre þus mekely and pacientely. in alle tymes. he may myche þe liȝtteloker. and þe more suloker þenke on þe

of the great love of our Lord;

greet loue of oure lord ihesu crist. þat wolde of hym silf þat is so worþi ȝeue his lijf to distroye þe syneful lijf of mankynde ¶ þenne may he wel þenke vp-on þe poyntis of cristis passioun. and ouere þat for to wondre.

in dying for us, and offering himself to us in this sacrament.

of his wondirful charite. þat not oonly wolde offre hym silf to vs on þe crosse. but he offriþ hym silf to vs in þe sacramente of þe auter for to be fully with vs ¶ Ȝe ȝe and ȝit þerto ful myche more. for he ȝeueþ hym silf to vs. for to be ful surely groundyd in oure hertis. ¶ A ! good and graciouse swete lord. who may suffyse for to þenke þe leste sparkele of þi wondirful sweete loue—soþely no man.

Devotion for a priest before receiving;

¶ þerfore byfore þe resseyuynge of þis worþi and moste hooly sacramente. a preeste may seye þus ful perfitely in his herte ¶ I haue a tyme, lord. I knowe

wel þat alle werkis and desertis of men, be þei neuere so hooly, þei ben vnworþi for to resceyue þee, lord. So worþi. So myȝtty. So benynge. So mercyful as þou art in alle neede. ¶ A! a! soþefast merciful lord. how myche more þenne am I vnworþi þat euery day synne. and as a man vncorrigible dwelle þer-in stylle

acknowledging his vileness;

¶ A! good lord, whi do I suche dispite to þee. to caste þee my lord god so precious in-to so foule a pitte of my concience, For soþely my sweete and graciouse souereyne lord. I knoweleche to þe þat þer nys no goonge more stynkynge þenne my soule is. ¶ A! lord, lord, þat art so humble. and so meke. what schal I do wiþ þee, kyndely lord, whi, what schal I leye þee lord in þat foule place, soþely lord I durste not. but þat I hope to þi mercy ¶ But souereyne myȝtteful lord, I trowe þat þi mercy is eendeles more þenne alle myn orible and foule wrecchid synne, þerfore I am al tristynge in þi goodnesse, merciful lord. ¶ I aventure me to resceyue þee, swete lord, as a syke man resseyueþ a medcyne. ¶ þou art a sooþfaste leche, lord, *and* soþely I am syke. þerfore I take þee. for to be maad hool þorouȝ þee. ¶ And þe syker þat I am, by so myche I wolde ben maad hool bi þee, my swete lord; and þe more nede þat I haue of þee, þe more ententely and bisili schulde I þenke to calle vp-on þee ¶ For whi lord in helynge of my deedly sykenesse schal wel be schewyd and commendyd þe michilheed of þi goodnesse.

[* fol. 225]

but trusting in the mercy of Christ,

who is the true physician.

¶ And þenne aftir þis whenne he haþ resceyued þat myȝtteful and blessydful sacramente he may þenne þenke þus ¶ I wole not now aftir þis moste worþi mete. fede me wiþ myche of þe wordely vanite / noupir I wole not aftir suche goostely sauoure delyte me fleischely in eny creature. ¶ Neuereþeles if it be so. þat a man feele not goostely affeccioun. ne ȝit in deuoute sterynge þorouȝ goostely encentynge of herte in tyme of his resseyuynge. it is good þat he þenke þenne.

Thoughts after receiving, as to the vanity of the world;

or when there has been an absence of spiritual affections.

þat it is a tokene of greet sykenesse of synne. or ellis of greet deeþ. or ellis it is suffraunce of god for to meke a man. ¶ But a man schal euere conceyue in his owne concience. þat he is continuelly in defaute aȝen. þat myȝtteful lord *and* þerfore schulde he ful mekely. and obeschauntely seye to hym þus. ¶ A! lord, lord, now ful mercyful lord, what schal I do. I haue putte fyre in my bosum, and I feele noon heete of it. ¶ Lo! lo! lord euereful mercyful to *synneful wrecchis. I haue put hony in my mouþ, and I fele no maner swetnesse þer-of. ¶ A! good lord ihesu crist, rue vp-on me, þe moste vnkynde and frowarde wrecche, for I haue reseyued a souereyne medcyne, and ȝit I feele neuere þe more heele.

A man should always recoguize his short comings,

[* fol. 225 b.]

and plead for mercy.

¶ þus schal a man lowely and debonerly meke hym silf wiþ dreede *and* loue þat he schulde haue, and euere owiþ to haue, to þat worþi lord in þe sacramente of þe auter in forme of breed, þe whiche is crist ihesu. ¶ And þenne anoon þorouȝ þis deuoute drede and loue, he schal amende his lijf and turne to bettir. ¶ For alle if a man may not anoon feele swetnesse and gostely sauoure in þis worþi sacramente. he schal not þerfore dispeyre. but abyde mekely and pacientely þe grace of god. and do þat in hym is for to haue it ¶ For whenne a syke man resceyueþ a medcyne he is not anoon hool. but ȝit he hopiþ þorouȝ it to ben hool / And þerfore he kepiþ him warly from alle þingis þat is contrarie to his medcyne. and suffriþ pacientely dissese. vn-to þe tyme þat þe medcyne haue wrouȝtte in hym. and restored hym wel aȝen. ¶ þus schulden we þat ben syke in synne resseyue þe heelful medcyne of þis preciouse sacramente

Thus should a man humble himself before Christ,

and so amend.

Where the virtue of the sacrament has not been felt,

still its benefits should be patiently waited for.

¶ Neuerþeles if a man þorouȝ eny goostely feelynge feele hym silf wel, it is good þat he þenke not þat it comeþ of hym silf, but of þe goodnesse of god. þat fediþ of his grace. boþe good man and badde / and wel

Where the benefits have been experienced,

may he þenne þenke þus ¶ Lo! lo! eue*ry* synneful creature. þis dooþ oure merciful and graciouse lord to me for to schewe to me my wickidnesse. and for to ouerecome my wrecchidnesse wiþ plente of his goodnesse ¶ Lo! lo! wel may I be Ioyeful for he makiþ me, a deed man. for to feele lijf / And me a sty*n*kynge worme for to taste heuenly delyte ¶ A! a! siþen oure lord is so curteyse to me. þat alwey lyue in synne. what trowe I þat he wole do to me. ȝif I fully offre me to hym soþely mych bettir þenne I can seye. or eny herte may þenke.

they must be received with acknowledgments of unworthiness.

[* fol. 226]

¶ Preye we to god wiþ good entente. þat we mowne to his plesaunce resceyue þe sacramente. Amen.

Prayer for due reception.

APPENDIX IV.

A TREATISE OF THE MANNER AND MEDE OF THE MASS.

(*From the Vernon MS., Bodleian Library.*)

[fol. 302 *b.*, col. 1] This treatise teaches how people should hear their mass, and is needful to high and low.

Her techeþ þys tretys þenne,
Hou mon scholde here hys masse:
Hit is ful nedful to alle menne,
To more and eke to lasse.

Hearing mass, good for all baptized Christians.

Ȝong *and* olde · More and lasse,
Ful god hit is · to here A Masse.
þat Cristendam · haþ tan.

It was made for soul's health, and the Lord's Prayer,

Hit was mad · for soule hele,
þe Pater noster · wiþ dedes fele
And deprofundis · Is on.

prayer of price, with others, many and diverse.

þe Pater noster · Is pris preyere
Wiþ oþer orisons · mony and sere.
Holdeþ ow stille as ston,

Silence bespoken,

And ȝe schul here · þe beste þing
þat euer ȝe herde · of Olde or ȝyng
As wyde · as mon haþ gon.

¶ Lustneþ here · *and* ȝe wol lyþe

for a discourse full of comfort,

Of a talkyng · I wol ȝou kiþe,
Cumfort · to al Mon-kynde,

viz. The merits of the mass.

þat is þe Meedes · of þe Masse.
Eueri mon · boþe more and lasse,

All should know how to take part

Schulde haue hit · in his mynde,

Hou þat ȝe scholde · ȝor seruise seye,
And priueliche · ȝor preyers preye — in common prayer, and use of private devotion;
To him þat may · vn-bynde,
In saluyng · of ȝor synnes seuene
To þe mihtful kyng · of heuene
Vr Fader · þat we schal fynde.

¶ And hou vr Fader · schal be founde — and how they may turn to God.
To vche a mon · þat is I-bounde
In sunne · as I ow say.
His suffrance · we may se — His longsuffering and readiness to help.
Hou þat he suffreþ · þe and me
Wiþ miht · al þat he may,
And euere is redi · vr bales to bete,
To loke what tyme · þat we wol leete
In-to vr laste day,
ȝif we ben *in* wille · to leue vr synne, — If we have a good will,
He techeþ vs wel · hou we schal wynne — he teaches the way to heaven.
To heuene · þe heiȝe way.

¶ What mon wolde now · suffre so, — No man in the like case would be so longsuffering,
His sone I-slayen · and hedde no mo,
But ȝif he miȝte · lyue a-ȝeyn.
ȝif he for traytrie · weore take,
Sone he schulde · be forsake,
Or elles · soþli slayn.
Whon þou dost · a dedly synne, — and we by sin crucify the Lord afresh,
Al þe while · þat þou dwellest þer-Inne,
þou puttest · to his payn,
þe same he suffred · for vr sake.
þen most merci · a-mendes make — but his mercy clears us.
Boþe wiþ miht · and mayn.

¶ þorw his Merci · and his miht — He grieves for us,
He reweþ of vs · a-ȝeynes þe riht,
As Rihtwysnes · wol rede.
Rihtwysnes · wolde assone
As we dedly synne · haue done — where justice would condemn us to death.
To dampne vs · to þe dede.

Therefore, mercy, stand us in stead,

and remain with us till prayer has freed us from that sentence of death.

Now I begin to put you in mind of the Mass, and it is a good subject for my verse-making.

Thou mayest see the Body of Christ, who died for thee,

in figure, and in form of bread, as He gave it before His death.

High as it is,

it is easy for the unlearned to learn

when to join in the service, and [Fol. 302 *b.*, col. 2] when to pray by themselves,

for the Mass is for all.

All ought to pray as the priest, if they knew what he said.

I do not speak of myself, without warrant of holy writ,

þen most Merci · be Mayster most,
þorw þe miht · of þe holy gost,
And stonde wiþ vs · in stede ;
And lenge wiþ vs · in leo and lede
Til we beo don · out of þat dede
þorw bone · of holy bede.

¶ Wiþ 3or leue · I wol be-gynne
Of A Mater · for to mynne,
A good þing · for to make,
On þe hexte þing hit is,
þat euer was mad · þat is þe Mes,
Monnes sunnes · to slake.
Eueri day · þou mai3t se
þe same bodi · þat di3ed for þe,
Tent · 3if þou wolt take,
In figure · and in fourme of Bred,
þat *Iesus* dalte · er he weore ded,
For his disciples · sake.

On þe hexte þing · to here,
And þe lihtest · for to lere,
For lewed men · In lare.
Hou þat 3e schul · 3or seruise say,
And priueliche · 3or preyers pray,
In churche · whon þat 3e are.
do ow wel to witen · wiþ-outen drede,
þe Masse was mad · for monnes nede,
For al folk lasse and mare.
As þe prest seiþ · his preyere,
So schulde vche mon · þat him gon here,
And þei wuste · what hit ware.

¶ 3if I seide þis word · wiþ my wit
Wiþ-outen witnesse · of holi writ,
Wisdam weore hit non :
þerfore I wole þat 3e hit witen,
Hou þat we · fynde hit writen
Wiþ Auctours · mony on.

Of Austin, Ambrose · Bernard, and Bede
ȝit heore Resons · wol I rede
A-Mong ȝow · euerichon.
þei make muynde · of mony a mede
þat we schul haue · for vre good dede,
To churche · whon þat we gon.

What tyme · þat þow biginnest to go,
Ouþer · to þe churche or fro,
To here A Masse · ȝif þou may,
Eueri fote · þat þou gas,
þyn Angel poynteþ hit · vch a pas
þe Prince of heuene · to pay.
þat day schalt þou elde nouȝt,
ȝif þou beo studefast in þi þouht
On God · þat is verray.
Not Blynt þat day · schalt þou not be,
þat þou þi sauiour · hast se,
þorw him þat mihtes · may.

¶ A Fair grace · God haþ þe ȝiuen
Of þi sunnes · and þou be schriuen
þat day · þou hast god se.
ȝif þou be ded · þe same day,
þou schalt be founden · I þe fay,
Hoseled · as þou hed be.
Baldely maiȝt þou · swete and swynke
For to wynne þe · Mete and drinke
Wiþ-outen tray · or tene.
And ȝif þou be · in eny drede,
Al þe better · schalt þou spede
To keuere of cares kene.

¶ ȝif þou haue eny · wey to wende,
I rede þou here · a masse to ende
In þe Morennynge · ȝif þow may :
And ȝif þou may not · do so,
I rede beo vnderne · ar þou go,
Or elles · be heiȝ midday.

and so I give the reasons of St Augustine, &c.,

who put on record the merits of the Mass.

Every step to and from hearing Mass is noted by the guardian angel.

That day a man does not age,

nor become blind :

he has God's pardon, if he goes to confession ;

and if he die, it avails as the viaticum.

It makes work to be without annoyance or trouble,

and helps to cure sharp sorrows.

Before a journey hear early Mass,

or *ad tertiam*,

or *ad sextam*.

Serteynliche · wiþ-outen fayle,
It will not hinder your journey. Þou schalt not leose · of þi trauayle
Not half a foote · of way.
O þi bodi · þou schalt be lihtore,
And þi weyes · wende þe Rihtore,
Þorwh him · þat mihtes may.

Be not kept away by any priest. Þ Ouh he be nouȝt · at þi lykynge
Þe prest þat schal þy masse synge,
Þerfore lette þou nouht:
His unworthiness cannot hinder the Sacrament; His Masse schal be · as good to heere,
As Monk, Chanoun · Hermyte, or Frere.
Þus þenk hit · in þy þouht.
Þauȝ his preyere · and his bone
Bi-fore God · come not so sone,
As he þat neuer synne wrouȝt.
and his Master, Christ, will judge him. Ihesu crist · souereyn of al
He may deeme · boþe gret and smal.
Þus Doctours · han I-souht.

St Ambrose says ¶ Seynt Ambrose seiþ · hose redeþ riht,
Þe Masse · Is of so muche miht,
Þer nys no mon · þat May,
Wheþer þat he · be old or ȝonge,
Þe tenþe part · telle wiþ tonge,
Þeiȝ he schulde · liue for ay.
the subject is inexhaustible by time or skill. Þe Exposission · is so expres
Wiþ al þe priuete of þe Mes
Serteyn · wiþ-oute delay
Þat couþe a mon neuere · so muche of art·
He mihte not telle · þe tenþe part,
Þauȝ he hedde þouȝt to say.

[Fol. 302 b., col. 3] St Jerome cited for the necessity for a mass for every several soul. ¶ Seynt Ierom seiþ · for soules sere
Þauh a Mon wolde · a þousent ȝere
Do a Masse · for to synge,
[1 *read* Hit] His[1] is nouþer more ne las,
But vch a soule · schal haue a mas—
Hit is so heiȝ · a þinge.

ȝit I Rede ow · go to chirche,
Godes werkes · for to worche,
In-to vr laste · endynge.
Haue we no doute · of vr dole,
Vch soule schal haue · a masse al hole,
þorw help · of heuene kynge.

Still go to church and be doing God's work.

Every soul shall have a separate Mass.

Ful hard hit were · to vre bi-houe
Vch a *prou*erbe · for to *prou*e
Of þeos Auctours · alle :
Serteynliche · wiþ-outen lees
Of sum of hem · þen wol I sees
For þing · þat may be-falle
ȝif I drouȝ hem · on lengþe,
I trou no mo*n* · schulde haue þe stre*ng*þe
To stonde · and heere hem alle.

Hard to prove all this by all these authors;

for I foresee if I only cited some at length,

no man could stand it out;

Lewed men · and ȝe wol list,
Ful fayn I wolde · þat ȝe hit wist,
On Crist · whon ȝe schulde calle.

but I shall be glad for you to know when to call on Christ.

¶ To calle on Crist · *with* mylde chere,
Lewed Men · I schal ȝou lere
Whon þat þe prest · bi-ginnes,
Whon he seiþ · his Confiteore,
Feire he louteþ · þe Auter bi-fore
To schriue him of his synnes.
Serteynly · wiþ-oute delay
And ȝe for þe prest pray,
And he atte Masse ȝou mynne,
Sikerli · I dar wel say,
þer nis no tonge · þat telle may
What Mede · þat ȝe may wynne.

You are ignorant, and I will teach you.

When the priest says his Confiteor, bowing before the altar,

and you pray for him, if he remembers you in the *memento*, how great is your reward.

¶ But ȝit I telle ȝou sikerly,
And ȝe preye · but only
For ȝor owne · hele,
I do ȝow to witen · *with*-outen drede,
ȝe beo not worþ · so muche meede,
Not be þe haluendele,

But if you only pray for yourself, it is not half what your fallen nature demands from you,

As þi kuynde · puttes þe to,
since it inclines you to evil. To don vuele · he biddes þe do :
3if þou wol wone · in weole,
Where there is this mutual prayer, there is true praise. Prey for þe prest · and he for þe.
þat Is a preyere · of charite,
þen mai3t þou synge · of loue lele.

¶ Loue is trewe · in vche a leede
"Ill deed, ill speed." 3if þou do ille · vuel schalt þou spede
For al þe craftes · þat þou con.
Whon þat þou comest · þe chirche *with*-Inne
Whilst the priest is vesting, And þou sest · þe prest bi-gynne
Take his vestimens · on,
Loke þou do · as I sey þe :
kneel and be still, Knele a-doun · vppon þi kne,
Noyse · þat þow make non.
then stand and do your service, Seþþe stond vp · at þi seruise
And serue god · on þis wyse,
all of you. Al folk · euerichon.

Say thy *Domine in multitudine, &c.*, and place thyself under the safe-guard of the Blessed Virgin; ¶ þou schalt say · þi drihten,
And deore god almihten,
And In Marie · I me a-seure,
þat heo saue vs alle,
Boþe grete · and smalle,—
and pray for shrift of sins Of sunnes · we beþ vn-pure—
And þat I may me schriue
Of al my wikked lyue,
To Prest · þat bereþ þe cure,
þat I haue I-wrou3t,
in deed and thought against man's better nature. And in herte · I-þou3t,
As vnkuynde · creature.
A Form of Confession. ¶ I was vn-kuynde,
And was þenne · blynde,
To worche · a-3eynes his wille,
þat furst me wrou3t,
And seþþe me bou3t,
Fro peynes · he was put to ille,

þer-fore · we pray
To þe · to-day,
  þat knowes boþe good · and ille,
Graunt vs lyue,
We may vs schriue,
  Vr penaunce · to folfille.

¶ We schal preyȝe *Iesus*
þat he forȝiue vs
  Vr sunnes · þat we may synge,
þat we may pray,
þe Prince · to-day,
  Schop eorþe · and alle þinge;
þat in Clannesse,
We may þe Messe,
  þorw miht · of heuene kynge,
So deorliche · to do,
To torne þe to
  Vs alle · to good endynge.

¶ Certes sires · ful good hit is
To stonde stille · at þe Mes,
  Sum good word · for-to say,
Whuche þat ȝe wole preye fore,
þauh ȝe do · for mony a score
  At a Masse ȝe may,
Alle þo · þat ȝe nempne nouȝt,
But only þenke · in ȝor þouȝt
  þat ȝe wolde · fore pray.
I do ow to wite · *with*-outen doute,
þer nis no soule · a Masse wiþ-oute,
  But he haue helle for ay.

¶ Wust I my Fader · in flesch and felle
Weore holliche · I-holden in helle,
  þer weore · non hope of hele.
To preye for *him* · I couþe no Red,
No more · þen for A Dogge were ded,
  But let hem wiþ him · dele.

240 [Fol. 303, col. 1]

Prayer to live to complete penance.

244

Prayer to Christ for forgiveness,

248

for purity,

and for benefit

252 from the Mass.

256

It is no doubt good to stand and say a word of prayer at the Mass;

260 you may pray for scores,

either naming them or thinking

264 of them,

and every soul of them has a Mass, if not lost in hell for ever.

268

If my father was in hell,

272 I would no more pray for him than for a dead dog;

3it I rede · we go to chirche
Godes werkes for-to worche
3if we wole wone · in wele.

but still, as this is not known, we pray for all the faithful,

Seþþe hit is · vnknowe to vs,
We schul preye for alle · Fidelibus
To Rewe soules · þat beþ lele.

Now take care you don't talk with any man,

3it I bidde 3ou · takeþ good tent
þat 3e holde · no parlyment
Wiþ no cristen mon
Whon 3e come · þe Churche *with*-Inne,

after the priest begins to vest,

And 3e seo · þe prest bi-ginne
Take · þe vestimens on.

or the Devil will write all you say,

þe foule fend · so fel is.
He writ 3or wordes · I-wis
On A Rolle · euerichon.

as witness Saint Augustine of England.

Also witnesseþ · seynt Austine,
þat furst wit · in Engelond gan lene
And preched · þe treuþe bi-gon.

¶ Ar seynt Austin · In Engelond come,

When he was at Rome, he was one day called to minister as deacon by Saint Gregory the Great,

Wiþ [1]Pope Gregori · of Rome [1 *scratched out*]
Ful long tyme · gon he dwelle.
Vppon a day · for worschupefulnesse
þe [1]Pope wolde · synge A Messe,
As him ful fayre · bi-felle.
He made a signe · to seynt Austyne,
For he schulde ben · his dekne digne
To Rede · þe gospelle,

and he saw two women talking together, whilst he read the gospel,

And as he radde · þen sauh he þen
Two wyues · as 3e may witen,
Tales þen gonne þei telle.

¶ Seynt Austin · herde þis wordes alle,
In A wyndow · on þe walle,
þer · bi-fore his face

and he saw a devil also (so God gave him grace), who wrote what they said,

A foul fend · he sau3 þer-In
Wiþ penne · *and* enke. *and* parchemin
As God 3af him þe grace

He wrot so faste · til þat he want,
For his *par*chemyn skin · was so scant,
To speke*n* · þei hedde such space.
Wiþ his teeþ · he gon hit togge,
And so radli · he gon hit Rogge,
þat al þe Rolle · gon race.

¶ So harde raced · he þat Rolle,
þat he chopped · his Cholle,
A-ʒeyn þe Marbel-ston.
Al þe folk · I þe chirche A-bout
Was a-stoneid · of þat clout,
And herden hit · euerichone.
Seynt Austin seiʒ · hou faste he drouh,
He barst on lauhtre · and loude louh;
þe [1Pope] ful sore · gon grone
For serwe · neiʒ þe 1Pope wept.
After masse · Austyn he met
And Mekely · made his mone.

¶ He made his mone · wiþ mylde mod,
Whi weore þou · so wikked and wod
For to do · þat dede,
A worse dede · miht þ*o*u neuer done.
Austin onswerde · him ful sone—
þer-of he hedde · gret drede—
Lord, greue ʒe nouʒt · til þat ʒe wite;
A foul fend · I say site—
Serwe · mot ben his mede—
Two wyues · sat ʒonder, langare,
Alle heore wordes · wrot he þare
Vppon a Rolle · to rede.

¶ þei tok no tent · til heore Mas,
Al heore wordes · more and las
He wrot hem · euerichon.
For to speke · þei hedde such space,
þe fend wrot · wiþ a foul face,
Til his *Par*chemyn · was al gon.

312 but soon used his parchment,

so he tugged it with his teeth, till it stretched,

316

and he knocked his head against the wall.

320

[Fol. 303, col. 2]

Every one heard the blow, and St Austin burst out laughing,

324

[1 *erased*] to the great grief of the Pope, who remonstrated with him after Mass,

328

charging him with madness for what he had done;

332

but he asked him not to grieve till he knew all,

336

and told him the story of the women and the fiend,

340

who wrote all they said,

344

and how in stretching the parchment,
Whon his *par*chemyn · was al spende,
He rauhte þe Rolle · bi þe ende
Wiþ his teth · a-non
He logged · þat al in synder gon lasch

he dashed his head against the marble,
And wiþ his hed · he ȝaf a dasch
A-ȝeyn þe Marbel-ston.

and that cut the saint short in his reading.
¶ Lord greue ȝe not · for þat dunt
He stoneyd me · and made me stunt
Stille out of my steuene.

He said as he saw, without a lie;
I wol sigge · as I seȝe,
For a word · wol I not lyȝe
Be Mihtful kyng · of heuene.

and led the Pope to the window,
He ladde him forþ · as I trowe,
Til he com · to þe wynt-douwe
þat I be-fore · gon nemene.

and there they found black filth on the ashlar.
Foul þei fond · þer I-sched
As blac as pich · was I-spred
Vppon þe Aschelers · euene.

This is a miracle, no doubt, for devils have no blood, but it was allowed for correction sake.
¶ þis is wonder-þing · *with*-outen drede—
þer was neu*er* fend · blod mihte blede,
He haþ nouþer · flesch ne bon,
But god wolde · þat hit were so
To chastise hem · and oþer mo
þat to churche · gun gon.

Till Mass is ended, a man should be stone-still,
Til a Masse · was seid to ende.
A Mon schulde talke · *with* fo nor frende,
But holde him stille · as ston.

for it is the house of prayer to Jesus and His mother.
þat hous was mad · for preyere
To I*esu* · and to his Moder dere
To þonke hem · al heore lon.

The women had much unseemly talk,
At þe wyues · gon þei witen
What þei seide*n* · whon þei siten
Seynt Austyn · hem bi-syde,
Bi heore onswere · þei wuste ful wel,

and would fain have kept it secret;
þat þei hedde spoken · muchel vncel,
And in heore hertes · gun hyde.

þerfore sires · I rede 3e loke,
God tent · I wolde 3e toke,
For þing · þat may bi-tyde,
þat 3e mesure 3ou · þe mare
Of speche · þat 3e ow spare
At Masse · whon þat 3e byde.

¶ þe [1]Pope greued hi*m* · wel þe lasse,
He let comau*n*den · at þe Masse
Of þat Miracle · to mynne,
And also bad · wiþ ful good wille
þat eue*r*i Mon · schulde stonde stille,
Whon he comeþ · þe churche w*ith*-Inne.
And þe*n*ne hou wel · þ*a*t god may wreke
Eue*r*ich a word · þat we speke,
We do ful muche synne ;
A Prest miȝt be let · of his mes,
Al þis world · miȝt fare þe wers,
Vs alle to wo · to wynne.

¶ Vr Fader vre · al weldyng is,
God let vs neue*r*e · his murþes mis.
Lord halwed · be þi name.
In heuene and eorþe · þi wille
Be don · and þat is skille,
Or elles we ben · to blame.
Vr vche dayes bred · ȝif vs to-day,
þat we may trustily · whon we schul a-way,
To come · to þi kyndame
God kepe vs · to vre laste endynge
Let neuer þe fend · w*ith* fals fondynge
Cumbre vs · in no schame.

¶ þis pater noster · schulde ben vsed
And for non orison · beo refused—
I schal ȝow telle · for whi.
Of his Mouþ · hit was maad
þat al þis world · long and braad
Out of Bale · gan buyȝe.

[1 *erased*]

384 so do you take care,

388 and moderate your loquacity at Mass.

The Pope commanded that the miracle should be borne in mind,

392

and that every one should be silent at Mass.

Think of God's anger.

396 A word might hinder the priest in his Mass,

and the whole world might suffer for it.

400

[Fol. 303, col. 3]

Here follows a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer with a *Fæsura*.

404

408

412

The Paternoster should be put aside for no prayer,

416 for it was He made it who redeemed the world from woe.

Believe the Lord's Prayer,

Leeue hit wel · and not wene hit,
þe pater noster · contened
Alle þing · hollye,
þat vs neodeþ · and non oþer,
Boþe for þis world · and þat oþer,
Quik · whon we schal dye.

as none other comprises all we need in this world and the next.

Stand at the gospel;

¶ At the gospel · were ful good,
Studefastliche · þat ȝe stod,
For no þing · þat ȝe stured hit.
Al ȝor lykyng · þer-on leiþ
To wite what þe prest seiþ,
Holliche · þat ȝe here hit.

you may understand none of it, but it is what Christ wrought, and it is wisdom in the unlearned to honour His work.

þauȝ ȝe vnderstonde · hit nouȝt,
ȝe may wel wite · þat god hit wrouȝt,
And þerfore · wisdam were hit
For to worschupe · al godes werkes
To lewed men · þat ben none clerkes:
þis lesson · now go lere hit.

Now learn that,

¶ And whi ȝe schulde · þis lessun lere

exemplum.

Herkneþ alle · and ȝe may here.

And here's a reason.

þer a Neddre · hauntes
ȝe may wel fynde · and ȝe wol seche.

The adder understands not a word of thy charm,

He[o] vnderstond · no þing þi speche,
Whon þou hire · enchauntes,

but she knows thy meaning.

Neuerþeles · heo wot ful wel
What is þi menynge · eueri-del
Whon þat þou hire · endauntes.

So, when not understood, the power of God's word still avails.

So fareþ · þer vnderstondyng fayles,
þe verrey vertu · ȝow alle a-vayles
þorw grace · þat god ȝow grauntes.

After the Gospel comes the Creed.

WHon þe gospel · is I-don,
ȝit wolde I, gode men · euerichon,
þat ȝe couþe · ȝor crede,

Would that you knew it, and could say it with the priest,

What tyme · þat þe prest say,
þat ȝe miȝte · ȝor-self pray,
Forsoþe · hit were gret nede.

And seþþe trewely · trouwe þer-Inne,
And fulliche · out of 3or mouþ hit mynne,
þer-to liht · muche mede.
And 3if 3e trowe · and wol not telle,
So dude þe fend · þat from heuene felle,
And doþ hit nouht · in dede.

¶ þou3 þou neuere · so trewely trowe,
Wiþ-oute dede[1] · ful luytel hit douwe,
So doþ þe deuel · þat dredes.
But seynt Jacob · Josepes broþer
Seiþ þat we schal · don non oþer
In his pistel · whose redes.
Such þing as þou seyst and doos
þi Nei3ebor wol · þer-of · make Roos
What lyf · þat þow lede.
Wiþ-In a storie · in þat stede
He seiþ · þat trouþe is but dede,
But hit be don · in dede.

¶ 3it beo þer mo men · lyuing in lede,
þat I wolde · couþe heore crede,
And whon þei couþe ken hit.
I haue I-seid · as I con:
3if þer beo euer · eny mon,
þat seiþ he con a-mende hit,
Faute þer-Inne · 3if þat he fynde,
Mak no scornynge · me be-hynde,
But a-3eyn to me · he sende hit,
Or elles help · þat I may here hit.
þus an Englisch · as I lernde hit,
I haue I-þouht · to ende hit.[2]

¶ A Resun · I schal reden ow riht,
Whi þe day · bi-fore þe niht
Was ordeynt · for-to be.
For Adam · of þe Appel eete,
Ie3u Crist · vr bales con beete,
þat dyed · vppon þe Tre.

[1] MS. drede]

[2] The MS. does not insert the Creed.]

and believed it, as well as said it, for therein is great reward;

but believing without doing is devil's deed.

To believe without works is nothing; the devil believes and trembles;

and man's praise is according to the life you lead.

"Faith without works is dead," (Ja. ii. 20,)

still I would more men, that live in the world, knew their creed.

I have done my best to English it—if there is a fault, do not turn me into ridicule behind my back, but let me know of it.

[Fol. 308 *b.*, col. 1]

The reason why day precedes the night.

Adam sinned.

Christ betters our woe.

Adam for his sin became the prisoner of hell,

Out of liht · þat he was Inne
In-to helle · for his sinne
Holliche · þer was he,
He was banischt · out of blis
In-to helle · boþe he and his,
Bi-foren · þat was so fre.

though at first so free.

Another reason—why night before day.

¶ 3it a Resun · I schal 3ou say,
Whi þe niht · bi-fore þe day
Was ordeynt · I schal 3ou telle.

Christ suffered and harrowed hell, and then rose again out of darkness:

For *Iesus* suffred · woundes fyue,
And siþþe a-Ros · fro deþ to lyue,
And after · herwede helle,
Out of þesternes · þorw his miht,

He restored Adam to the light of paradise.

A-3eyn he put *him* · to þe liht,
Whuch · þat he fro felle,
And dude *him* a-3eyn · in *paradis*,
þat he hedde lost · boþe he *and* his,
Wiþ speche · as I ow spelle.

Before the washing, don't wait for the priest to ask for the mass-penny, but go up and offer:

Aluytel bi-fore · þe prest wasch,
let *him* not · his offryng asch,
3if þou þenke · for-to offre.
Whon he torneþ · a-non þe tille,
Go vp to him · *with* ful good-wille,
And þi peny · him *pro*fre,

though there is no obligation, it is well bestowed,

þau3 þou be not · *þer*-to in dette,
þou schalt þinke hit · ful wel bi-set,

for it will keep you from sin,

I swere bi seynt Cristofre.
Of sinnes · hit wol make þe to sese,

and make thy chattel increase in thy strong box.

And þi catel · also encrese
Of seluer · in þi Cofre.

Devotion to be said at the offering to God,

But fayn I wolde · *þat* þou þus seide,
Whon þou · in his hond hit leide,
Or þenk hit · in þi þouht:

that was born in Bethlehem,

God þat was · In Bethleem bore,
þreo kynges kneled · þe beo-fore,
And heore offryng · brou3t.

þou tok heore offryng · of alle þre,
So receyue · þis of me
And for-3ete me · nou3t
þat I may euere · wiþ þe wone
And kuyndelich clepe þe · godes sone
On þe Roode · as þou me bou3t.

¶ Whon he haþ waschen · þen he walkes
Priueliche · and stille he stalkes
To his Auter · a-3eyn.
þe furste þing he doþ · *with*-oute doute
To his weuede · þen wol he loute—
þe soþe is nou3t to leyn.
Seþþe he stondeþ · vp-riht
His hondes heueþ · vppon hiht
Him-self · for-to sayn.
þenne he torneþ · him to 3ow;
Cristene men · herkeneþ now
And preyeþ · wiþ al 3or mayn.

¶ þen he bi-ginnes · his secre
A-doun þenne · knele 3e
A luyte while way,
Til þat he seþ *per* omnia,
And seþþe · Sursum corda.
What is þat · to say,
Hit is a nedful note to nemen:
Hef vp 3or hertes · in-to heuen
To him · þat al mihtes may.
Seþþe schul 3e · þonke him þus
Of bodi and soule · has 3iuen vs,
And þus maner · schul 3e pray.

¶ Lustneþ alle · to þis þing—
Bi-twene þe *sanctus* · and þe sakeryng.
3e schal preye · stondynge.
Hit semes wel · in þat whyle
þat god · in his Exyle
In þis world · was wonynge.

and accepted the gifts of the Magi to receive thine, and that thou mayest dwell with Him.

After washing the priest returns to the altar,

when he bows before it,

and crosses himself,

and turns towards the people to ask their prayers.

Then he says his *secreta*, the people kneeling,

until the *Sursum corda*;

Heave (lift) up your hearts.

From the *Sanctus* to the consecration, the people stand,

but then kneel and meditate of Christ's passion,

Seþþe schul ȝe · knele a-doun
And þenke · vppon his passioun
  þat he hedde heer · suffrande—
Hou þat he suffrede · wou*n*des fyue
And seþþe he ros · from deþe to lyue
  And nou has heuene · in hande.

though before the bell rings they may pray as they will.

¶ ȝit schul ȝe preye · for eny þing
Bi-twene þe *sanctus* · and be sakeryng,
  Til þat þe belle knelle :
ȝif eny mon haþ scorn · to here hit,

A warning against scorn of the doctrine—go home, ye scorners!

Be my trouþe · wisdam weore hit,
  þat he heolde · him stille.
þe same mon · ȝe lauȝwhe to scorn,
Was of A Mayden · in Bethleem born,
  Me þinke · ȝe don ful ille.
Whose has hoker · gas hame :
To telle hit ȝou · me þi*n*kes no schame,
  I preue hit bi a Bille.

At the elevation of the body and also of the blood,

¶ Godes Flesch · he reiseth o-lofte,
And his blod · feir and softe
  In þe chalis · wiþ-Inne ;

kneel and say a prayer.

þen schul ȝe knele a-doun,
And sey a luyte · orisoun,
  For no þing · þat ȝe blynne.
God þat on þe Rode · was slon,

Both the species and the crucified are but one.

þo two and he · beoþ boþe on
  þat dyed · for al monnes synne.

Then the priest spreads his arms cross-wise.

After, þe prest · his Armes spredes he
In toknynge · he dyed vppon þe tre
  For me · and al mon-kunne.

After the Lord's prayer follows the *Agnus Dei*.

¶ Whon þe pater noster · is don,
To þe Agnus dei · he goþ ful son,
  (Herkneþ hende · in halle)
Godes lomb · hit is to sei,
þis worldes sinne · to don a-wey
  And haue merci · on vs alle

þe same lomb · hit is to minne,
To don a-wei · þis worldes synne
To þe we crie · and calle.
Iesu for þi miht and grace
A-bate vr synnes · In vch a place
þi pes mot on vs · falle.

¶ Whon he haþ vsed · he walkeþ riht
To Lauatorie · þer hit is diht
For to wassche · his hende.
So gostly · he comes a-geyn
Vn-to god · for-to preyen
Sum special grace · hym sende
For al þe folk · þat þer wore,
Whuch þat he haþ · preyed fore,
þat a Masse · may mende.
þen to knele · hit is best
Til hit cum · to Ite Missa est
Be seid · in-to þe ende.

¶ þenne schul ȝe knele a-doun,
And sei a luytel Orisoun
Riht on þis Maneere.
þe Orisoun is · of seynt Ambrosē
þat he properly · in prose
Made in his preyere.
þen to preye · is ful good tyme,
I con not wonder wel ryme
On latin · ȝou to lere.
But noþeles · I wol assay
As neiȝ þe text · as euer I may.
Herkne · and ȝe may heere.

¶ God þat diȝed · vppon þe tre,
þat þe prest receyuede · bodile
Vppon · þe Auter-ston ;
Grauȝt vs grace · whon we hennes go,
þat we may worþily · don al-so
In vre concience · al on.

A prayer for strength and grace and peace.

After the priest has communicated,

he washes again, and says the Post-communion,

and the people are to kneel to the end of the Mass,

and say a prayer of Saint Ambrose,

which he made in Latin prose,

but I render it into English verse, as well as I can.

A prayer to our Lord,

for inward peace of conscience.

If we were judged according to our works we should be banished from His bliss.

After vr dedes · *and* we be demed,
From his blisse · we schal be flemed
Out of þat worþli won.
God graunt vs grace · In wille *and* word
We may be worþi · to his bord,
Vr lord lene vs · þat lon.

[Fol. 303 *b.*, col. 3] And pray also to the Virgin, and don't forget the gospel after the Mass:

3it prei vr ladi · as I ow telle
þat 3e forȝete not · þe god-spelle
For þing · þat may bi-falle.
Tac a good entent · þer-to
Hit is · þe Inprincipio
On latin · þat men calle.
A 3er and fourti dayes · atte lest
For verbum caro factum est
To *par*doun · haue 3e schalle.

an indulgence to those who kiss the ground, when it is ended.

Mon or wo*m*mon · schal haue þis,
þat kneles doun · þe eorþe to kis.
For-þi · þenk on hit, alle.

Now I have finished,

¶ Now haue I endet · so as is
þe Maner · and þe Mede · of þe Mes:

and well pleased I am.

þer-of I am · ful bliþe
Ne more *per*-of · to mele *with* mouþe.
I haue seid · as I couþe,
I þonke god · fele siþe.

I think nothing of my trouble, if you profit by it;

Of my trauayle · is me nouȝt,
Wolde 3e þenke hit · in 3or þouȝt,
And in þe chirche · hit kiþe,

but it is good to know it, listen who will.

þen were hit lykynge · of 3or mynde
And gret cumfort · to Al Monkynde.
Hose wol, lusten · and lyþe.

Still I have made exception of three things in the mass-book;

3it is þer þreo þinges · on þe Bok,
Sikerly · þat I out-tok,
And neuer dar make · in Mynde.
Hit was wel þouȝt · at my likynge,
I ches hit out · bi heuene kynge,
þe toþer is 3it bi-hynde,

But better þing · þen I haue told,
Herde ȝe neuere · of ȝong ne old
  On ground · þat men may fynde,
Saue fyue wordes · wiþ-outen drede,
þat no mon · but a prest schulde rede,
  Is comen · of cristen kynde.

but none has heard tell of better things than I have told,
except the words of consecration, which are for a priest alone.

God þat dyȝed · vppon þe Roode,
þat bouȝt vs · with his blessed blode
  Vp-on þe harde · tre,
ȝiue vs grace · boþe more and lasse,
þorw þe vertu · of þe Masse,
  Vr soules · mai saued be.

A prayer to Christ,
for grace,
unto salvation.

Fader *and* Sone · and Holigost
As þou art lord · of mihtes most,
  And sitt:s · In Trinite,
Whon we schal dye · no lengor dwelle,
Kep vs · from þe pyne of helle
  AMEN · For Charite.

A prayer to the holy Trinity against hell-torment.

APPENDIX V.

MERITA MISSÆ, BY LYDGATE.

(*Cotton MS., Titus, A. xxvi, fol.* 154.)

Prayer to the Creator for grace to instruct the laymen.

God of hewine, that shoope Erthe And heHe,
ȝyf me grace svme word to teHe
To the lewde that can not rede,
But the pater noster and the Crede;

He bespeaks silence, even if they know as much as he does,

That I may teHe youe, or than I fare,
Houe ye shaH praye, whan and whare,
And thowgh ye can, as weHe as I,

for though a fool of a monk, what he says may be worth as much as a friar's tale.

To here my witte, hit is no foHye,
For sumtym is A foHe as good to here
As the word of A freer.
And there-fore, and it be youre wyHe,
Whan I speke, hould youe styH.

Devotions at bed-time,

At ewyn whane thoue to bedde shaH gone,
To god thi fadir thou make thy mone,

In manus tuas commendo, &c.

And loke thow sese in-to thi(1) honde
Lyf, sowHe, hows, and londe;
And say thi pater noste[r] stiHe,
And after thinke no man non iHe.

and midnight,

At mid nyght, ȝif that thou maye,
Ris and to thi lord thow praye
In worshippe of his passions aHe,
He had be nyght in cayface haHe.
. . . . . (2)
What thou hast saide that orysone.

(1) thi *in* MS. *Read* his.
(2) *A line or lines left out in the MS.*

And at morowe whan thou dost wake,
Nowe is seson *with* the Cred thoue take,
The nexte word after that thoue shalte nemen,
Aske thou the kyngdume of heuyne,
And for thy(1) sowłe the sam bone,
That hit be sawyd at the daye of dome,
And thowg thy body be of claye,
Set thow most ther-for and pray,
That where in londe hit comyt or goo,
That hit be sawid fro sham or woo.
Bles the thanne, ȝif that thou maye,
And to the chyrche take the waye.
Whan thou comste to the holy place,
Caste holy water in thi face,
And pray to god that made vs ałe,
Thi wenyałe sennys mot fro the ffałł.
Than loke to the hy autere,
And pray to hym that hangythe there,
Where in londe that thoue wende,
That he be at thi laste Ende.
Whan thoue haste asked that longithe to þe,
Wershipe Ewyr the Ternyte.
And whan the preste rynget the bełe,
Loke thou hold thy tong stylłe.
His wordis are of Swyche degre,
There fałythe no man to speke but he;
And whan thou seyste the preste stylłe,
Pray thou than *with* good wiłłe,
Thou for hym, and he for the,
And that is a dede of charyte.
And whan the gospiłe shałł be rede,
Lestene as thoue were adred,
For Eury tałe of a kyng
Wold haue dredfułłe lestnyng;

and at rising,
First the Creed,
28 then the Lord's Prayer,
with intention for thy soul and body,
32 [fol. 154 b.]
Then cross thyself, and away to
36 church.
At the door, take holy water,
with prayer for forgiveness of
40 venial sins,
Then pray to the reserved sacrament, hanging above the altar,
44
and then worship the Trinity.
When the priest rings the bell,
48 be silent,
and hearken,
Mutual prayer of priest and people,
52
Listen to the Gospel,
56

(1) MS. forthy

And what man saye it is not soo,
and be ready to do battle for it. Be redy to fyght or thou goo.
[fol. 155] Than dare I say thou arte a knyghte,
That dare fyght in thi lordis right.
Pray for the priest, And he beddythe yove forto praye,
when he asks your prayers after the Offertory. Loke that ye saye not naye,
But praye faste a-movng youe aHe,
That no temptacion on hym faHe;
For he schaHe pray for youe styHe,
Hewyn blysse he bryng youe tyHe.
And for another reason, pray when the bell is rung at the elevation, And whan he ryngythe the cros-beHe,
Pray than for a nothyr skyHe,
That thow be wordy to see that syght,
That schaHe be in hys handis lyght.
And whan he restit hym vp on hyght,
kneeling, Knele A-downe *with* aHe thy myght,
And ȝyf thoue aske any thyng,
Speke dredfuHy as to A kyng.
and casting thyself on the mercy of our Lord. And loke thoue aske no thyng of ryght,
But of his grace and of hys myght.
And ye wyHe a whyHe dueHe,
He illustrates his meaning by an example, of one who has forfeited house and land to his earthly sovereign. A good ensampiH I wiH youe teHe:
ȝyf thoue forfite hous and londe,
Hit faHythe into the kyngis honde.
That faHythe thoue in that Caas,
To put it into the kyngis grace.
And ȝif thoue make a sewte of ryght
Thoue getist it newer of grace nor gysthe.(1)
Than rede I the, nowght thou sewe of ryght,
But of hys gras and of hys myght.
[fol. 155 b.] And namly the ȝifte of swyche A kyng,
That may so frely ȝif aHe thyng—
A kyng that mad bothe swne and mone,
Hit coste hym litiH to grant a bone.

(1) *Qu.* gyfte.—*Mr Brock.*

Lat thyn hart her-on dweℏe,
Thare whylis I of the cecu*n*de telle.
Whan he hathe that oste in honde,
Loke thoue neythyr sette ne stonde,
But doo the reuernce that thou can,
In tokynyng that he is bothe god and man.
There is no twnge that can teℏe,
The rewerence that to hym seℏe.
And whan he partythe the oste on twoo,
Thynke on the sorow and on the woo,
That he suferde for thy sake,
Whan the Iewyse his vaynis brake;
And how he dide for the weop
To his fader on olywete.
And ȝif thyne hert be good & kynde,
This loue thoue haue aℏe-waye in mynde.
And ȝif men the ypocryte caℏe,
Lat watyr owt of thyn eyine falle;
For lasser loue schaℏ none bee,
Thoue wepe for hym that wepte for the.
Of more loue maye no man teℏe,
Than deid for loue, and goon to heℏe,
Bynd thyn enmye, and bete hym downe,
And on thyn hed sete a crow[*n*]e.
His Erytage is so fre,
In thy myschefe shaℏ ȝyef hit the.
His aungeℏ, at his comandemente,
Thyne enmyece slayne and aℏ to-rente.
Lat nowe no worℏy thynge
This loue owt of thyne harte bryng.
And whan he is houȝelyed w*ith* that oste,
Pray than to the holy goste,
What sothen a wenture the be-faℏe,
ȝef that it be yower howȝeℏ aℏe,
And ȝef ye be in cheryte,
ȝe be hoslyd as weℏe as he;

96 He goes on to speak of the second sacring, so called; (*Page* 110, *l.* 21)

100

104

and of the Fraction; (*Page* 112, *l.* 15)

108 and the emotion it is intended to arouse, despite sneers at hypocrisy,

112 with reflections on Christ's love and power.

116

[fol. 156]

120

When the priest is communicating,

124 pray that the mass may stand thee in stead of housel bread. (*Page* 56, B. 597)

128

His loue and hys moche myght
Ȝevythe youe houȝyH in that syght.
And aHso ȝe, that see him nought,
Ȝyf ye loue hym in aH youre thowght,
Whedyr ye Ryden or ye goone,
Lat youre loue on hym be oone.

The Rincing. (*Page* 54, *l.* 576)

And whan the preste gothe to the lauatori,
Takeythe it in no veyn glorye;
But thanke god *with* aH thy myght,
He ȝewythe the grace to se that syght.

Consideration when mass is ended.

Fór thow were wont whan thou ver yong,
Coweyte faste to see a kyng;
Than haste thoue sene that coste the noȝt,
The kyng that aH thys world hathe wroȝt,
The kyng that mad bothe day and nyght,(1)

. . . . . .

Here is given the ensample of Godfrey of Bouillon;

Ther may none Erthyly tovng teH,
The victory that to hym ffeHe,
Godfray whane Ieruȝalem
And myche of hethenesse whythem.
He was the beste crystyn knyght,
That Ewyr fawght in goddys Ryght.

[fol. 156 b.] and Charles the Great;

Charlys wane AH frawnce,
And cristende spayne *with*-owtyn stawnce.
Kyng he was and Emp*erou*ur,
Of aH cristyndome he bare the ffloum*r*,
And Euyr-more he had in mynde
God that mad aH man-kynde.

and Arthur,

Arto*ur* com aftyr fuH sonne,
And conqueryde into grette Rome.
He was the beste, I ondyr-stonde,
That Euyr was kyng in Inglonde.

who bore about an image of the Virgin and Child,

He bare portred far and nere
Owyr lady and her sonne dere,

(1) A line or lines wanting.—Not shown in the MS.

And whan he was in any care,
He prayd to the Image euyr mare;
And as fayne he wolde hys mas here,
As any preste or any freer.
Take ensampyꝧ of swyche blode,
And not of folys that can no goode,
That wylle not to the sac*ra*ment,
Doo Rewerence w*ith* good Entent.
I dar weꝧ say that pryd gothe beforen,
And schame comythe aftyr, and blawythe horne.
Whan they wollde worshype wyne,
They ar schamyd, and aꝧ here kynne.
They fare in chyrche as a lyone strong,
And meke in feld as any lomb.
ȝif Enemys com to any coste,
There wold I se hem blow her boste,
And in her othyr(1) beste araye,
Here long suerde and here lavncegaye.
And ȝif ye wiꝧ wyn the flou*ur*,
Clothe hym in hys cotte armowyre,
And so thoue may wyrchyp wyne,
& chewe pryd w*ith*outyn syne.
In Envye they may be aꝧsoo,
That no man schould be-for hem goo.
Be svyche men, I ondyr-stonde,
May be the sawacyon of aꝧ a londe!
Schameleꝧ and brethelis—(that nowt thee
May do) aꝧ a contre fle.
And, thou I klype the, prowde knapys,
That make in holy chyrche Iapis,
For he that wyꝧ w*ith* Enymyes Fyght,
Wyꝧ worshyp god w*ith* aꝧ hys myght.
Ther a man maye en-sampyꝧ see,
Who wyꝧ fyght and who wyꝧ fle.

and prayed to it in time of need, and was always fain to hear mass.

Take them for example, and not ignorant depravers of the sacrament,

who bring shame on themselves and their kindred.

Lions in church and lambs in battle,

where he would rather see them in pomp and circumstance, if need were,

[fol. 157]

but still without pride.

Warning against the envious, they want precedence, and are first to run away.

As to the jester, he thous him,

and so end his warlike examples:

(1) *Read* alther-best

Tho newyr Enemys com newyr in llonde,
but all have to fight manfully against the flesh and the devil.
Thow ned the to fyght, I vndeyrstonde,
With youre flesche, and *with* the fende,
That Eueryday hyt wyH ȝow schende.
God that mad more and lasse,
A prayer for grace,
ȝif vs grace to here masse,
And so to Fyght, and to praye,
and salvation at the last day.
That we be sawyd at domys daye.

A M E N.

Explicit meryta mysse.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE FOUR TEXTS.

Page 1. *Mass-book.* This from very early times was the English name of the *Missale.* "Missal" is comparatively modern, and in all likelihood was never in ordinary use as long as the mass-book itself was a service book of the Church of England. By the Canons of Ælfric (XX), the mass-priest before he was ordained (gehadod) was to have for his spiritual work, amongst other holy books, "pistol-boc. godspel-boc *and* mæsse-boc."(1) The "mæsse-boc" also occurs in a similar enumeration(2) in Ælfric's Pastoral Epistle (XLIV); and in a list of the ornaments of the church at Sherburn,(3) which must be very nearly of the same date, and is written at the end of the York Minster (Xth century) Gospels, from which the Old English Bidding Prayer (*page* 62) is taken, we find "twa *Crist*es bec (*Gospels*), *and* i. aspiciens(4)

(1) Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II, 350. The epistles and gospels, the Calendar, the Grayle, &c. were not at first collected in a *Missale completum* or *plenarium*, such as is the modern missal, which embodies the parts of the service, assigned to priest, deacon, sub-deacon, and people. Muratori had never heard of any service-book as early as the eleventh century, "*in quo universus iste sacrorum apparatus coagmentatus et per ordinem distributus legatur*," and hence he suggests a doubt as to the introduction of solitary masses before that time.—Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, I, p. CXXXV; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* I, 27.

(2) Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II, 384.

(3) King Athelstane gave the manor of Sherburne (*in Elmete*) to the see of York in the year 959, which may explain this entry in the York Minster Gospels.

(4) Before the days of title-pages books were often designated by the first words,—in inventories we often find the first words of the second folio for their better identification—and it is, therefore, not improbable that the *Aspiciens* may have been the Antiphoner or Anthem-book, which, as we find in Lyndwood—*Lib.* 3, *Tit.* 27. *Ut parochiani* (z)—contained not only anthems, but also the hymns, responds, &c., of the canonical Hours. The first respond of the nocturns, or first office of the first Sunday in Advent, begins "*Aspiciens a longe;*" and Amalarius (*De Ordine Antiphonarii, cap.* 8. De officio, *Aspiciens a longe*) notes that these words "currunt per omne tempus adventus Domini in nocturnali officio, et matutinali, ac vespertinali."

and *Ic ad te levavi*[1] and *Ic plond hec* and *I mowebor*.' In the thirteenth century we have the formulary *Wlstod*:—

> Iec hafe sammnedd o þiss boc
> Þa Goddspelless neh alle,
> Þatt sinndenn o þe messeboc
> Inn all þe zer att messe.—Ded. 29-32.

And in Havelock the Dane (*Skeat*)—

> A wol fair cloth bringen he dede,
> And þer-on leyde þe messebok,
> The caliz, and þe pateyn ok.—ll. 185-7.

It would be easy to multiply examples from wills and inventories down to the reformation; the following are among the latest: John Lord Scrope of Bolton in 1494 leaves his "masse booke impressed" to his chaplain [2], and there were in the chantry of St Blase in York Minster in the year 1500 "ij mes bowkes on of parchment, & ye other of paper."[3]

Our last example must be from a book of churchwardens' accounts [4] for the first year of Queen Mary, as that brings us down to the last reign in which Latin service-books were bought out of the church-rate:—1558 "Item paid for a Masse boke viis viiid."

P. 2. *Title.* There is not a contemporary title to any of the six manuscripts. *Pyamia missa* has been written at the beginning of the Corpus MS. (Text C) in a later hand, either from the mention of the "medes" at the mass (line 13), or from now losing the name of another book often mentioned in wills and inventories of the XVth century, but of a very different character.

Mr Turnbull in his "Visions of Tundale" (1843) headed the fragment from the Advocates Library in Edinburgh as "The Mass" (our MS. A.), but the name has since been found to express the purpose of this "devotarium" (page 24, P. Ab.) which is now for the first time printed at length.

A poem with the title "De Missa Nove" is printed by Mr Wright from the Douce MS. among "The Poems of John Audelay" (*Percy Society*, 1844), parts of which however are much older than the "blynd Awdlay," as will be pointed out in the notes to the

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(1) *Ad te levavi* are in like manner the first words (in Latin) of the *office* of the first Sunday in Advent; and this book may have come to *Gradalia*, but also the *Office* and the other things [illegible] *tant in missa solemnis decantantur*." The [illegible] "*Graduarius* dicus est a *gradualibus*, quia in eo continentur," and a [illegible] *officiarius* nuncupatur, ab *officio*, eas [illegible]

(2) *Testamenta Eboracensia* [illegible] "Vestm." also occurs in this collection (A.D. 1432 [illegible]

(3) *York Fabric Rolls* (Raine), p. 278.

(4) Wing in Buckinghamshire [illegible]

poem from the Vernon MS. has preserved (pubs. [illegible]). This poem was also called "Dominus Illuxit" by the scribe of the Simeon MS. in the Bodleian, Rawlinson—Bodleian MS. [illegible], fol. 89.

It will be noticed that Lydgate's poems imitated, especially [illegible], is called "Mirrha Mirour" in the subscription (page [illegible]).

P. 2. M. 1. *fle*, the sufferer's cry of the northern dialects, usually "flee." Has occasionally appeared in thoroughly Southern manuscripts.

M. 4. *wil*. B. M. adds "The destruction hereafter of mankind and evil planed be observed by John galmy although not expressed by name in this book." In the corresponding lines in the [illegible] another copy differs in many points from the A. Yorkshire manuscript, and being full of Scotch phrases from

M. 5. *pat grue*. Any thing. Compare A. V., Deut. xiii. [illegible] "ne wrote grue."

M. 9. *gyrd*, C. *agrise*. Wil. still speak of an unpleasant meeting and action, through confused [illegible] of [illegible]. Only Southern words are used in this line of literary culture:—

> Thrild and frizli [illegible] I spra,
> So wicke sare gird ching on laghtnes.
> Hymns Blessed Trinitie (Small), p. 9.

M. 1. *Ded-bok*. Doomsd. book. "This one of the weird notions to be found in the book-learning was almost exclusively confined to the clergy. And it was by no means easy to discern its true source:—

> This wel herdi and selkuc lorken sayes.—C. T. 8196.
> Ne gaw ans [illegible] gastli at enspire: and mani kinding ging mad.
> Mi thoughs ne cuthenli serug all wra, ne [illegible] wittes, ne all [illegible] ne [illegible] handes.
> How cud we all enough? pis [illegible] written, to which answer he was answered,
> [illegible] dom (Ormulum), 8834.

Compare A. V., St. John v. 28, xx. 20: "Ded bodiwold, Kirk bam, [illegible] hearing, wreat [illegible]." Dryas accordyd [illegible] and cried, My dominion is not [illegible] bog ide dwar mare tua."

M. 8. *pe Jwde folke*. This is a commonly occurring phrase; very sometimes seems to have been used simply to fill up a line. Who meant with it no more as the [illegible] of Shropshire?—Dhan pe an scrapth [illegible]. [illegible] (Ormulum), 10 [illegible] M. [illegible] pe an gha.

One MS. A much-read [illegible] M. reads this [illegible] and I should as all probably think the best. Four lines of the other printed have preserved the reading of the original which may have been altered by a scribe who was not used to that sentence—as all true words to the third person plural.

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(1) Ad aliud, in innumerable work.

P. 2, B. 10. *messe herynge.* When this treatise was written the people were expected to answer the priest much more than was afterwards enjoined; (1) but as time went on,—and this phrase may not have been without its influence—the people's part became less and less, until the mass became an exclusively clerical service. I subjoin an extract, which very plainly bears this out, from that very rare book "An Introductorie for to learne to speke French trewly" by Giles Dewes, or du Guez, which was printed in 1532 or 1533, and reprinted by the French Government in the volume with Palsgrave's Éclaircissement in 1872. This Giles was "schoolmaster for the French tongue to the Lady Mary," afterwards Queen of England, and claims to have taught her father, King Henry VIII. The French editor supposes the dialogues from which I quote to have been written(2) in 1527, in which year the princess was thirteen years of age, and if, as is not unlikely, they represent actual conversations, a most intelligent pupil. Spite of the many years he had lived in this country, the gallicisms of the English translation betray the country of the author.

"Communycation betwene the Lady Mary and her amner, of thexposytion of the masse" (*Ed.* Génin, p. 1063-4):

I haue good memory, maistre Amnere [*monsieur l'Aumosnier*], how ye sayd one day that we ought nat to pray at masse, but rather onely to here and harken, and dyd prove it by that one say comunely: I go here masse, which my lorde the President fortifying sayd that we be nat bounde by the lawe to saye, but onely to here, is it nat true?

Ye, verely, madame.

Wherfore than sayth the preest after the offytorie,(3) in hym tourning [*en soi tournant*] to the people, pray for me, etc. and our Lorde, at his passyon sayd to his discyples, watch and pray, that ye entre nat in temptation, with that that if our Lorde wolde nat our prayers, why had he made the *Paternoster*.

Certaynely, madame, that whiche I shewed you was nat onely but for to shew you how you ought to maintene you at the masse, specyally unto that that one monysshe you for to pray.

In my God, I can nat se what we shall do at the masse, if we pray nat.

Ye shall thynke to the mystery of the masse and shall herken the wordes that the preest say.

Yee, and what shall do they which understande it nat.

They shall behold, and shall here, and thynke, and by that they shall understande."

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(1) *Ante*, p. 16, C. 86; p. 24, B. 274; p. 46, B. 488, where C., a revised and adapted text, qualifies the answer "loud *or still*."

(2) Introduction by M. Génin, p. 17.

(3) *Ante*, p. 24, l. 265; p. 100, l. 19, &c.

P. 2, B. 11. *þo fift parte.* Compare Audelay's Poems (*Percy Society*), p. 73.

Both saynt Barnard and saynt Bede
Sayne the masse is of so gret mede,
That no mon mend hit may,
Weder that be(1) were hold or ȝong,
He myȝt tel with no tung
Thaȝ he myȝt leve fore ay.

Ne exponere habit (sic) *opus,*
Half the medis of the masse,
Into his last day.
Were he never so wise of art,
He schuld fayle the V. part
Of the soth to say.

In the Vernon text (Appendix IV, page 132, lines 149—154), which is itself older than Audelay's time, and either was borrowed from by him very largely, or represents the older original which was used for both MSS., we have the same notion, except that there we have "þe tenþe part," and it is attributed to St Ambrose.

Another version of this MS. (Harleian MS. 3954) claims St Augustine as its authority—the fourth name we find mentioned,—but specifies "þe fyfte part." It is added to give an opportunity of verbal comparison :—

Sent austyn howso rede ryth,
þe messe is so mych of myth,
þat no man telle may,
Qweþer he be old or ȝong,
He may not telle with tong,
þou he myth leuyn ay.

Ne for to tellyn expres
Half þe medys of þe mes
On-tyl hys laste day,
Coude he neuer so mekyl of art,
He xuld faylyn þe fyfte part
Of þe soþe to say.—fol. 74 *b*—75.

B. 13. *pardoun*—that is, indulgence or remission of punishment in purgatory. Many examples of mediæval indulgences have been printed. One occurs in the Treatise now printed from the Vernon MS. (page 146, lines 647—652), for kissing the ground at the gospel at the end of mass, and I here add another published in a paper fly-leaf—in itself curious as an early example of English block-printing—which I found stitched on to the vellum (*fol.* 44 *b*) of the MS. York Horæ, in the Minster Library, elsewhere mentioned. The paper has no water-mark ; size, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Above

(1) *Read* "he."—Ed.

is a shield with the cross and crown of thorns, and the instruments of the passion. On the stem of the cross is the pierced heart, and drops of blood falling from the right side into a chalice. The whole is rudely coloured. The words ECCE HOMO fill up the space outside the lower quarters of the shield, and below are the words :—

Who sumeuer deuoutely
behoildith thes armys(1) of
criste haith vj^{m} vii^{c} lv. y[*eres*]. (6755 years.)

In a printed York Horæ (*York Minster Library*, XI, O, 28), *fol.* 69 *b*, we have a rubric, specifying a somewhat similar indulgence, which justifies the conjectural expansion of *yeres* :—

¶ To all the*m* that afore this ymage of pyte deuoutly saye .v. Pate*r*nosters .v. Aues and a credo . pyteously beholdynge these armes(1) of cristes passion are grau*n*ted .xxxiiM vii hondred. and .vi. yeres of pardon (32706 years).

P. 2, C. 1—6. These half-dozen lines, compared with the Museum MS. above, will show the very numerous smaller differences between Northumbrian and the dialect of the midland scribe :— The *or* þe, *þo ;* maste, *most ;* gudness, *godnesse ;* haly, *holy ;* many falde, *mony folde ;* talde, *told.* As they occur I shall draw attention to the variation, or rather the retention of the northern forms, where, as I point out in the Introduction, it leads me to infer that both texts were founded on a northern original.

C. 4. *gone wyrke.* MS. D. "*gune.*" See also the York Hours of the Cross, p. 84, l. 40, and p. 86, l. 54 and 57. This is the preterite of ginne (A.S. gynnan), to begin, and is often used merely as an auxiliary.

"Ful long time gon he dwelle."—*Ante* (Vernon), p. 136, l. 295.

"Þer er þe wordes of þe gospelle
Þat Crist til his disciples gun telle."—P. C. 4699-700.

"The gost, that from the fader gan proceed."—C. T. 12255.

C. 10. *þe profet* of *the messe.* Here the thorn letter (þ) and "th" are used in writing the same word. In fact, before the date of this MS. the use of the thorn letter was beginning to be less frequent, and especially, if I am not mistaken, among scribes who were more in the habit of writing Latin. I noticed its absence in a long English document, copied into Archbishop Thoresby's Register in the preceding century.(2)

(1) In these quotations *arms* is used in the heraldic sense, but we find Chaucer putting a blasphemous oath into the mouth of the Sompnour (C. T. 6415) by the bodily arms of Incarnate God.

(2) In the *Primer in Latin and Englishe*, John Waylande, 1655, we have a very late example of a printed *thorn* in the *Benedicite*, fol. D 1 :—"Moistures, and þe hore frostes prayse ye oure lorde," and then "The earth," six verses farther on.

P. 2, C. 12. *crafte.* It may be that towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when this MS. was written, *wit* (B. 12 *above*) was beginning to bear the sense in which we now use it, and that *craft* seemed to the Cistercian copyist to be more suitable to the dignity of the subject. Though in the Ayenbite (*page* 35) we find "wycked creft," it had not sunk down to the "crooked wisdom" with which we now connect it.

Craft or *cræft* (A.S.), like the Icelandic *kraptr* or *kraftr*, and the German *kraft*, was simply power, and it took some centuries before the process of degradation, which Archbishop Trench so well describes, took effect in this word, and it came to suggest that the powers of the mind had been used for evil, and to imply a purpose of fraud and deception.

Compare:—Sunnan cræftas (*the sun's powers*): Wiδ þære sawle cræfta ænne (*with one of the faculties of the soul*).—Boethii, Cons. Phil. A.S. ab Ælfredo, *quoted* Bosworth, s.v.

> þy prayer may hys pyte byte,
> þat mercy schal hyr craftez kyþe.
> *Alliterative Poems* (Morris), p. 11, l. 355-6.
>
> I schal, þurgh craft þat ich kan, keuer(1) ȝou, i hope.
> *William of Palerne*, 635.

See B. 371. "men of craft" (*skill, art*), craftsmen, artisans; and see Cursor Mundi, 86, where craft is used specially of versifying:—

> "Off suilk an suld ȝe mater take,
> Crafty þat can rimes make."

P. 3, E. 5. The blundering way in which the MS. of text E. is written has been noted in the Introduction. The first displacement occurs in this place. After line 4 in the MS. there follow the lines here numbered 39—48, as printed in the right order for the sake of comparison.

F. 4. *techeth;* F. 8. *fyndest.* The reader will here and elsewhere observe the southern *-est* and *-eth* of the verb in this text.

F. 9. *Whiles the prest maketh hym boune.* This refers to the *Præparatio Missæ*, or the *Orationes dicendæ a sacerdote ante missam*, which are found under this or some similar rubric in many manuscript and most printed missals. These prayers were to be said by the priest before he began to "take his vestments on."

boune—ready, from búinn, pp. of the Old Norse búa, to make ready, and also in modern Icelandic use (Cleasby-Vigfusson, búa, II, γ) to pack [? *bind*] in bundles.

> "I am boune" (*paratus sum*), Ps. (119) cxviii, 60.
>
> "They busked *and* made them bowne."—*Percy Folio* (Hales & Furnivall), I, 91, *l.* 9.

For another use of this word, *ante*, p. 70, *l.* 7, and the note there.

(1) Keuer, *cure.*

P. 3, F. 10. *Vpon thi knees,* in the plural. "The men of this countray knele upon one knee whan they here masse, but the frenche men knele upon bothe." — Palsgrave, *Éclaircissement*, p. 599 (*Ed.* Génin). Mr Furnivall pointed out this quotation to me, and I have not elsewhere met with any mention of kneeling on one knee in church. If our author had written twenty years later, it might have been taken as one of the proverbial sayings he often uses as his examples. We might in that case have understood it as contrasting the progress of the reformation in the two countries, but it cannot have been intended to express the growing impatience at the encroachments of the Roman Curia. In 1530 the doctrinal side of the dispute with Rome had hardly become a question of national interest, so that we must accept what he says as a simple statement of fact, and few men can have had more ample opportunities of observation than Palsgrave himself (1). But however else the difference between the two countries may be accounted for, the one knee of our forefathers is no more to be attributed to any ecclesiastical authority than the sitting and lounging of some of their descendants can be laid to the want of rubrics directing them to kneel. We find the plural in B. 53 and 150; and in Myrc (E. E. T. S. ed. *Peacock*):—

> "No non [*query* mon] in chyrche stonde schal,
> Ny lene to pyler ny to wal,
> But fayre on kneus þey shule hem sette,
> Knelynge doun vp-on the flette."(2)—ll. 270-3.

This direction is more strongly expressed in the "*Constitutions of Masonry*" (Ed. *Halliwell*, 1844) when the directions how to behave in church appear to have been transferred from Myrk for the most part without alteration; but where Myrc (l. 283) bids the parish preest

> "Teche hem eft to knele downe sone,"

an interpolation exhorts the mason

> "On bothe thy knen down thou falle,
> For hyse love that bowȝht us alle."—*l.* 635-6.

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(1) He tells us in his title-page he was "*Angloys, natyf de Londres, et gradue de Paris.*" He first took his bachelor's degree at Cambridge, and then went to Paris, and there studied some years before being admitted Master of Arts. We find him again in that country in 1514, when he attended the Princess Mary, whom he had been commanded by her brother Henry VIII "to instruct in the frenche tonge," when she was contracted in marriage to Louis XIII, and he returned with her after the King's death. He was a prebendary of St Paul's from 1514, and was also Rector of St Dunstan's-in-the-East on the presentation of Archbishop Cranmer from 1543 until 1544, when he died.

(2) *Flette.* Floor of the church, the "*in plano*" of the Latin rubrics, "Clived my saule to þe flet." (*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea*) Ps. (119) cxviii, 25.

The Constitutions also point out the difference between kneeling on one or both knees: in the directions how to behave "byfore a lorde" without any loss of self-respect (1):—

"Twyes or thryes, withoute doute,
To that lorde thou moste lowte;
With thy ryȝth kne let hyt be do,
Thyn owne worschepe thou save so" (l. 699—702).

So too in "The Boke of Curtasye" printed by Mr Furnivall in the Babees Book, from a Sloane MS., A.D. 1460.

"Be curtayse to god, and knele doun
On bothe knees with grete deuocioun.
To mon þou shalle knele opon þe toñ,
þe toþer to þy self þou hald aloñ."—p. 304, l. 163-6.

I add one more direction from the Festyvall (W. de Worde, 1515), because it was given to the people in church at bidding the bedes on Sunday:—"Ye shall knele downe on your knees / and lyfte up your hertes makynge your prayers to almighty god, For the good state," &c.

In two places I find *kne*, but it by no means follows that kneeling on one knee is intended. One is in the Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 134, l. 215; the other in Lydgate's Vertue of the Masse—

"¶ Entryng the chirche, withe al humylite,
To here masse at morwe at yowre risyng
Dispose yowre self, knelyng on kne,
For to be there atte begynnyng.
Fro the tyme of his Revestyng,
Departe nat till he have doo:
To alle thy werkis [*Qu.* werk is] grete furtheryng
To abyde the ende of Inprincipio."
Stanza IV, MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 179.(2)

P. 3, F. 12. *The whiles he doth on his westemente.* It has been pointed out in the introduction that the original of this treatise was written with reference to a foreign Use. It will be seen that the texts C. and E. simply leave out the lines (B. 33—40) which assume that the priest is already vested for mass, except the chasuble, before he comes to the altar. In this text the prayer, which, according to the other texts, is to be said at the Office, is transferred to the beginning, and prefaced by a dozen lines of original composition,

(1) These lines are also found in a poem, "Urbanitatis," in Mr Furnivall's *Babees Book* (p. 13).

(2) This piece of Lydgate's is one of the *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, printed for private circulation by Mr Huth, from a unique copy of W. de Worde's edition, in the Cambridge University Library. There are many variations from this manuscript—e. g. amongst others in this stanza "knelynge on your knee," and in the seventh line it adds "it shall be." See *post*, p. 167 *nn.*

in order to adapt it to the English custom of the priest "donning" his vestments before the people at the beginning of mass, except when he was officiating at the high altar of some cathedral or collegiate church, and, perhaps also, the altars of some of the more important parish churches.

The rubrics of the mass-book, portesse, &c., and the Regulæ, Consuetudinaria, or by whatever name, the orders for conducting the services in the church of England, according to the several Uses before the reformation, were drawn up with reference to the mother-church; and the modifications necessary to adapt them to parish churches, for the most part were dependent on custom. Although there are differences on other points, the following is the rule, expressed in the same words, according to the use of Sarum and York, "Dum tertia cantatur executor officii et sui ministri ad missam dicendam se induant;" and the Bangor rubric is the same with merely verbal variations. The subsequent directions prove that this vesting was not at the altar. According to the rubric of the Hereford missal (*Ed.* Henderson, p. 113, 136), the priest puts on the vestments at the altar. The alb and amice are alone mentioned as being put on; but the mention of them, as being the first put on, implies the rest, and the rubric at the end of mass specifies the alternative of the priest taking off his vestments before going from the altar to the vestry.

This vesting at the altar, although an exception in the case of cathedrals, was in all probability the general practice when distinctive liturgical vestments were first used.(1) In ordinary parish churches, and also in most chapels in houses and castles of the great, for whom these devotions were originally written and had need to be adapted, it must of necessity have continued to be the rule, for comparatively few old churches in this country were provided with vestries, and when we do meet with them, except in perpendicular churches, the style of architecture proves that they are almost always later than the church itself. The existing rule in the church of Rome appears to be that the vestments of cardinals and bishops only, except in the case of certain other prelates when they celebrate pontifically, should be placed on the altar, those of bishops in the middle, and of others at the gospel end (*in cornu evangelii*).(2) Other priests take their vestments

(1) Different forms of the old *Ordo Romanus* make mention of vestries, but it is not unreasonable to assume that vestments were in use before vestries were wanted; and the survival of the custom of taking the vestments from off the altar in the case of bishops, and the reference to it in the old statutes of religious orders, point to its early origin. Nor is this the only case, though it is one of very trifling importance, where the ceremonial of bishops, and more especially of the pope, and the more tenacious adherence of mediæval monks and other regulars to their ancient usages, serve to illustrate the practice, and not unfrequently the doctrine, of the early Church.

(2) This no doubt is in accordance with ancient custom, and we still find

from the altar upon sufferance only, when there is no vestry. This was forbidden by a decree of the Congregation of Rites (7th July, 1612), but the old practice maintained its ground in many cases, and De Vert (vol. ii, p. 388) mentions that in 1701 he had seen the vestments left on the altar from mass to mass.

At all events, it seems to have been assumed in this country (*see*, for example, Vernon MS., p. 134, l. 214; p. 136, l. 286; and extracts, *post*, p. 167) that the priest would ordinarily vest before the people; and not only were the churches provided with chests or coffers "pro vestimentis conservandis," but also the several chapels and side-altar for their separate use. A few examples may be given from the publications of the Surtees Society, *Test. Ebor.* vol. i, p. 183 (edited by Canon Raine). Richard de Dalton, barber of York, A.D. 1392, leaves to the high altar of the church of Holy Trinity in Miklegate, York, "unam cistam ferro ligatam pro custodiendis ornamentis dicti altaris." Vol. ii, p. 75, we have "Richard Shirburn squyer" of Mitton in Craven, A.D. 1436, bewitting (*bequeathing*) to the altar of St Nicholas in the "parysh kirke of Mitton," service books, vestments, altar-cloths, chalice, paxbrede, other ornaments "and a kiste for to keep all *th*is gere in, with *the* appurtenance *th*at langes to *the* same auter." In the York Fabric Rolls, the same editor has printed several inventories, from which it appears there was, A.D. 1360, at the altar of St John of Beverley in York Minster "una cista pro vestimentis reponendis" (p. 288); and at that of St Paulinus and St Chad, A.D. 1378, "una archa de Flaundres pro vestimentis reponendis in eadem, precii 13*s.* 4*d.*; unum armoriolum ligneum similiter pro iisdem, precii, 4*s.*" (p. 300).

The inventories of cathedral and other churches afford many other examples of chests and coffers for vestments, not kept in vestries, but I have not met with any reference in liturgical treatises to the fact of vestments being kept in aumbries below the altars. I therefore add some quotations which bear upon it. In the year 1435, Richard Russell, Citizen and Merchant of York, amongst other bequests to his parish church, the now demolished Church of St John's in Hungate, leaves a wooden altar with an aumbry below.(1) He directs "quod unum altare fiat bene et

remnants of it, where perhaps they might be least expected. According to the rubric of the English Coronation Service "the archbishop goeth to the altar and puts on his cope," which is shown (Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*) in the Plate of the "Prospect of the Inside of the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, as it appeared before the grand proceeding entered," placed ready on the middle of the altar. And so too as to the "*cornu euangelii*," the Lutheran ministers in Denmark and Norway not only wear the chasuble at the administration of the communion, but they still take it from the northern part of the altar.

(1) He leaves another wooden altar to the church after the fashion of this one. In the same collection of wills we have Dan John Raventhorp,

effectualiter de tabulis, in parte boreali dictæ ecclesiæ, coram ymaginibus Beatæ Mariæ et Sanctæ Annæ, et subtus idem altare unum almariolum pro libris et vestimentis iidem altari pertinentibus fideliter conservandis" (*Test. Ebor.* II, 53). The testator's care for the faithful conservation of his bequests was not uncalled for. We find among other presentments made as to York Minster in 1472, that it was feared a certain vestment belonging to the altar of the Blessed Virgin would suffer from damp "quia jacens per longum tempus subtus altare."—*York Fabric Rolls*, 252. Not to refer to other mediæval examples, it may be sufficient to quote from Thiers, *Dissertations sur les Autels*, Paris, 1688, who speaks in terms of condemnation of the practice, as if still existing, "de reserrer les ornements et les livres nécessaires pour la célébration des mystéres divins, sous les autels dans les armoires" (p. 34). He quotes the recent synodal instructions of M. Godeau, bishop of Vence, forbidding any aumbries in altars, and refers to the earlier constitution of a provincial council(1) at Tholouse in 1590, which follows:—"Fenestra in altari nulla sit, foramenve nullum, ut quod Christi sacrosancto corpori sustinendo fuerit dedicatum, hinc nihil aliud, omnino inseratur."

P. 3, F. 12, *westemente.* The use of *w* points to the late date of this MS. Robert Calverley of Calverley, Esquier, A.D. 1498, bequeaths to the church of Calverley "ij sewtes of westiments, one of qwhit for the festes of our Lady, a noder of blake for Requiem."—*Test. Ebor.* IV, 157-8. Inventory, York Minster, A.D. 1543, "Altare nominis Jhesu in the rudde loft . . . . sex westementes, one of blake welwet" (*York Fabric Rolls*, 301). St Wilfrid's altar: ". . . . one vestment of whitt satten *with* floures; one westement of witt damask with birdes" (*ib.* 304).

Vestment is used in various senses—I. Any single vestment, but more especially the chasuble; II. The complete set of mass-vestments worn by priest, deacon, or subdeacon. The synodical constitution of Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1250, require the parishioners(2) to find "Missale vestimentum (*the* principal

priest of the chapel of St Martin in Aldwerk (York), leaving, A.D. 1432, to the said chapel "Vestimentum cum altari ligneo."—*Test. Ebor.* II, 28. These bequests were the deliberate acts of men who, to judge from their wills, were not likely to offend against any established rule; and this I point out because other examples, which I quoted some years ago in an incidental mention of the use of wooden altars before the reformation (*Contemporary Review*, vol. III., Oct. 1866, p. 261), were characterized by one of my critics as "exceptional irregularities," and "make shift expedients."

(1) Labb. & Coss. XV, col. 1403, A. I have not been able to verify the reference to the constitution of the bishop of Vence. M. Godeau was consecrated in 1636.—*Gallia Christiana*, XIII, 311.

(2) There is an ordination of the dean and chapter of York on the same subject for the churches of their jurisdiction; and a similar constitution was made for the province of Canterbury at the council at Merton, A.D. 1305.

mass-vestment) ipsius ecclesiæ principale, viz. casula, alba munda, amictus, stola, manipulus, zona, cum tribus towellis; corporalia; et alia vestimenta pro diacono et subdiacono honesta juxta facultates parochianorum et ecclesiæ." In this sense vestment was still used by Bishop Bonner, in his visitation, 1554 (2 Mariæ) :— "Articles concerning the church and ornaments of the same .... Whether the things underwritten (which are to be found at the cost of the parishioners) be in the church; .... a principal vestment with chesuble, a vestment for the deacon and subdeacon" (Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* (1844), p. 151). III. A suit of vestments, as in the extract from the will in the last paragraph, included a complete set for priest, deacon, and subdeacon. I give an instance where it occurs in the inventory of the ornaments of York Minster, A.D. 1510, with an explanation: "VESTIMENTA ALBA. Una secta, viz., pro presbitero, diacono, et subdiacono" (*York Fabric Rolls*, 232).

Vestment in the text is no doubt used for the principal or priest's vestment, consisting, as we have seen above, of chasuble, alb, amice, stole, maniple (or *fanon*), and girdle.

I add two extracts from unpublished manuscripts as to the vesting of the priest.

The first is from Lydgate's Vertue of the Masse (quoted above, page 163), where the several vestments are mentioned in the order which they are put on:—

"¶ The morallisaciouñ of þe prist whan he gothe to masse.(1)

¶ Vpon his hede. an Amyte. the prist hathe,
Whiche is a signe. tokene(2) of figure,
Outwarde a shewyng. grounded on the faithe.
The large Awbe.(3) by record of scripture
In rightwisnes. perpetually to endure;
The longe girdelle. clennesse and chastite;
Rounde on the Arme. the phanon dothe assure
Al sobrenes knet.(4) withe humilite.

¶ The stole also strecchyng on lengthe
Is of doctours. saithe the angels doctryne,
Amonge heretiks. to stonde in strengthe
Fro cristes lawe. neuer to declyne.
The Chesible(5) above. withe charite fyne,
As phebus, in his mydday spiere;
Holdithe euer his cours. in the Right lyne
To strecche oute. his beames cliere.

(1) Interpretatio misse—W. de Worde. (2) and a—W. de W.
(3) largeable—W. de W. (4) knytte—W. de W.
(5) Chesuble—W. de W.

¶ A prist made stronge. withe this armure
A fore the Awtier. as cristis champiouñ
Shal stonde vpright. make no discomfiture,
Owre thre enemyes. venquysshe and bere downe
The flesshe the world. Sathan the felle dragouñ.
First to begynne. or he further passe
Withe contrite. and lowe confessiouñ,
And so procede. devoutly to the masse."—MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 181.

The other is from Langforde's *Meditacyons for goostly exercyse in þe tyme of þe Masse*, written in the time of Henry VII, and now in the Bodleian Library (A. Wood, MS. 9), but here the putting on of the amice, alb, and girdle is not "improved upon:"—

"now our Intent ys. to move soolles. to þe devotyon of þe masse. *and* to the lovyng Remembrance of þe **Passyon of Cryste.**

Now frome hensforthe furst reid þe titles *and* so after, þe Medytatyons.

When þe fanelle ys put on þe Lefte hand

Remember þe roips with þe whiche. þe knyghtes dyd bynd our Sauyoures handes. when þai dyd Leyd hym fro Tyrant to Tyrant.

When þe stoole ys cast ouer hys necke *and* crossyd on þe breist.

Haue medytatyon of þe bosteous roipys. wherwith þe turmentors dyd drawe hys blyssyd body on þe crosse so sore. þat alle hys Ioynttes was dyssoluyd. *and* hys Scenowys *And* vaynys alle to brast.

When þe prest castyth on hys ouermest vestment, callyd A chesible.

Remember þe Purpule Mantelle wherin they dyd cloithe our Sauyour in grett scorne, *and* howe þei crovnyd *and* Septuryd hym with A Rode. *and* bete *and* mokyd hym. saing haile kyng of Iewys. spyttyng vnreuerently in hys moost blyssyd faice."—*Bodleian MS.*, A. Wood, 17. fol. 7.

P. 4, B. 16. *Sacrament.* Sacrament is here used in its larger sense, for though the eucharist or sacrament of the altar was ministered in the mass,(1) the mass itself was not one of the seven, especially called, sacraments.

B. 17. *Ane.* The northern *ane* is here retained by the midland copyist on account of the rhyme, though at other times he has altered it to the injury of the sense; e. g. *ll.* 425 and 426 into ave [*Maria*], and *l.* 561 into ay (*ever*, *always*). E reads *on* and changes *name* to nome.

It may be noticed that, as *ll.* 229 and 231, 269 and 270, &c., the consonance of *m* and *n* was sufficient for the rhyme.

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(1) "Sacramentum eucharistiæ non conficitur nisi in missa."—J. de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi* (1510), fol. 12, B.

As to the substantive use of *one* in making a quotation, cf. Chaucer, *The Persones Tale;* Secunda pars penitentiæ :—"Witnesse on, seint Jame thapostil, that saith."

And the authorised version, Heb. ii, 6 : "For one in a certain place testified."

P. 4, B. 18. *Dam.* Dam, Damp, Dane, Dan, Daun ; Fr. *Dom*, O.F. *dam, danz, damp*, from Lat. *dominus* (*o* changed into *a*, as in *dame* from *domina*).

This title of respect, which latterly in France was specially given to Benedictines, was in England used of all ranks, lay and cleric, from the king to the handicraftsman, as witness Chaucer :—

"Lo hier the wise kyng daun Salamon."—C. T. 5617.
"Lok of Egipt the king, daun Pharao."—C. T. 16619.
"Wherfor, sir monk, damp Piers, by your name."—C. T. 16278.
"My lord the monk, quod he, be mery of chere,
. . . . . .
Whether schal I calle you my lord dan Johan,
Or daun Thomas, or elles dan Albon?"—C. T. 15410-16.
"Unto a smyth, men clepith daun Gerveys,
That in his forge smythed plowh-harneys."—C. T. 3759-60.

B. 18. *Jeremy.* See the Introduction, and note, page 172.

B. 19. *a religyus.* C. and F. omit the article, but religious is constantly used as a substantive of men or women, who were bound by a private religion, or the rule(1) of a monastic or other order, in contradistinction to the lay-folk and clergy bound only by their christian profession, or their ordination vows.

"And syth yt ys so in seculers, moche more yt ys blamefull in relygyous."—*Myroure* (E. E. T. S.) 63.

". . . . . 'þe dede of povert na mercy has
. . . . . .
Ne til na religiouse, ne til na seculere
For dede over al men has powere."—P. C. 1880, 88 and 89.

See "Bidding Prayer," *ante*, p. 68, l. 18. By the Act 4 Henry IV, c. 12 (1402), it was provided, sec. 5, that in every case of appropriation from thenceforth "a secular person be ordained vicar perpetual," and, sec. 6, "that no religious be in any wise made vicar in any church so appropriated, or to be appropriated by any means in time to come."

". . priests, as well religious as other, have taken wives and married themselves."—*Proclamation against marriage of priests*, 16 Nov. 13 Henry 8 (1531).

B. 22. *No ianglyng make.* In Early English remains we meet with

(1) Thus we find mention of trespasses against God and against "the religion."—*Myroure*, p. 153.

frequent mention of jangling or chattering in church, and we find the phrase in use down to the reformation.

"3yf þou euer ianglyst at messe
Yn þe cherche wyþ more or lesse,
And lettyst men of here preyers,
For hem perel soþely þou berys;
Þe halyday þou holdest nat ry3t,
And lettyst to wurschyp god almy3t."
Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, 1004-9.

"When þou in kirk makes ianglyng
Or thynkes in vayn anythyng;
Be it with-outen, be it with-in,
Yhit it es a veniel syn."
Hampole, *Pricke of Conscience*, ll. 3478-81.

"Whanne þou sittist(1) in þe chirche þi beedis þou schalt bidde;
Make þou no iangelynge to freende nor to sibbe."
Babees Book, p. 37, l. 25.

"Auyse you wel also / for ony thinge
The chirche of prayer / is hous and place
Beware therfore / of clappe or Iangelynge
For in the chirche / it is ful grete trespaas
And a token of suche / as lackyth grace
There be ye demure / and kepe ye scilence
And serue ye god / with al your diligence."
Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, ll. 78-84.

"Whether any do use to commune, jangle, or talk in the church at the time of divine service?"—Articles of Enquiry, 1547. *Cardwell*, Doc. Ann., p. 29.

See also the Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 20, l. 215, and the Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 136, l. 281, and the note there.

P. 4, B. 23. *grett saumple.* Mediæval homilies and treatises intended for popular instruction were very commonly interspersed with legendary tales and "pleasant gestes," sometimes of a character which would rather scandalize a modern audience; but at all events so far as intention went,(2) not unlike the stories which

(1) It is hardly necessary to observe that sitting did not imply our sitting posture:

"Alle men þat þis chaunce sees
Sitteþ dowyn upp on oure knees."
Handlyng Synne, 950-1.

(2) No doubt they were intended to serve a moral purpose. The Knight of La Tour-Landry—and no stories would more offend modern propriety—thought "a man aught to lerne his doughters with good ensaumples."—*Ed.* Wright, E. E. T. S., p. 2. The name is given to our Lord's sayings:

"Ore louerd wende a boute and prechede þat folk, and seide him ansaumples fale."—*Leben Jesu* (Horstman), *l.* 94.

And His parables are so called, *Alliterative Poems* (Morris), p. 15, l. 499.

in the present day are introduced in sermons under the name of anecdotes, though perhaps they may sometimes have been published a dozen times. They were often noted in the margin "exemplum," "narracio," &c., as in the Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 140, l. 438. In the note there will be given several versions of the same story, which are curious, not only in the philological point of view, but also as illustrating the absolute freedom which the writers allowed themselves when dealing with persons, place, and circumstances.

P. 4, B. 26. *messe here.* See note, p. 158.

B. 27. *When þo preste saies he, or if he singe.* The first "he" is not in the other text, and is evidently a mistake. "Say or sing" is constantly used with reference to the two ways of performing mass, saying without note, or singing according to the notation, which was often added in the MSS., and in service books, when they came to be printed. The alternative words are still retained in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. Robert of Brunne speaks of "reading" in reference to the whole service, or perhaps of the lessons in the hours, and the epistle and gospel in the mass, as "read" is used in this treatise (B. 153), and in the English Prayer Book, of the Epistle and Gospel.

> "And þat day [*Sunday*] þow owest and shal
> For to here þy seruyse al,
> Matyns, messe here, to rede or syngg,
> Euery deyl to þe endyngg."—H. S. 821-4.

He may here be referring to the layman's part in the service—and the frequent bequests of mass-books and portesses by mediæval wills, both by and to laymen, and even ladies, show that more were able to read them than we are apt to suppose. He seems however to be speaking to men of all orders :—

> "How dur oþer prestys or clerkys
> Or þou lewede man, þat day werche,
> Whan þat day ys halewede yn holy chyrche?"—H. S. 832-4.

Compare Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism (A.D. 1357) on the third (*fourth*) Commandment :—

> "**The third is**, that we sall hald and halowe oure holiday,
> The Sononday, *and* all other that falles to the yhere,
> That er ordayned to halowe thurgh halikirk,
> In whilk daies al folke lered and lawid
> awe to gyf tham godely to goddes service.
> To here it *and* say it, aftir thaire state is,
> In Worship of god almighten *and* of his gode halowes."(1)

In the *Myroure* there is a chapter, "What profyt is in the songe

(1) *Thoresby's Register*, fol. 296.—See *ante*, p. 118.

of diuyne servyse, more than in the saynge without note."—*Ed.* E. E. T. S., p. 9.(1)

P. 4, B. 30. *prayere.* It will be observed that this word is here a dissyllable, as in French. In the next century it would seem to have been fully naturalized, and to have acquired the English accent, and scanned as a monosyllable, if we may assume that the alteration in C. 30 was made to suit the metre.

C. 18. *Saynte Jerome.* There does not appear to be anything in the extant writings of St Jerome, or the spurious pieces, printed as such with his works, which could be made to stand for this quotation; but apart from this consideration, and supposing my conjecture, as to Archdeacon Jeremiah being the author, to be as far from the mark as it very possibly may be, it is still most probable that the "Jeremy" of texts A. and B. is the true reading. It would be much more likely for a scribe, who had never heard of a "Dan Jeremy," to change it to St Jerome, upon whom so many mediæval quotations are fathered, than for the well-known name of Jerome to be changed into Jeremy; and we may observe that the description, as a "devout man" and "a religious," would have seemed especially applicable to this father, who was not only known as one of the four Latin doctors, but also distinguished in the Middle Ages as the "perfectus monachus."

P. 5, E. 24. *hely.* It was a great interest to Archbishop Whately to trace the concatenation of ideas which led to manifest blunders; and many amusing stories used to be current in Oxford of the expedients he adopted to extract them from the men themselves when his acuteness was at fault. I doubt whether even he could have made anything out of some of the blunders of the puzzle-headed scrivener of this text; and though I cannot pretend to say what he meant by *hely*, I think I can guess why he avoided(2) the word *ill*, which we find in the other MSS., except when, as in lines 192, 272, and 529, the rhyme was too strong for him—not because the old Norse "ill" (*Icel.* Illr; *M.G.* ubils; *A.S.* yfel; *Germ.* übel), which came over with the Danish invasion, had not found its way from the northern to his west-midland dialect, and he did not know the meaning—but because he did know the meaning, and looked upon it as a word of ill omen, and therefore was unwilling to use it. I have not had an opportunity of examining the MS. and observing whether in the places he writes it, he has "*signed away*" the ill-luck, but I have noticed in other

(1) In the heading of the chapter (p. 23), it is "songe wythoute note."

(2) In line 373, he writes *heuy*. In line 51, speaking of confession, he utterly destroys the sense, and instead of

"Knowe to God that þai are ille",

writes—

"Know to God þat harowd helle".

MSS. that when writing this very word *ill*, the names of the Evil-one,(1) certain sins, or curses, and so forth, the scribe has often added a small cross(2) for this purpose.

P. 6, B. 31-2. *know—draw.* Compare Hampole:

"All es contende in þis tretice here
þat I haf drawen out of bokes sere,
After I had in þam understandyng
Alle if I be of symple kunnyng."—*P. C.* 9577-80.

"þarfor þis buke es on ynglese drawen
Of sere maters, þat er unknawen
Til laude men þat er unkunnand."—*P. C.* 336-8.

And the Ormulum:

"Ich hafe wennd intill Ennglissh
goddspelles hallge lare.
Affter þat little witt tatt me.
min drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd."—ll. 13—16.

B. 33. *auter al dight.* We find in Myrk an account of what was required in the fifteenth century:—

"Fyrst se, prest, as I þe mynne,
þat þow be out of dedly synne;
þyn auter þenne þou do dyȝt,
þat hyt be after thy myȝt.
Se þe cloþes þat þey be clene,
And also halowet alle by-dene,
Wyth þre towayles(3) and no lasse
Hule þyn auter at thy masse;
Al oþer thynge þow knowest wel,
What þe nedeth euery del.
Loke þat þy candel(4) of wax hyt be,

---

(1) "Some vse when they here the fende named in play or in wrathe to say Ave maria; that lyke as he ioyeth of the vycyouse namynge of his owne name, so is he rebuked by namynge of thys holy name maria."—*Myroure*, p. 78.

(2) See example, *ante*, p. 118, l. 8. Cf. Lindisfarne Gloss., Jo. viii, 48.

(3) This counts the corporas. Durandi, *Rat.* 4, xxix, 1 & 7.

(4) It was directed by a provincial constitution of Archbishop Reynold, in a council at Oxford in 1322, "Accendantur duæ candelæ vel ad minus una." Unlike the direction in this place, we often find pictures where the light is in the hand of the minister; *e. g.* the woodcut frontispiece of W. de Worde's *Vertue of the Masse.*

The "Novum Registrum Ecclesiæ Lincolniensis," or the Statutes given by Bishop Alnwick for Lincoln Cathedral in 1440, lately printed by Bishop Wordsworth, the present occupant of that see (see an article in the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1871, vol. cxxx. 225), contain minute directions for the treasurer as to the number of candles to be provided according to the season, as for example:—"in festis novem lectionum . . . . invenire debet unum cereum super cornu altaris versus aquilonem et duos super parva candelabra

And set hyre, so þat þow hyre se,
On þe lyfte halfe (1) of þyn autere,
And loke algate ho brenne clere,
Wayte þat ho brenne in alle wyse
Tyl þow haue do þat seruyse."—ll. 1865—1880.

The illuminations of manuscripts, and the woodcuts in early printed service-books, enable us to form a very accurate idea of a mediæval altar. In some cases, and more particularly in later examples, besides the paten and chalice, we may notice a cross or candlesticks or the pax-brede; and there are sometimes costers or curtains running on rods at the north and south sides of the altar. There is marked absence (2) of the numerous ornaments which may be seen on modern altars. Indeed, to judge from the manner in which they are spoken of in the following extract—the author being a Roman catholic clergyman—it would seem that their more general adoption was quite recent. He tells us that the altars of the Roman basilicas, "unencumbered with tabernacles, reliquaries, statues, or flower-pots, support a cross and six candlesticks; furniture which is sufficient without doubt for all the purposes of solemnity, and yet may be endured even by a puritan. The other ornaments, or rather superfluities, which are too often to be observed on the altars of Catholic churches, owe their introduction to the fond devotion of nuns or nun-like friars, and may be tolerated in their conventual oratories, as the toys and playthings of that harmless race, but never allowed to disfigure the simplicity of parochial churches and cathedrals."—*Tour through Italy*, by Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, 4to, 1813, I., p. 373.

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ante altare, qui ardere debent ad utrasque vesperas, completorium, matutinas et missas. . . . In diebus feriatis tantum unum cereum inveniat super altare; ad vesperas, completorium, et ad missas, duos super candelabra parva."

(1) That is, on the right hand, looking east, as in the old rubrics and ritual expositors. The right and left of the modern Roman rubrics refer to the right and left of the crucifix on the altar. See Maskell, A. E. L. 19. The more usual way of distinguishing the sides and ends of the altar in the Church of England before the reformation was north and south, as in the Eastern Church, and as still retained in the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer. See also p. 16, B. 156, and the note there; p. 54, B. 579, &c.

(2) The learned Benedictine, Abbot Gerbert, in his Disquisitions (Tom. I., p. 199), after discussing reliquaries, crosses, and candlesticks as ornaments upon altars, draws attention to the illuminations of the St Blas Missal (sæc. ix.), as showing the altar "planum quidem ac omnibus hactenus recensitis ornamentis destitutum, vestitum tamen." This vesting is not after the scanty fashion of later times, but, as may be observed in examples reaching down to the Reformation, was such as is described in the *Voyages Liturgiques* (p. 79, 80) at the cathedral of Angers about the beginning of the last century. "Les autels selon l'ancien usage . . . . . sont a nud, et ne sont couverts de quoi que ce soit; de sorte que ce n'est qu'un moment avant d'y dire la Messe, qu'on y met les nappes, qui débordent comme celle qu'on met sur un table ou l'on dine, et il n'y a point de parement."

P. 6, B. 34. *reuysht right*—not as yet with all the vestments worn at mass, but, as may be gathered from the two following lines, and the thirteenth-century Rouen rubric quoted in the next note, p. 178, with amice, alb, girdle, maniple and stole, but without the chasuble. The fact that this was still the practice at Rouen at the end of the seventeenth century confirms the explanation here given; and it is curious in itself as an instance of established custom holding its own, when the written law was silent, for the rubric there quoted had disappeared from the MS. missal of the next century, and was not inserted in the printed missal of 1497, which is the only one I have had opportunity to examine. In the description of the ceremonies at Rouen, in the *Voyages Liturgiques*,(1)—and unless I have overlooked it, there is no mention of the practice anywhere else(2) — it is mentioned (p. 328) that, during tierce, the priest who was to celebrate mass, the deacon and subdeacon, were "*revétus comme pour la messe, excepté la chasuble et les tuniques;*" and (p. 361) that the priest who was to celebrate high mass on Sundays was, before tierce, "*revétu d'aube, d'étole et de manipule.*"

B. 35—38. The marginal note shows the sense in which I had understood this passage, and which I still conceive to be the meaning; namely, that the priest was already vested for mass, except the chasuble, and took that, the "overmost vestment," from off the north end or north(3) part of the western side or front of the altar, and, stepping backward from the footspace of the altar, put it on over his head above the alb and other vestments which he had already put on according to a French local use.

I had not intended to prolong this note beyond a reference to my authorities for including this in the number of places in this treatise, which have led me to the conclusion that the original was written with reference to the Rouen use. But it so happens that the text has had the honour of an anticipatory criticism,

(1) *Voyages Liturgiques de France* par le Sieur de Moleon (*Lebrun des Marettes*), Paris, 1718. The journeys appear to have been made before 1698, see p. ix, p. xii, and 319.

(2) At Orleans the priest had formerly said the psalm *Judica* (*ante*, p. 90, l. 14) in his alb and stole before putting on his chasuble.—*Voyages Liturg.* 200.

At private masses the Cluniacs vested at the altar, the vestments and mass-book being brought from the vestry by a *conversus* or novice; but they did not put on the chasuble until after confession.—Udalricus, *De Antiquis Clun. Monast. Consuetudinibus*, L. I., c. 30, quoted by Martene, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, Lib. II., c. VI., 17, 18.

(3) The "south auter nook" (*cornu*) had been already occupied by the mass-book (p. 10, B. 87) when the altar was dight. The custom of taking the vestments from the north end at the beginning of the service is still retained in Scandinavian churches, and (when they are taken from the altar by simple priests) in Roman also.—See p. 164, *n.* 2.

the corrected proofs of the earlier sheets of this work having come into the hands of Mr Scudamore when he was engaged in the preparation of the second edition of his *Notitia Eucharistica*, which has just been published. He does not accept my gloss in the margin; but with the text before him, he cuts the knot (p. 116) by a conjectural reading which suits his own rendering of the passage, and argues that it is to be understood of spreading the corporas.

Mr Scudamore very courteously challenges me to a discussion on the question he has raised. First, then, as to this alteration. In line 38, for "hi*m*" he reads "it"—"does it upon IT." Now, if there were any authority in the manuscript for this correction, it would at once settle the question in the sense for which he contends, but there is none whatever. I had myself copied it "hī" from the MS. some twenty years ago. Mr Brock, whose accuracy is well known to the members of the E. E. T. Society, had written it "hi*m*," in the copy which he made for this edition, marking the expanded contraction in italic, and he left it unaltered when he read the proof with the original. I had therefore very little doubt myself, but I was unwilling to allow the reading to stand if there could be any doubt as to its correctness, and referred the point to my friend Mr Thompson,(1) who, with his usual kindness, answered my letter at once. He writes, "the MS. has hī, which can stand only for *him;*" and from his judgment as to the reading of a manuscript there is no appeal.

But, assuming that Mr Scudamore's is the only tenable explanation, there was no occasion for him to correct the text. Towards the close of the xivth century, when the Museum manuscript was written, "*him*" was still sometimes used in the dative, as "*his*" was then, and down to the time of King James' translation of the Bible, the genitive of the neuter "*hit.*" The "him" of the MS. might therefore have been taken to refer to the altar, and "hit" to the corporas, if this way of construing the line had been consistent with the remainder of the passage. For, apart from any other consideration, I am inclined to think that a closer examination of the text will convince Mr Scudamore he is mistaken in his explanation. He glosses "comes oback" (l. 37) as of the priest "walking backwards" in order to spread the corporas on the altar, and offers no explanation of the other half of the line—"a litel doune;"—but if the "clothe" of the text had been the corporas, or the altar-cloth, the priest would not have moved away from the altar in order to spread it; rather in that case he would have spread it on the altar before descending the altar-step for the confession.

Perhaps Mr Scudamore might not have found the same difficulty if his attention had been directed to the mediæval ritual of the

(1) E. Maunde Thompson, Esq., MSS. Department, British Museum.

Church in France when the several provinces maintained the Gallican independence from Roman centralization; or if he had known that "cloth" was used in early English for any garment, and especially for a vestment such as the purple robe with which the soldiers mocked our Lord, or the chasuble of the priest in the mass which was explained to symbolize it.(1)

In the present day we no longer use *cloth* in the singular in this sense, and when we use it in the plural we distinguish it both by the pronunciation and the spelling. Johnson explains *cloth*, plural cloths (*th* sounded), as "anything woven for dress or covering;" and this definition holds good either of a whole piece or a portion when used as for an altar-cloth, table-cloth, neck-cloth, horse-cloth, &c. We also use the plural, spelt *clothes*, and as Johnson notes, pronounced "clo's," for clothing in general, or bed-coverings, but we no longer employ the singular for a single garment, as in the following examples.(1)

"ROCHET, clothe, *Supara*."—*Prompt. Parv.* 435.

"I wold I had thy smock and every cloth."
Chaucer, *C. T.* 7215.

"He dede on cursing as a cloþ." ("*Induit maledictionem sicut vestimentum.*") Ps. (109) cviii., 17, in *Lollard Doctrines* (Camden Soc.), p. 24.

"An wif, þatt wass þurrh blodess flod
Well ner all brohht to dæþe,
Þurrh þatt ȝho ran (2) uppo hiss claþ,
Wass hal off hire unnhæle."
Ormulum, II., ll. 15516-9.

"touchide his cloth." "*vestimentum*" (Wyclif). Mar. v., 27.

"touchide the hem of his cloth." "*vestimenti ejus*" (Wyclif). Lu. viii., 44.

"Therefore Ihesus wente oute, beringe a crowne of thornes and a clothe of purpur." "*purpureum vestimentum*" (Wycliff). Jo. xix., 5.

"On my cloiþ þei castiden lott."—Wyclif, *Sermons* (Arnold), II., 127.

"Þo iewys kesten at þe dys
Qweþer xuld han hys cloth.
Poems (Furnivall), p. 248, l. 156-7.

The "Illusus induitur veste purpurarum" of the Hours of the Cross (*ante*, p. 85, l. 30) is rendered in the midland prose version,

(1) "The expressions (without example, so far as I know) of 'a cloth,' and 'a chasuble cloth,' for 'chasuble.'"—Mr Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (1875), p. 116.

(2) ran, *touched*, reinen (A.S. hrinan, *perf.* hran), to touch. Cf. Vulg. "*et tetigit vestimentum ejus.*" S. Marc. v., 27.

printed by Mr Maskell (*Mon. Rit.* II., 50),—"He is skorned and clothid with the cloth of purpure."

I will only add a quotation given by Dr Morris (*Pricke of Conscience*, p. 313) from MS. Harl. 4196:

> "Þe purper clath þat he in stode,
> Was hardened all with his awin blode."

The so-called "Book of Ceremonies," which appears to have been considered in the southern convocation of 1539-40, but not allowed by the royal authority,(1) explains:—"The overvesture or chesible, as touching the mysterye signifieth the purple mantill that pylats souldyours put uppon crist after that they had scurged hym."(2)

These quotations will be sufficient to prove that "cloth" might very well have been here used of the chasuble as explained by the gloss in text E. (l. 39), but I am able to bring forward an example of the name of *cloth* being applied to the chasuble in a formal document, which, though of later date than our text, nevertheless goes to prove the earlier *usus loquendi*. On the 4th May, 1547, the Archbishop of York was informed of an intended Royal visitation, and the injunctions of the Royal commissioners are recorded in the register of the Dean and Chapter of York in October, 1547. *Inter alia* to the clergy of the minster: "For th' avoyding diuersitie of apparell of the clergie in tyme of theire service, it is injoined that the prebends, vicars chorall, and all other ministers in this church shall not hereafter weare, occupy, or use in the chore or ellswher any clothe, cope, or other uesture above their surplises in any wyse differing [*from*] th' uniforme kind of apparell used most universallie through this realme, but shall utterlie ley awaie & forsake for ever the said clothe copes & use them no more."(3)

Assuming, therefore, that by *cloth* we are to understand *chasuble*, the ceremony here described may very fairly be included amongst the places where the original treatise agrees with the Rouen use. In the MS. missal, according to the use of that Church, described by Martene as having been written at latest in the thirteenth century, there is the following rubric after those referring to the putting on of the other vestments and the lighting

(1) This mystical signification was very common among mediæval expositors, *e.g.* William of Gouda:—"Induit casulam cogitans quod milites pylati, ipsum deridentes, tanquam volentem regnare, purpuream vestem induerunt."—*De Expositione Missæ*, Coloniæ [sæc. xv., s. a.] sig. A., ij *b*. Cf. the last of the Meditations quoted, *ante*, p. 168.

(2) MS. Cotton. Cleopat., E. v., f. 269 [277] *b*. This MS. is No. CIX. of the Appendix of Records and Originals to Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, but unfortunately there are many inaccuracies. In this place (p. 285) he prints, "The overvisor or chesible."

(3) *Acta Decani et Capituli Eboracensis*, 1543—1558, fol. 47 *a*. There are no stops in the original.

of the altar:—"*Postea accensis luminaribus, accipiat casulam cum duabus manibus, et stans ante altare, induat se, dicens:* Indue me," &c.(1) Let him take the chasuble with both hands [*take in both his hands a cloth*], and standing before the altar [*coming back a little down*], let him put it upon him [*does it upon him all above.*] Cf. text B, ll. 35—38.

P. 6, B. 35. *hende.* The midland scribe has in this place, as in line 284, retained *hende*, the northern plural of hand (*Icel.* hönd, *pl.* hendr), on account of the rhyme. The northern author appears to have used *handes* in the plural as well as *hende*, as in line 58 (rhyming to *standes*), where the scribe has copied both words as he found them, but in lines 39, 40, he has altered them into the midland *stondes*, *hondes*.

B. 36. *ende.* In the present day the end of a common table, of the oblong shape of later mediæval altars, would generally be understood to mean the narrower side; but we must not explain end in this place by our modern usage. So far as I have observed, end was never so used by any early writer when speaking of an English altar, but invariably, as here and in the following extracts, of the north or south part of the western side.

First, from the *Meditacyons* already quoted, p. 168:—

"Beholde in A solomne masse þat ys songe by þe Bushoppe or Priest. Reuesteid commyng owt of þe reuestre. whiche ys A holly plaice, with liȝtes on eiche syde with Deacan *and* subdeacan goyng A fore vnto þe mydes of þe Avter. *and* þer kysse þe sayme. After to go to þe Ryght cornar of þe Avter / And þen after to goo / to þe Lefte end of þe Avter / *and* þer the Gospelle ys rede. at þe last to returne Agayn to þe ryght end of þe Avter. The Qweyre Afore

(1) Martene *De Ritibus* (Antverpiæ, 1763), p. 229; Lib. I., c. iv., Art. 12, Ordo. 26. This rubric does not occur in the later MSS. given by Martene, nor in the earliest printed Rouen Missal, but (p. 238, Ordo. 34) he gives a MS. missal, "ecclesiæ Lehonensis" (St Pol de Léon), in which we have a similar rubric, except that it reads "*induat se illa;*" and in the Paris Missal of 1542 I find the rubric with the same variation. We may trace a survival of the older practice of vesting at the altar (*ante*, p. 163-5) in the chasuble being put on at the altar, although the other vestments may not have been. The old statutes of the Carthusians, given in Martene (u. s., Ordo. 25), direct the priest to vest in the church when the convent is not present, but when it is, then in the vestry, except that the chasuble is then always to be put on out of the vestry, "*casula tamen semper foris induitur.*" At Chalons, according to an old missal given in Martene (u. s., p. 127, art. 1), it seems that the chasuble was not put on until after the psalm *judica*, &c. (*ante*, p. 90, l. 20); but, nevertheless, the rubrics of the different French missals for the most part contemplate the putting on of all the vestments at once either at the altar or in the vestry. Unlike the Carthusians, as mentioned above, vesting at the altar was the rule of the Cluniacs at private masses, the vestments being carried from the sacristy with the mass-book to the altar by a *conversus* or novice. Udalricus *quoted*, Martene, *Monach. Rit.* 2, vi. 17.

and In þe meyne tyme Ioyfully synging. Alle þes bene greytt mysteryes. *and* doith signyfye grett Secrettes. of þe commyng off our Sauyour. Furst," &c. (fol. 2 *b*, 3.)

In the Order of Consecration of Nuns, printed by Mr Maskell (*Mon. Rit.*, II. 309), it is directed that the virgins that shall then profess, after being conducted up the quire, "addressyng theym streight to the ryght (*south*) ende of the aulter, they shall lay vppon it in order theyr veyles, rynges, and scrolles of theyr professyon." Then (*ib.*, p. 318) after they have subscripted their professions, and prostrated themselves, there is the following rubric: "¶ And then shall the vergyns arryse: and go wyth the bisshop unto the ryghte ende of the aulter. And there they shall take theyr veyles frome the aulter," &c.

My last quotations shall be from Becon, a scurrilous and offensive writer, but he nevertheless is a good authority for the *usus loquendi* during and before the time of the reformation :—

"Ye take up your mass-book, and away ye go to the other end of the altar, to read the gospel."—*Displaying of the Popish Mass*, Works, Cambridge, 1844, III., 264. And again after the ablutions, "taking up your book in your hand, ye come again to the altar's end."—*Ib.*, p. 282. (1)

P. 6, B. 40. *haldes to god up bothe his hondes*—"holdyng up bothe my handes. *a joinctes mains.*"—Palsgrave, 836 *b*. The "*junctis manibus*" of the Latin rubrics.

> In the cherche thou knele adoun
> With good hert and devocion
> Hold up thi hondes then.—Audelay, p. 79.

B. 42. *meke him for his synne.* Meke is used here of the spiritual humbling of self which befits the conscience of sin, as by Hampole :—

> "For a man excuses noght his unkunning,
> Þaţ his wittes uses noght in leryng,
> Namly, of þat at hym fel to knaw
> Þat might meke his hert and make it law."
> *P. C.* 169—172.

> "Lord mekyll þou mekede the for oure sake
> Þat come fra so heghe oure kynde to take."
> Nassyngton, *Religious Pieces* (Perry), p. 62, l. 122-3.

> "All forr nohht uss haffde Crist
> Utlesedd fra þe defell
> ȝiff þatt we nolldenn mekenn uss
> To follȝhenn Cristess lare."—*Ormulum*, 13948-51.

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(1) Cf. B. 574-9, *ante*, p. 54.

Mekе seems also to be used like "humilio" and "humiliatio," of actual bowing or "louting."

"He mekyt(1) to þat mighty and with mowthe said."
Destruction of Troy, l. 952.

Cf. Vernon MS. p. 133, l. 188—190.

P. 6, B. 43, 44. *þare, mare*—retained for the rhyme. See *þere* two lines lower down and two lines above; and *more*, l. 126.

B. 44. *mare*, of *quality* rather than *quantity*, as we now use *more*.

B. 45. *So dos þo clerk.* Here we have the northern third person plural *dos*, and *clerk* no doubt was written clerkes, as in Hampole:

"þir clerkes sayes,"—*P. C.* 8829,

but the midland scribe altered it into the singular, unless perhaps it was *folk* in the original, though in either case he betrays himself in his *hom* and *hor* of the next line, and the unchanged *þai* of line 48.

It will be noticed that the priest confesses to "all the folk" (l. 43), and there is no doubt that all the folk joined in the prayer for him, and then in the confession, at least as many as were able to do so—hence the "loude or stille" of line 52. Thus it was the "*litterati*" rather than the "clerici" specially so called, or the "clerks" in its larger sense (*see note*, p. 157)—those who "upon the book could know it" (C. 31, 83), rather than only the ministering "clerk" (*ante*, p. 54, B. 578)—who were required to "answer with good will" (C. 86). The "respondeant clerici," or "respondeant ministri," were comparatively modern rubrics, and it will be observed that all these texts (see page 8, B. 63) are alike in suggesting the use of the Confiteor.

In the first half of the fifteenth century English children, besides the Pater-noster, Ave-Maria, and other devotions, including the "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John"—still handed on by tradition in many an old-fashioned cottage—were taught the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur*, as we learn from the "Boke of Curtasye" (Sloane MS. 1986), printed by Mr Furnivall in the Babees Book (page 303, ll. 153-4):—

"To shryue þe in general þou schalle lere
þy Confiteor and misereatur in fere."

The *Misereatur* was the prayer of the people for the priest, and of the priest for the people (*ante*, p. 92, l. 1—4), after their several "general confessions" before mass, said by the people *in fere*, that is, in companionship, or saying together; and said by the priest alone.

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(1) Here the note (p. 490) suggests *mefyt*, which is explained as "*moved*" in the glossary. Cf. μετάνοια and *metanea* in Greek and early middle-age Latin rubrical directions for genuflection or bowing.

P. 6, B. 50. *lered & lewed*—

"And wel bird,(1) ever ilk man
Lof God after that he kan,
Lered men with rihtwis lare,
And laued folk wit rihtwis fare,
Prestes wit matines and wit messe,
And laued men wiht rihtwisnes,
Clerk wit lare of Godes worde."

Metrical Homilies (Small), p. 2.

B. 52. "*loud or stille*"—

"Bot alle þas þat redes it, loud or stille,
Or heres it be red with gode wille."

Hampole, *P. C.* 9607-8.

B. 53, 54. *knese—sese.* Under correction I am disposed to include this among the places where the rhyme has led to the retention of northern forms, which I bring forward in the Introduction as an argument for the northern origin of this treatise. My own study of northern English, as a living language, for the last five-and-twenty years, quite apart from all Dr Morris has taught us of the grammar, leaves no doubt as to "thou sees" being very good northern, but I do not know enough of our old midland forms to be sure that it may not also be midland.

B. 57-8. The retention of the northern rhymes *standes, handes*, has already been noticed (*note*, B. 38), but it is curious to see that the scribe has written "*hold*" here, though he has left the northern "*haldes*" in line 40 when altering the rhymes.

B. 59, 60. *Eke to pater and aue.* In the margin I suggest that we read *an* for the *and* in the MS., for otherwise we should have the verb transitive eke (*to add*) without an object; and the drift of the rubric would be to add the creed to the Paternoster and Ave, rather than to add an Ave to the Pater. In either case the use of the Ave is spoken of as if it were a well-known devotion; and we learn from Roman Catholic authors, who have gone most carefully into the subject,(2) that the earliest mention of it to be

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(1) Bird. "Læt nu, Johan, forr þuss birrþ uss
Ille rihhtwisnesse fillenn."

Ormulum (Matt. iii, 15), 10665-6.

Bosworth does not give A.S. byrð (beran, *to bear*) in the sense of "it behoves," as it afterwards came to mean, as here, of that which is *borne* to us as fitting. Cf. *Icel.* beer (bera, *portare*), *oportet.*

(2) Merati, *Additiones ad Gavanti Commentarium*, Venet. 1788, III., 124. "Addere enim lubet, quod nullus eorum scriptorum, qui hortati sunt fideles ad persoluendas quasdam pias preces, de Salutatione Angelica nullum verbum potulerunt (*protulerunt*); et concilia usque ad Sæculum XI. (*XII.*), necnon patres, symboli tantum et orationis Dominicæ meminerunt quæ a populis disci, et quotidie recitari hortabuntur." The mention of the *eleventh*, instead of the *twelfth* century, is evidently a misprint, for he afterwards says:

met with, either in treatises on prayer or acts of councils, occurs about the year 1200 in the synodical constitutions of Odo, Bishop of Paris;(1) and from Dr Rock, that "in the year 1237 we light on the first formal mention of the Hail Mary in England."(2) We find in Mabillon(3) that it was prescribed in the diocese of Rouen in the year 1246, and that from that time forth the use of the angelic salutation as a prayer became almost a universal rule.

If, therefore, this mention of the Ave were any part of the original French, it would be almost fatal to my suggestion that it was written about the middle of the twelfth century; but from internal evidence in the text itself, especially as compared with the later recensions, I am disposed to think that these two lines are an interpolation of a subsequent scribe, or at all events only an after-thought of the translator.

It will be observed that in this couplet the lines are of three accents(4) only, whereas all the other rubrics are in lines of four accents. It will be also observed that this is the only place where the Ave Maria is referred to in this text, except in lines 424 and 425, where *aue* is an evident mistake of a scribe who was not used to the northern "ane" (= *one*), and to whom the use of the Ave as a devotion was a matter of course. The Ave, &c., is added as a side-note at lines 82 and 620, and also at line 298, where the text specifies the Paternoster only, and MS. E., which represents the unadapted translation, omits this note. And not only is there this absence of the Ave-Maria in the body of this text, but we find the use of the Paternoster everywhere(5) enjoined without the Ave, when if the Ave were found in the original, it would naturally have been retained by the translator.

In the MSS. of the adapted and later form, the Ave is mentioned in all the places above quoted, except that none of them make the mistake in lines 424 and 425; and instead of the two lines in this place, which are an interpolation, or at all events a break in the

—"Inter preces igitur populo præscriptas hæc oratio. *Ave Maria, etc.*, primum invenitur apud Odonem de Suliaco Episcopum Parisiensem in suis statutis anno 1195."

(1) "X. Exhortentur populum semper presbyteri ad dicendam orationem dominicam et Credo in Deum et salutationem Beatæ Virginis."—Labb. & Coss. X., col. 1806, A. No date is given, but Odo de Suliaco (*De Sully*) was Bishop of Paris from 1197 to 1208, or, according to Mabillon, from 1196, so that Merati was wrong in his date, unless this is another misprint.

(2) *Church of our Fathers*, III., 318. See what may perhaps be a tacit reference to the recent introduction of the Ave, *ante*, p. 139, ll. 413-15.

(3) *Acta Sanctorum, O. S. B.*, Præfat. in Sæc. v., § cxxi.

(4) In text C., ll. 225-6 (p. 38), is a couplet with three accents, where its absence in the older texts proves the interpolation.

(5) B. 152, 262, 398, 480. It will be noticed that text C. (line 218) leaves out the line (B. 398) as to saying the paternoster, and instead inserts the note, Paternoster, Ave Maria, et cetera.

metre, the adapter has altered the rubric after the confiteor in the exercise of his revising function.(1)

These variations in the mention of the Ave in the English translation go very far to justify my suggestion as to the silence of the original, and I take this assumption not in itself as a proof, for there could be no proof short of MS. authority, but still for what it is worth in arriving at a conjecture as to the date.

The English Ave-Maria as given in Myrk is as follows:—

"Hail be þow, mary, fulle of grace ·
God is wyþ þe in euery place;
I-blessed be þow of alle wymmen,
And þe fruyt of þy wombe Ihesus. Amen."—ll. 422-5.

And I add the English from the *Primer in Latin and English*, John Wayland, 1555, as it may be interesting from being the last form in which it was put forth by authority in a service-book of the Church of England:—

"Hayle mary full of grace, oure Lorde is with thee. blessed be thou among women, and blessed be the fruite of thy wombe Jesus. Amen."—Sig. B. ii.

The Festyvall explains the addition of the two last words:—"Furdermore as for the salutacyon of our lady pope Urban(2) and pope Johan to all being in clene lyfe that in the ende of the Aue maria saye these wordes Ihesus. Amen. as oft as they saye it, they haue graunted of pardon lxxxiiii dayes."—fol. 159 *b*.

As now used in the Church of Rome, there is a further addition of a prayer to the blessed Virgin ("Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis nostræ"), which was first authorised by Pope Pius V. by bull dated 7th July, 1568.

P. 6, C. 31-2. This text, written as it was for Rievaulx Abbey, would have found many of the Cistercians who were able to understand the Latin of the mass. Other adaptations of this text to the use of a "religious" house will be pointed out in their place.

C. 33. It will have been noticed that texts A, C, and D, omit the reference in B to the foreign use as to vesting, and together with it the explanation of the mutual confessions of priest and people,

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(1) C. 55-6. Where A reads:—

"when þu þi confiteor *þus* has done
Pat*er* noste*r* and ave sey fast *þer* on."

and D:—

"When *thu thus thi* confiteor has done
Pat*er and* aue fast pray one."

See F. 61-2, page 15, for another reading where the Ave is not mentioned. These variations will weigh with those of my readers who are in the habit of collating MSS. in deciding whether or no the original text has been tampered with in this place.

(2) The addition appears to have been made by Pope Urban IV. between the years 1261 and 1264.

and the general absolution of the priest. They here again follow the course of the original, as does text F, after the more complete adaptation to English uses, which has been already pointed out, page 163-4.

P. 7, E. 32. The more modern "*turn*" replaces the older "*draw.*"

E. 34. *re-wesshut* might have been supposed to be a reminiscence of the old French participle *revestut*, if it were not for the curious upsilonism, so to call it, of this text; witness in the next few lines takus, hongus, komus, lytul, knelun, stondus, hondus, beginnus, synnus, askut, lerud, kneus, seus, jountly, &c.

E. 36. *A chesepull cloth.* Mr Scudamore asks, "May not 'chesepull' be simply a clerical error for 'corporal'?"(1) Even if I did not suppose that this reading had arisen from cloth having been glossed chasuble—rightly, as I venture to think I have proved (p. 177-8)—and the gloss being inserted in the line when the MS. came to be copied, I should be inclined to answer decidedly not. The writer of this MS. has abundantly proved that he was both ignorant and puzzle-headed, but when the words are the names of ornaments so well known, he can hardly have mistaken one for the other.—Certainly both begin with c, have a p in the middle, and end with l—at least the latinized form of corporas does;(2) but I find no example of that form before the fifteenth century, and chesepull was no doubt meant for chasuble, as for example,—the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (p. 73), "Chesypylle, *Casula;*"—and the *Catholicon in Lingua materna*, or *Catholicon Anglicum*, quoted in Mr Way's note, p. 73, *n.* 4, "A chesabylle, *casula, infula, planeta.*"

E. 51. The harrowing of hell by our Lord was a constant topic in the popular religious writings of the middle ages, and was often represented in miracle plays and pageants, but it will be seen that its introduction here, instead of the acknowledgment of sin, is wholly out of place. See a suggestion as to the reason, page 172.

F. 40. *marketh*—evidently a mistake for meketh, see page 180.

P. 8, B. 63. *confiteor*—see note B. 42; page 180.

B. 64. *were als gode saie þis þer-for.* The translator does not suggest that it would be better for those who did not know the meaning of the Latin to use the English form of confession, possibly because it seems to have been a received opinion that there was a quasi-sacramental benefit in the Latin,—one of the three so-called sacred languages—though not "understanded of the people." A similar feeling seems to have been present to the mind

(1) *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 116.

(2) Corporas has the authority of the first English Book of Common Prayer (1549), and continued in use after the reformation until the old tradition had died out, and corporal was more generally adopted from the Latin rubrics and foreign Roman Catholic authorities.

of the author of the Myroure of our Ladye. He translates the service of the Brigettine nuns of Syon, as he had 'asked and had license of the bishop to draw such things into English to their gostly comfort and profit,' but he cautions them that the "lokynge on the englyshe whyle the latyn ys redde ys to be understonde of them that have sayde theyre mattyns or redde theyr legende before. For else I wolde not counsell them to leve the herynge of the latyn for entendaunce of the englysshe."(1)

P. 8, B. 65—82. The many forms of general confession before mass, first by the priest to the people, and then by the people to the priest, which were in use in the Western Church in the middle ages, are very much alike.(2) The later ones, and in this they are like the existing Roman missal, have a greater number of saints mentioned by name, but there do not appear to have been any variations of doctrinal or ritual significance. I must, however, bespeak the patience of my reader whilst I point out certain verbal variations in the form here given, where it agees in two distinctive points with the Rouen use of the twelfth century, and differs from English and other contemporary uses, and from the later Rouen Missal. It is only by the accumulation of small coincidences that, in the absence of any direct evidence, I can hope to make good the suggestion I have made in the Introduction, that the original of this treatise was adapted to the Rouen use, and that it was written not later than the twelfth century.

The first of these points is the manner in which the sins are specified. I will give the Rouen form as printed by Martene from a MS. of the thirteenth century(3) inserting the English of our text; and then, by way of contrast, the English and some other uses, which I think will be sufficient, without further remark, to prove the coincidence in this instance.

ROUEN (XIII. Cent.). Confiteor Deo cæli (*I know to God full of might*) et Beatæ Mariæ Virgini (*and to His mother maiden bright*), et omnibus sanctis ejus (*and to all hallows* [the whole host of saints]

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(1) *Myroure*, fol. xxxv (Ed. E. E. T. S., p. 71). This very rare book, almost indispensably necessary to every one who desires to understand the history of the religion of this country, has been reprinted by this society under the editorship of Rev. J. H. Blunt, who has added very much to its value by his own notes and other illustrative matter. The foliation of Fawkes' edition (1530) is shewn in the margin, and it is much to be wished that care were taken to do this in all reprints. Otherwise they are incomplete, and far less available for the purpose of verifying references.

(2) See the York form, *ante*, 90, ll. 25—29. When said by the people the *vobis fratres*—in some forms, "*fratres et sorores*"—was changed into "*tibi, pater.*"

(3) *De Ritibus*, Tom. I., Lib. I, c. iv., art. xii., Ord. 26, a MS. from the Monastery of Fécamp,—"ad usum ecclesiæ Rotomagensis;" see also Ord. 37, a MS. also of the Rouen use from the Monastery of St Ouen.

here), et tibi, pater (*and to thee, ghostly father*), quia ego miser peccator peccavi nimis (*have sinned largely*) contra legem Dei, cogitatione (*in thought*) locutione (*in speech*), tactu, visu (*in delight*), verbo mente et opere (*in word and work*) et in cunctis alus vitiis meis malis (*in many sins sere*), Deus, mea culpa (*I am to wite*(1)), mea maxima culpa (*and worthy to blame*).

SARUM.(2) ". . . . nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa."

YORK.(3) "nimis corde, ore, opere, omissione, mea culpa."

ROUEN. (*Missale Rothomag.* folio, 1497), "cogitatione, locutione, opere, omissione."

MISSALE ROMANUM (Sæc. XIII—1570, &c.), "cogitatione, verbo, et opere."

PARIS (ed. 1542). "cogitatione, opere, omissione."

MISSEL DE PARIS, 1739. "cogitatione verbo et opere."

The other point of coincidence turns upon a single word—"Ideo deprecor TE" in the Latin, "Therefore I pray THEE" in the English—and all the more marked because the "te" is found in the two MSS. of the Rouen use, given by Martene, which have the confession (the one described as "old," the other of the thirteenth century), and in none of the other uses given by him,(4) and because it was afterwards omitted at Rouen, as we know from the printed Rouen Missal appearing without it.

But I must draw attention to the text, when it will be seen that I am relying upon the reading of Text C (line 46), which is not found in our oldest MS. Text B, but nevertheless most probably represents the reading of the original, and that for the following reason. An English scribe, whether a common scrivener, or a religious in a conventual scriptorium, must have been familiar with the Sarum "Precor Sanctam Mariam," or if in the northern province, with the "Ideo precor gloriosam Dei genetricem" of

(1) See note on l. 72, p. 189.

(2) *Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861, col. 580. The Sarum and Ebor uses, and the modern Roman Missal, are printed in parallel columns, Maskell, A. E. L., 10.

(3) *Ante*, p. 90, l. 26. The Hereford Missal does not give the Confiteor at length, simply "Confiteor, &c."—*Missale Hereford* (Henderson), p. 114. Mr Maskell (u. s.) gives Bangor as the Sarum in the part here quoted.

(4) I find two similar forms in MSS. In a twelfth-century English MS. (*Cotton, Tiberius*, A iii., fol. 107 *b*), under the rubric (fol. 104 *b*) "*Votiva laus in veneratione Sanctæ Mariæ virginis*," there is a *Confiteor* where the prayer is addressed to the Virgin in the same direct manner:—"Ideo precor te, sanctissima Dei genetrix Maria, omnesque sanctos."

The other example is in Mabillon's *Voyage Litteraire* (Tom. I., p. 121), where we find the like personal address—not only to the Virgin, but also to the saints—in the *Confiteor* of the "*Ordo Vallis Scholarum*," from a MS. of the thirteenth century, "*Ideo precor te, pia virgo Maria, et vos omnes sancti Dei, et vos fratres.*" The printed Paris Missal of 1491 is the same with the addition of "*et Sanctæ.*"

the York use; and if the original had been "I pray Saint Mary" as in Text B, it is hardly likely that he would have introduced the personal pronoun, to which he was not accustomed; whilst on the other hand it is very conceivable that with the Anglican form in his head, a scribe might very naturally have written "Saint" instead of "thee," to which he was not accustomed.

I may add another fact which makes in the same direction. MS. C was written for Rievaulx Abbey, which was a Cistercian house, and as the Cistercian Order was specially devoted to the blessed Virgin Mary, it might have been that the more direct personal address was adopted out of greater devotion; but so far from this, it so happens that they retained the older form of confession given below, where the prayer is not directed to the Virgin or any saints.(1)

P. 8, B. 67. *alle halouse here*—E. 45 has "dere" (dear), and it is not improbable that when this MS. was written here (*host, army*) was becoming obsolete. Cp. the Te Deum: "Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus," and the Latin proper preface for Christmastide: "cum omni militia cælestis exercitus."

B. 71. *sere.* Here again E gets rid of the unfamiliar word, but the meaning is preserved in "*of diverse manere.*"

Sere, *separate, sundry, divers*, was peculiar to the northern parts of England, or rather the Danelagh, and we at once trace its derivation in the Icelandic sér, the dative, singular and plural, of the reflexive pronoun (= Lat. *sibi*), and so *for oneself, separately, singly.*(2)

"All ser *annd* all an oþer."—*Ormulum*, 18678.

"For she ys cursede yn stedes sere
Foure tymes yn þe ȝere."—*Handlyng Synne*, 2029-30.

"Here have I shewed on a general manere
þe ioyes of heven, many and sere."
Hampole, *P. C.* 7873-4.

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(1) "Confiteor deo et beate marie & omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres *quia* peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione & opere, mea culpa. Ideo precor vos orate pro me."—*Missale ad usum Cisterciensis ordinis* (Iohan. Petit, Paris, 1516), fol. 82. The missal from which I copy this (*York Minster Library*, XI., P. 3), although printed in France, must have been in use in this country in the reign of Henry VIII., as the name of Becket, and the title of Pope, are everywhere erased.

(2) Cleasby-Vigfusson, s. v. It may be explained, for the sake of those who have not paid attention to the subject, that the Icelandic is referred to, not as if any words in our language had travelled to us through Iceland, but because Icelandic has been less affected by change than the modern Danish or Norsk, and therefore may be taken to be a better representation of the old Danish, or the language of the several swarms of Northmen who migrated to Iceland, or settled on the eastern side of this country in the course of successive Danish invasions.

"Of seven manere of blisses sere."—*Ib.* 8168.

"Iesu þat boghte me dere
Iesu ioyne þi lufe in my thoghte
Swa þat þay neuer be sere."
Religious Pieces (Perry), p. 74, l. 62-4.

P. 8, B. 72. *I am to wite.*—Wite, *blame*, from the A.S. *witan*, to blame, to punish, and this from *wite*, a fine, punishment.

"Ne felle nohht i wite."—*Orm.*, 3295.

"Ȝe wite is hise."—*Gen. & Ex.*, 2035.

"wite him nouȝt þat it wrouȝt · he would haue do beter,
ȝif is wille in eny weiȝes · wold him haue serued."
William of Palerne (Skeat), 5525-6.

"And but I do, sires, let me have the wyte.".
Chaucer, *C. T.* 12881.

"Wharfore I am mare þan Iudas to wyte."
Nassynton, 302; *Religious Pieces* (Perry), 67.

"If thow wayte streyghtly oure synnes." [*Si iniquitates observavetis*, Ps. (130) cxxix., 3.] *Myroure*, 144.

"I laye the wyte on him: *je luy impute la faute.*"—Palsgrave, 605.

"I WYTE, I blame or put one in fault: *Je encoulpe* [inculpo], or *je reprouche.* Why wyte you me, and I am not to blame: *pour quoy mencoulpez vous et je ne suis pas a blasmer.*"—Palsgrave, 783.

In the phrases "lay the weight," "bear the weight," *wite* is the more usual pronunciation in the East Riding, and no doubt more etymologically correct than weight (*onus*), for which I at first mistook it.

B. 74-5. *mary—haly.* Cf. the assonance, B. 474-5.

C. 46. *I praye the, marye.* See before, p. 187.

P. 9, F. 44. *dere.* See note, p. 188, B. 67.

F. 44—60. The Confiteor is here brought to the same metre, as the body of the treatise—but not without injury to the sense, l. 46, 52.

F. 54. It will be observed that although the word is changed, the assonance or vowel rhyme of the original is preserved in l. 54.

P. 10, B. 81. *grace and forgyuenes.* An example of the use of the French word and its English equivalent, as elsewhere in these devotions, and in the Book of Common Prayer.

B. 82. The note as to Pater Ave, and Credo, is a marginal addition to the text. In the later Text C. (l. 56) the direction to say a Paternoster and Ave is an integral part of the text, as it is in MSS. A. and D.; but it will be observed that the creed, which is twice referred to in the original (B. 61, 83), is not specified. I have elsewhere (p. 183) mentioned the inference I draw from these facts.

P. 10, B. 86. *bigynnes office of messe.* Here again I find an exact grammatical coincidence with the Rouen rubric of the twelfth century, which was omitted in the texts, when they were adapted for English use.

ROUEN. "Tunc incipiat officium missæ."

SARUM. "In dextro cornu altaris cum deacono et subdiacono officium missæ prosequatur."

EBOR. "Et in dextro cornu altaris dicat officium."

HEREFORD. "Deinde incipiatur officium missæ."

MISS. ROM. "Deinde celebrans signans se signo crucis incipit introitum."

The *officium missæ* was an anthem at the beginning of the mass, after the *præparatio* was finished, and varied according to the day. It was so called in many French and all the English uses, and in the Mozarabic liturgy; *Ingressa* in the Ambrosian; and, as in the rubric above given, *Introitus* in the Roman missal. It was retained in the first English Book of Common Prayer (1549); and, curious to say, the rubric introduces the alternative of the Roman name. "Then shall the clerks sing in English, for the office or introit (as they call it), a psalm appointed for that day." I have not noticed a variation in any English service-book, except the Sarum portesse of 1555, where this anthem is called "Introitus" in the Mass "*De cruce*," perhaps from being taken bodily from a foreign source; though in the Mass "*In commemoratione Sanctæ Trinitatis*," "*De quinque Vulneribus*," "*De beatâ Mariâ*," and other Masses, the Anglican "*officium*" is retained.

B. 87. "*standes turnande his boke.*" This too may have been suggested by the Rouen rubric in this place, "postea aperiat librum," as the English uses have no corresponding direction.(1) It may however simply mean, as I have glossed in the margin, that the priest, having ended the preparatory office, for which the Mass-book was not required, and being about to begin the altar service, here found his places. The existing Roman rubric directs that the priest, before saying any part of the offices "signacula ordinat ad ea quæ dicturus est."

B. 88. *south auter noke.* So all the English uses: "In dextro cornu altaris." *Sarum*, *Ebor*, *Bangor*. "Ad dextrum cornu altaris." *Hereford.*(2) The modern Roman rubric is the same in effect, the right end of the altar looking east, being named left, in reference to the Crucifix upon it, looking west: "ad cornu sinistrum, id est, epistolæ."(3)

The priest who said Mass, the *executor officii* of the Anglican rubrics, began at the south end, "flitted his book" to the north

(1) There is however a rubric to the same effect in several of the early French uses; in the printed Paris missal of 1542, &c.

(2) Maskell, A. E. L., 18, 19. (3) *Ritus Celeb. Miss.*, iv. 2.

end or gospel horn at the gospel (l. 156), and flitted it again to the south end after rinsing the chalice (l. 580). The Sarum rubric as to the several positions was as follows: "Sciendum est autem quod quicquid a sacerdote dicitur ante epistolam in dextro cornu altaris expleatur: præter inceptionem *Gloria in excelsis.* Similiter fiat post perceptionem sacramenti. Cætera omnia in medio altaris expleantur, nisi forte diaconus defuerit. Tunc enim in sinistro cornu altaris legatur evangelium."(1)

P. 10, B. 89. *stondande.* Here we have *stond* for the northern *stand*, but, as the lines immediately above and below, the northern *-ande* of the participle is retained.

The layman was to "stand up upon his feet" (l. 84) when he had finished the creed, which a previous rubric had directed him to say "kneeling on his knees before he rose" (ll. 53 and 61), and to continue standing until the end of the *Gloria in excelsis*, when he was to kneel (l. 150). He is also in this text directed to stand at the offertory (l. 245), whilst saying the Lord's Prayer at the lavatory (l. 261), and after the rinsing of the chalice (ll. 577 and 600), but it will be observed there is no corresponding direction in the corresponding places in the later MSS., except E, which represents the older form of the treatise.(2)

B. 91, &c. This prayer occupied the time between the office and the Epistle, except when the *Gloria in excelsis* was sung. It will be observed that in the order of mass (*ante*, p. 93-4) there is no corresponding prayer, the litany which was anciently used in this place being represented only by the *Kyrie eleison*—Lord, have mercy—which is the response in the Greek liturgies, as *Domine Miserere* in the Milanese and other Latin litanies.

Other survivals from an Eastern source in Dan Jeremy's treatise, are elsewhere pointed out, and it is curious to remark that this prayer has very much the same character as the Eirenica or prayers in a responsive form, like western litanies, for all estates in the church, which are still said in this place,(3) except that, as also in the mass (p. 92, l. 26), the ministering clergy had first prayed for themselves to be cleansed from all defilement (*ἀπὸ πάσης κηλίδος*), whereas here the prayer for the priest is (B. 96—100) a part of the people's prayer

(1) *Miss. Sar.*, Burntisland, 1861, col. 589.

(2) See note, p. 193, on C. 58; and Vernon (*ante*, p. 134), l. 218, an older MS., where the layman is directed to stand.

(3) Goar. *Euchol.*, p. 64, and his notes (62), p. 123, and (2) p. 46. He there mentions that the like were used in the Latin churches until the ninth century, and gives the litany which was used in the Ambrosian office. Bona (*Rer. Liturg.* 2, iv. 3) adds that this was used at Milan on the Sundays in Lent; and there is still a direction to that effect: "loco *Gloria in excelsis* dicuntur preces."—*Rub. Gen. juxta ritum Ambrosianum*, Mediolani, 1849, § 15.

P. 10, B. 95. Cf. prayer for priest, Vernon, *ante*, p. 133, ll. 192—208; and Lydgate, p. 149, l. 52.

C. 51. *grete mede.* It is difficult to account for this reading instead of "Manhede." The Cistercian scribe must have been familiar with the many pleadings of our Lord's incarnation in mediæval devotions.

C. 56. *fast thereon.* The corresponding line, F. 61 (p. 15), is "folweth soon."

Cf. "After þat, fast at hande
Comes þo tyme of offrande."—B. 241-2.

Where C. 102 has "*nere*," and F. 82 has "*nei*."

"Als fast as euer þat he has done,
Loke þat þou be redy sone."—B. 310-1.

"Praye faste among you all."
Lydgate, *ante*, p. 150, l. 65.

"Beholde this prophete called Jeremye,
Be a visioune so hevenly and divyne,
Toke a chalice, and fast gan hym hye
To presse out licour out of the rede vyne."
Lydgate, *Minor Poems* (Percy Soc.), p. 98.

The employment of fast, as in the above examples, to express nearness of time, enables us to trace the connection between its opposite senses of immovability, and rapid movement.

The first we find exclusively used in cognate languages, and in the earlier stage of English (*Icel.* fastr; *Germ.* fest; *A.S.* fæst), —fast (*fixed, immovable*) as a post.

The other afterwards came to be also used as we too now use it —fast (*swift*) as the (1) post:

"We mowen nought, although we had it sworn,
It overtake, it slyt away so fast."—C. T., 12609-10.

The nearness of place may have been an intermediate step to nearness of time; (2) as for example:

"And þar es þe mount of calvery
And þe sepulcre of Crist fast þarby."
Hampole, *P. C.*, 5187-8.(3)

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(1) "My days are swifter than a post."—Job, ix, 25.

(2) Compare the use of *hard*: "Naboth had a vineyard hard by the palace of Ahab."—1 Kings, xxi, 1.

"Trouble is hard at hand."—Ps. (P. B. V.) xxii, 11.

"Indeed, my Lord, it followed hard upon."—*Hamlet*, i, 2.

(3) Cf. "Abide here fast by my maidens."—Ruth, ii, 8. "The ungodly cometh on so fast."—Ps. (P. B. V.) lv, 3.

"Who finds the heifer dead, and bleeding fresh,
And sees fast by a butcher with an axe,
But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter."
Henry VI, Part II, iii, 2.

And it is easy to see how the sense of quick succession of time, once fully established, passed into that of quick movement necessary to ensure it.(1)

P. 10, C. 58. *sayinge.* This form of the participle, instead of *sayand*, is an indication of the late date at which the original must have been modified.(2) In addition to the introduction of the Ave into the text, this and the other later MSS. leave out the direction to stand during the prayer, which is clearly supposed to be the rule in B. 84 and 89. The custom of standing at prayer, although not to the extent required by the Nicene canon, lingered on in the west at least till the thirteenth century; and there were traces of it at Orleans in the seventeenth. It may be that the change is to be attributed to the growth of the feeling—which we may trace in the modification of the rubrics, as, for example, the substitution of *clerici* or *ministri* for *populus*—that the appointed services were exclusively a clerical function, and that kneeling was the posture for the private devotions of the people.

P. 11, E. 90. *seyande.* The southern *sey* for *say*, with the northern participial ending.

P. 12, B. 97-8. Compare the prayer for the presbyters in the Apostolical Constitutions: "ὅπως ὁ κύριος ῥύσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀτόπου καὶ πονηροῦ πράγματος."—Lib. viii, c. 10. Ed. Le Clerc, p. 397.

B. 99. *fulfille þis sacrament.* In the cautels which are to be found in the mass-books according to the several English uses are minute provisions for cases of a priest dying, or otherwise failing to complete the mass he had begun.

B. 100. *clene hert.* Cf. "puris mentibus," *ante*, p. 92, l. 27.

gode entent. Cf. C. 21, gude entent, where this MS. reads "gode tent." Entent may perhaps refer to the intention of the priest, as held to be necessary to the validity of sacraments in the church of Rome.(3) It was used for intention, as in the Myroure, Pt II, ch. xxiii, of "dressing" the entent in saying or singing holy service:—

"The fyfte thynge that longeth to the dew maner of saynge of deuyne seruice is to take hede to what entente ye say yt . . . . yf the entente be good, the dede is good, and yf thentente be yuel, the dede ys yuel." (4)

It was also often used of attention:

"I entended to them and gaue them answeres."

Myroure, p. 48.

(1) Richardson (*s. v.*) rejects the "Welsh *Ffest*, properus, festinus," as the original of this word in the latter signification, and suggests that it is "a consequential application of *fast*, close. He comes *fast* behind, i.e. close behind; to attain which closeness (suppose in a race) *speed* was exerted."

(2) Compare B. 375-6, where we have the participle *rynsande*, and the verbal substantive *rinsynge*.

(3) Aquin. *Summ.* III, lxiv, 8 & 10. *Concil. Trident.* vii, De Sacramentis, can. xi.

(4) *Myroure*, E. E. T. S., p. 60.

"Remembre the eke in your inward entent
Melchisedech that offred brede and wyne."
Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 95.

"but take to theym entent
"Withe blythe vysage, and spiryt diligent."
Babees Book, p. 3, l. 69-70.

"And euer when he clepithe, wayte redy & entende."
id., p. 180, l. 936.

Hampole uses it to render "*diligentia*":

"And þarfor says Saynt Bernard right:
Si diligenter consideres . . . . . .
If þow wille, he says, ententyfly se."—P. C. 619—624.

Chaucer uses it of endeavour:—

"Wel oughte we to do al oure entente
Lest that the fend thurgh ydelnesse us hente."
C. T. 11934-5.

P. 12, B. 102. "*is*." The MS. here retains the northern *is* of the second person singular, which E. and F. change into *art* and *ert*.

B. 103. *to þi modir*, that is, to her honour, and that of all saints. Cf. "in honore tuo et beatæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum tuorum." —*Ante*, p. 98, ll. 30-1.

B. 104. *bi-dene*. So the *Ormulum* of Job losing his children in addition to other trials:—

"*Annd* off, þatt he forrlæs his streon
Onn an daȝȝ all bidene."—ll. 4792-3.

And Hampole of removing mountains and the earth besides:—

"þai salle mow remowe at þair wille,
Ilka mountayne, and ilka hille,
þat ever was in þe world sene,
And if þai wild, alle þe erth bidene."—P. C. 7965-8.

B. 105. *heres*. The midland scribe here retains the northern *-s* of the third person plural. E. changes to the midland *-n*; and F. to the southern *-eth*.

B. 105-6. *hele—wele* in F. become "*helthe*" and "*welthe*."

B. 108. *fremd*, which is still in daily use as a north-country word, becomes "frend" in F.; and "halouse" becomes "seyntes."

B. 108. *bi ony kynde*. By, or in respect to, any relationship, natural or spiritual. Cf. the "*secundum quodlibet*" of the schoolmen.

It will be noticed that this use of the preposition seems to have been strange to the scribe (E. 108), who writes "or any kynde," but Chaucer uses it exactly as in the text:—

"Of what hous be ye, by your father kyn."—C. T. 15417.

And we still speak of relationships "by the father's or the mother's side."

P. 12, B. 112. *soules passed away.* E. reads "passe *and*," and suggests what may perhaps have been the reading of the northern original "passand," and that prayer was made at this place for the dying and not for the dead. Cf. the many prayers for a passing soul in Primers and Horæ, and the direction to toll the passing bell, "when any is passing out of this life."—Canons (1604), lxvii.(1)

C. 66. *ille wild.* Qu. ill-willed, malevolent.

C. 71. *And to þe, moder, maiden clene.* It will be observed that in punctuating the text I had put a comma after þe, as if þe had been a personal pronoun (*thee*), as it is in the invocation of the blessed Virgin, C. 46, and elsewhere in this MS., C. 94, &c. As a matter of fact such direct forms of address are not uncommon, but on looking at this place again, I think that "þe" must be merely a dialectic variation of the possessive. Two lines above, we have "þe honour," where "þe" is as unquestionably used in this sense as the "thy" and "þy" of ten lines lower down. It may be noted as an illustration of the uncertainty of the spelling of this date that we have these three forms of the same word written a dozen lines (þe, thy, þy), and a fourth, þi (l. 59), within twenty lines farther back.

P. 14, B. 115. *On hegh-festis.* See rubrics, *Miss. Sarum.*, col. 3, 383; *Ebor.* (Henderson), 166; and *Manipulus Curatorum*, 1510, fol. 34.

F. reads *On Sunday.* Sunday, as we gather from the laws, both secular and ecclesiastical, before the Conquest, was held in especial reverence in the Church of England. We find Robert of Brunne giving a very marked expression to this feeling in the following passage, which is one of the many additions he makes to the original in translating the *Manuel des Pechiez*:—

"Of al þe festys þat yn holy chyrche are,
Holy sunday men oughte to spare;
Holy sunday ys byfore alle fre
þat euere ȝyt were, or euere shal be.
For the pope may þurghe hys powere
Turne þe halydays yn þe ȝere
How as he wyl, at hys owne wyl,
But þe sunday shal stande styl.
þe halydays þat yn heruyst are
In ȝole he may sette hem þare,
And of þe ȝole euery feste
May he sette yn herueste.
But, he may, þurghe no resun
þe sunday putte vp no dowun;
þarfore þe Sunday specyaly
Ys hyest to halew, and most wurþy."

Handlyng Synne, ll. 805—820.

(1) Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum*, O. S. B., Præf. in Sæc. I, § 103) proves from Bede, &c., the antiquity of the English custom of ringing a peal after death, as also directed in this canon.

P. 14, B. 116. *men singes or sayes.* I do not include this among the places where the midland scribe had retained the northern forms of the original text. Sayes is not necessarily the third person plural to agree with men in the plural; for the indefinite *men* was used as if singular like the German *mann* and the French *on*. And see note, p. 171.

B. 117. *Gloria in excelsis.* See *ante*, p. 94, ll. 6—19.

B. 118. *es.* The midland scribe elsewhere writes *is*, but retains the northern *es* to rhyme with *mes*.

B. 119. *Ioy* is used to render *gloria* here, and throughout the hymn; in the *Gloria Patri* in the York Hours of the Cross (p. 82, l. 7), and so in many other places,(1) which is all the more curious, as the French *joie* (from the Latin *gaudium*, or rather *gaudia*) does not appear to have been used in this sense.

The word occurs as we now use joy in l. 561, and in the York Bidding Prayer, p. 71, l. 30, and Hampole uses it of the joys of heaven:

"Alle manere of ioyes er in þat stede."—P. C. 7813.

B. 120. This is one of the lines with which the hymn is farced (*stuffed*), as it was called in this country; or *brodé*, as the French ritualists called it. It will be noticed that there is also a farsure in the Apostles' Creed (p. 20). There were similar additions to the Latin of the mass in the *Kyries*, the *Sanctus*, the *Pax*, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Ite*, &c., and these interpolations were sometimes of the most incongruous character. The rubric of the Sarum Missal (col. 585) directed that this canticle should be sung "*cum sua farsura*" at the principal mass (*in choro*). At the reform of the Roman Missal in 1570, *farsuræ* were altogether abolished by authority of Pope Pius V.

Martene(2) mentions that the epistle in some French churches had been "barbara voce . . . . farcita." The barbarous French of which he gives a specimen is merely the old French of the time; and this farce was most probably a relic of an older custom of translating the portions of holy scripture read in the service into the vulgar tongue. He says that he has heard that Archbishop Le Tellier had abrogated the practice as it had existed in certain parishes in the diocese of Rheims. I have happened to meet with the text of his *Ordonnance*, dated at his *chateau* at Louvois, the 5th October, 1686. The custom, whatever may have been its former extent, appears to have been confined to St Stephen's day, two deacons singing the epistle alternately in Latin and

(1) "Thou sittist on goddis riȝt side in the ioie of the fadir."—*Te Deum*, Maskell, M. R., II, 14.

"To knowe the ioye of the endeles trinity."—*Collect for Trinity Sunday*, [*ante*, p. 94, l. 27], *ib.* II, 28.

(2) *De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, I, p. 102. See also III, 39, and III, 35, where he speaks of the "ornatura seu farcitura prophetiæ."

French to a peculiar chant. It is asserted that the barbarous French text was a subject of laughter to all who were present; and the archbishop most expressly (*très expressement*) forbids the ceremony: "*le chant nous en ayant paru extraordinaire et la traduction ridicule.*" (1)

P. 14, B. 120. *myrthe* was used in a sense less hilarious than the present use of mirth.

"Faines in Laverd, and glades in quert
And mirþes, alle rightwise of hert."—Ps. (32) xxxi, 11.

"Ffor þan salle haly kyrk þat tyde,
In heven be new gloryfyde,
And won ay þare with God alle-myghty
In ioy, and myrthe, and melody."—P. C. 8815-8.

"For I am lord of blis,
Ouer alle this warld, i-wis,
My myrth is most of alle."
Towneley Mysteries, p. 3.

B. 122. *of gode wille.* The *bonæ voluntatis* of the Vulgate.

B. 124. *bisyly.* This is given by Dr Morris as an instance where "we have retained the southern orthography with the northern pronunciation." (2) Although we retain the word, we should hardly use it as it was used in the text.

"*Custodi sollicite animam tuam* (3)
þat es on Inglis in þis manere,
He seys, kepe þi saul bysily here."—P. C. 5807-9.

And Hampole, in his *Virtues of the name of Jesus*:—"Tharefore joye sall noghte faile vnto hym þat couates besyly for to lufe hym in whaym angells ȝernys for to be-halde."—*Prose Treatises* (Perry), p. 4.

"Ye ought inwardly sorow for the defaulte and besely to kepe in mynde."—*Myroure*, p. 68.

"Business" too was used rather of the diligence or earnestness than of the matter in hand.

"For about worldisshe thynges þai here travaile
Ful bysily, þat at þe last sal fayle;
Bot wald þai do half swilk bysines
About gudes of heven, þar al gode es,
þai suld haf alle þat gude es þare,
þat never sal faille, bot last ever mare."—P. C. 1066—1071.

"Make me according to my busyness
Partaker of thy crown and glory endless."
Prymer, 1543, *ap* Maskell, M. R., II, p. xviii.

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(1) *Annales Archéologiques*, 1850, p. 160. See *post*, p. 210.
(2) *Ayenbite*, p. viii.
(3) Deut. iv, 9, where the A. V., "Keep thy soul diligently."

P. 14, B. 125. *Als worthi es.* "Adoramus te *Glorificant agnum cives, quem digniter almi*" is a farse to this verse of the hymn, as it is found in an antiphoner of St Gregory of the eleventh century.(1)

B. 125-6. *es—les.* As he could not alter both words, the rhyme has compelled the midland scribe to retain the northern *-es* of the second person.

B. 126. *makes.* The northern *-es* in the first person plural.

B. 127-8. *grace—hase.* Here too we find the northern *has* in the second person, with the *a* long, as in *father*, and sounded as it is still spoken in the East Riding, and rhyming to *grace*, which it will be noticed retains its French pronunciation. Cf. grase, York Bidding Prayer, p. 69, l. 11, and C. T. 15242, where it rhymes to Thopas.

B. 128. *of al þi grace.* The *of* looks as if suggested by *de* in the French original. The Latin of this farse is as follows: "Benedicimus te, *Per quem omne sanctum et benedictio conceditur.*"(2)

B. 132. *comly* was used not as now more commonly only of becomingness of person, but also of character or actions.

"tweire schead as mon haueð ba of god & of uuel, of cumelich & of uncumelich."—*Hali Meidenhad* (Cockayne), p. 25.

"that him cumly grette" (*greeted*).
Metrical Homilies (Small), p. 140.

So Shakspeare:

"This is a happier and more comely time."
Coriolanus, iv, 2.

"Know you not, master, to some kind of men
Their graces serve them, but as enemies?
O what a world is this, when what is comely,
Envenoms him that bears it."—*As you like it*, ii, 3.

Cf. A. V., 1 Cor. vii, 35, "that which is comely;" and O.Fr. *convenant, convenient.*

B. 134. *þi fadir fre*, that is, of spontaneous bounty.

"*Quod gratis accepistis, gratis date.*
He says, þat þat yhe haf of grace fre
And frely resayved, frely gyf yhe."(3)—P. C. 5963-5.

"Thou, mayde and moder, daughter of thi sone,
. . . . . .
Assembled is in the, magnificence
With mercy, goodness, and with such pitee,
That thou that art the soune of excellence
Not oonly helpest hem that prayen the,

(1) Georgius, *Liturg.*, III, 522.
(2) Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*, II, iv, 6.
(3) St Matt. x, 8. Cf. A. V., "Freely ye have received, freely give."

But often time of thy benignite,
Ful freely, er that men thin help biseche,
Thou gost biforn, and art her lyfes leche."
C. T. 11964—11984.

Compare the prayer of Saint Bernard in Dante:

"Vergine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio
* * * * *
La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi dimanda, ma molte fiate
Liberamente al dimandar precorre."
Paradiso, xxxiii. 1—18.

P. 14, B. 135. *þou þat wostis þo worlds synne.* "Qui tollis peccata mundi." Here again we have the northern *-s* in the second person. I do not find the verb *wost*, but no doubt it is to worst, to defeat. Cf. the pronunciation of *wust*, *woosted*, for worst, worsted. The A.S. *wyrsian* appears to have been used only as an intransitive, to worsen or become worse; but in the Ormulum we have *wersen* as a verb active:—

"ȝeff aniȝ mann uss eggeþþ
To don ohht orr to spekenn ohht
Off ifell *annd* off sinne,
To werrsenn *annd* to niþþrenn uss
Biforenn Godess (1) ehne."—ll. 11842-6.

B. 136. *more & mynne.* Cf. l. 126, "more & les" for another form of this tag so often used to eke out a line.

"From þon læston oð þone mæstan," or some similar expression, is often used to give emphasis to our ancient English laws: e. g. *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, xxii.—Thorpe, ii, 418.

B. 138. *in þis time.* Cf. "now in the time of this mortal life."—*Collect, First Sunday in Advent.*

B. 139. The rhyme accounts for *hande* not being altered by the midland scribe. See note, p. 179, and contrast *none*, *alone*, *most*, and *gost* in the next four lines, which admitted of a ready change.

B. 140. The MS. quoted above (p. 196) from Georgius here inserts "nostris tu parce ruinis."

B. 143. The following are prayers for the mediation of the Blessed Virgin from the York Horæ.

"¶ **A prayer to our lady.** [fol. 161]

O Blessyd lady moder of Jesu & virgin immaculate, that arte(2) welle of comforte, and moder of mercy, senguler

(1) *ehne*, eyes. Cf. *ante*, p. 151, l. 110, and *Myroure*, p. 249: "teres ranne oute of the vyrgyns eyne."

(2) This "*art*" and the "*hath*" of the next prayer illustrate the remark elsewhere made, as to the affectation of southern forms in the York service-books when they came to be printed.

helper to all that trust to the, be now gracyous lady medyatrice & meane unto thi blyssed sone our saviour Jesu for me, that by thyn intercessions I may obtayne my desires ever to be your seruaunt in all humilite. And by the helpe & socour of all holy saintes hereafterr in perpetual ioy euer to lyue with the. Amen."

"¶ **To our lady.** [fol. 170 *b*]

Blessyd marye, virgin of nazareth,
And moder to the myghty lorde of grace.
That his people saued hath with his deth
From the paynes of the infernall place,
Now blessyd lady, knele before his face
And praye to hym my soule to saue from losse
Whiche with his blode hath bought us on the crosse."

P. 14, C. 83-6. *If þou of letter kan—answere þereto with gude will.* It will be observed that in this text, the *Gloria in excelsis* is left out. It is assumed, as in ll. 347-8, p. 56, that the reader will join in the responses; and the rehearsal of the Paternoster is enjoined only when he neither knows the service, nor can read it. In a Cistercian abbey there will have been many who "of letters could," that is, who understood Latin.(1)

This distinction is drawn in a thirteenth century manuscript, which Martene quotes when speaking of the part taken by the congregation in this part of the mass. "Literates ('*litterati*') said the same words as the priest, but he with a loud and they with a low (*depressa*) voice. The unlearned (*laici*) prayed in their mother tongue, every one according to his knowledge."(2) Cassander quotes a canon of a council at Orleans,(3) which required not only clerks and "religious" women (*Deo dicatæ virgines*) to answer the priest, but also all the people with one voice (*consona voce*). And we find that the laity in this country from very early times took part in the service of the church, for at the end of the seventh century they were not allowed to read the lessons in church, nor to say the *Alleluia*, but only the psalms and the responses (*responsoria*), without the *Alleluia*.(4)

It is very evident, however, that in France, even when the language had but little diverged from the Latin, and still more in this country, where the "vulgar tongue" would have afforded them no assistance, there could have been very few of the laity

(1) We still use *literate* in this sense in contrast with graduate candidates for holy orders, the xxxivth Canon requiring that no one shall be admitted who has not "taken some degree of school, or at the least, except he be able to yield an account of his faith in Latin."

(2) "Ut scribit Anonymus Turonensis in suo M. S. Speculo Ecclesiæ."—Martene *de Rit.* I, 133.

(3) *Liturgica* (*s. l.* v. *a*—? Colon. 1561), fol. 43 *b*.

(4) Archbishop Theodore's *Penitential*, II, i, 10, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 191.

whose knowledge of the language would have enabled them to join in the Latin services. Still, as we may gather from the allusions to this custom in this and other places in our text, it was expected of them that they would do so, if and when they could; and in the Vernon MS. (*ante*, p. 130, l. 86) this is laid down in so many words:

> "As þe prest seiþ his preyere
> So schulde vche mon þat him gon here
> And þei wuste what hit ware."

As we have seen above (page 158) this theory had died out before the reformation. A modern authority on these points, M. Romsée, Professor of Sacred Rites in the Diocesan Seminary of Liége, explains the existing rule in the Church of Rome. Speaking of the priests turning to the people at this part of the mass (*ante*, p. 94, l. 20), and bidding them "Dominus vobiscum," and of the answer "Et cum spiritu tuo," he says that it was formerly "made by all the people, but now is made more conveniently and more reverently (*convenientius et reverentius*) by the server only in the name of all." (1)

P. 15, E. 121. "*to tell.*" He did not understand the northern *till*.

E. 140. The upsilonism of this MS. has been pointed out, p. 185. Here the scribe writes "help us" (help*us*) with a contraction, as if he took it for the third person singular.

E. 141. *name.* This mistake of the scribe arose no doubt from the northern original reading *nane*, which the midland scribe of text B has altered into *none*. Both have altered *al ane* in the next line; but our scribe with his usual blundering has altered the northern *wonand*, which B reads unchanged in line 145, into *wonnying*.

P. 16, B. 149. After the *Gloria in excelsis*, or, when that was not used, after the *Kyrie*, followed the greeting of the people, mentioned in the note on C. 83 (p. 200), and then the collect, with the epistle and gospel.

B. 150. *Knele doun on þi knese sone.* This direction to kneel may be noticed in reference to the change from the ancient custom of standing at prayer which has been already mentioned (page 193). It would seem that towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Martene wrote his great work on the Rites of the Church, the people had returned to the practice of standing during the collect, unless perhaps he means that they sat in his time. He says that formerly the people knelt at the collect, on the deacon's bidding "Flectamus genua." He quotes from a sermon by St Cæsarius, who was bishop of Arles in the sixth century: "I beseech you, dearest brethren, and exhort that whenever prayer is made

(1) *Opera Liturgica*, Leodii, 1818, cum Approbatione et Permissione, Tom. IV, 105.

at the altar by the clergy, or prayer is bidden by the deacon, that ye bow down faithfully not only your hearts, but also your bodies. For often, as in duty bound, I diligently give heed, and when the deacon exclaims, let us bend our knees, I behold the greatest part standing as straight as pillars."(1)

P. 16, B. 151. *þi pater-noster reherce al-waie.* It will be observed that the later form which was adapted, not only for the English rite, but also, as I suppose, for the use of a "religious" house, here contemplates the rehearsing of pater-nosters by those only who were not literates (see C. 90 and note, p. 216); but the direction given here, and in lines 261, 398, and 601, was no doubt in accordance with the practice of the laity in general, at least until the Ave Maria became part of the accustomed devotions.(2) In the Excerpts (VI) of Egbert, Archbishop of York (A.D. 735—766), the canons under King Edgar (xvii & xxii), the teaching of the Pater-noster and the Creed is strongly enjoined; and in the "Ecclesiastical Institutes" (xxii) all are admonished from the least to the greatest to learn them, and it is added that in these two sayings (*cwydum*) is the foundation of all Christian belief, and that unless any one can sing them both, and so believe as is therein said, and often pray (*gebidde*) therewith, he cannot well be a Christian.(3) And we find from incidental notices that the pater-noster was so used. In the Festival there is a version of the story of Saint Austin of England and the women that jangled at mass,(4) and there it is said that Pope Gregory "came to the wymen and asked of them what they had sayd all the masse tyme, and they sayd our pater noster,"(5) that being evidently what they were expected to say. A string or "pair" of beads,(6) was

(1) De Ant. Eccl. Rit. I, 133.

(2) In Myrc (XV Cent.) the priest is directed to enquire in confession:

"Const þow þi pater and þyn aue
And þy crede now telle þow me."—ll. 917-18.

And the parish priest is enjoined:

"þow moste teche hem mare
þat when þey doth to chyrche fare,
þenne bydde hem leue here mony wordes
Here ydel speçhe, and nyce bordes
And put away alle vanyte
And say here pater-noster & here aue."—ll. 264-9.

(3) Thorpe, II, 418. The Ecclesiastical Institutes here quoted, though translated into English, and most probably of some authority in this country, were written by Bishop Theodulf of Orleans, who flourished about A.D. 797.—Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, I, p. xiii.

(4) *Ante*, p. 136-9.

(5) *Festyvall* (1515). In Dedicatione ecclesie, *fol.* 154 *b*.

(6) So Chaucer of the prioress:

"Of smal coral aboute her arme sche baar
A peire of bedes gaudid al with grene."—C. T. 158-9.

called a "paternoster"(1). We find the name so used in the earlier part of the thirteenth century in the "Lutel soth Sermun." It speaks of proud young maidens and warns against illicit love:

"Hwanne heo to chirche comeþ
to þe haliday
Heo biholdeth wadekin.
mid swiþe gled eye.
Atom his hire *pater noster* (2)

And so in Latin: "Unum par bedus de laumbre." "Unum par bedys de corall." *Test. Ebor*, I, 271. Beads were also called *orationes*, "unum par orationum de auro," *ib.* 213; and *preces*, "meas preces de curalle," *ib.* 252; and *precule*, "par precularum de gagate." *Wills & Inventories* (Surtees Soc.), I, 87.

(1) See Maskell, M. R. II, p. xlviii, where he quotes from Nicolas, *Testamentæ Vetusta*, I, 147, "a pair of paternosters of coral" in the will of Eleanor of Gloucester, A.D. 1399. *Patenôtre* is the French, and Littré gives an example in the thirteenth century: "Une femme qui tenoit unes paternostres en sa main." —*Miracles, St Loys*, p. 131.

(2) This is from the Cotton MS. *Calig.* A ix. fol. 249. Dr Morris gives a second text (Jesus Coll. Oxon. MS. 29) from a MS. of the latter part of the same (xiii) century:

At hom is hire pat*er* noster;

which leaves us in no doubt as to the contraction in the Cotton MS. being rightly expanded. At all events it is open to any one to form his own conclusion with an exact knowledge of the reading of the MS., and this is the advantage of the rule of our society which requires all contractions to be shown in italic. In Guest's *English Rhythms*, II, 330, the last lines are given thus:

"Atorn his hire primur; biloken is hire teye."
"Run away from is her primer—lock'd up in her scrip."

I recollect to have noted them some years ago, when I first read Dr Guest's most interesting and learned work, and until I again met with them in Dr Morris's book. I accepted them as an example of the use of "primur" some hundred and fifty years earlier than I had elsewhere met with any mention of this English service-book. I have not been on the look out for it, and therefore my recollection must be taken only for what it is worth, but I do not recollect to have met with an instance of paternoster being used for a pair of beads in any earlier English manuscript.

Spelman had explained the word "beltidum" occurring in the tenth canon of the provincial council of Canterbury, held at Celchyth in the year 816, as if it meant a *rosary*:—"æt VII beltidum, pater noster pro eo cantetur" (H. & S. *Councils*, III, 584). Mabillon (*Acta Sanct.* O. S. B. Præfat. in Sæc. V. § 125), whilst exploding the notion that Venerable Bede was the inventor of rosaries, and that they were called "bedes" after him, does not doubt that the words "beltidum paternoster" meant a certain number of paternosters, though he agrees with Du Cange that the Rosary, which in great part consists of Ave Marias, was a later invention.

Johnson (*Canons*, (A.C.L.) I, 307) and Dr Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 69) take the same view as to the belt of paternosters, but Professor Stubbs with his usual happy insight suggests that the word is derived "from *Bel* (A.S.), a bell, and *Tid*. (A.S.), time," and explains it "in reference to the seven canonical hours (*tidum*) at which the prayer bell rang."—*Councils*, III, 585.

biloken(1) in hire teye."(2)
Old English Miscellany (Dr Morris), E. E. T. S. (1872), p. 190.

Her paternoster at home and locked away in her coffer was a proof to the preacher that it was not her prayers or bidding her bedes that she thought about—

"Masses and matines,
ne kepeþ heo nouht."

And the way in which it is said would seem to prove that the saying of paternosters would have been a sufficient minimum.

As to substitution of paternoster for prescribed prayers, see C. 87—90, and the note, p. 216.

P. 16, B. 153. *gospel rede.* Read in contradistinction to the said or sung of the preceding line, referring to the rest of the mass. Both epistle and gospel afterwards came to be sung, but the rubrics of the English uses, and also of the Rouen MS. elsewhere quoted, agree as to reading them; and we find Amalarius in the ninth century pointing out the distinction: "Lectio dicitur quia non cantatur ut psalmus vel hymnus, sed legitur tantum. Illic enim modulatio, hic sola pronunciatio quæritur."(3)

B. 154. *stonde vp þen.* "The people all standing up" has always been the attitude in which the gospel has been heard, and a rubric or direction to this effect was almost, if not always, the only indication that the presence of the people was contemplated by mediæval ritualists and rubricians, so exclusively were they concerned with the ceremonies of the altar and the motions of the officiating clergy.

As might be expected, this point is not passed over in books intended for popular instruction—

"And when the gospel me rede schal,
Fayne thou stonde up fro the wal,
And blesse the fayre, ȝep that thou conne,
When *gloria tibi* is begonne."
Constitutions of Masonry, 629-32.

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(1) *biloken.* So *Castel off loue* (Weymouth), 992:

"Hit is in his cofre bi-loke so fast."

"This is the hand, which, with a vow contract,
Was fast belock'd in thine."—*Measure for Measure*, V, 1.

(2) "Teye, of a cofyr or forcer. Teca, thecarium."—P. P. 487. Old Wykehamists will remember the "toys" at Winchester, even if recent reforms have improved them away.

(3) *De Eccles. Officiis.* III, ii. The following rubric in the Book of Common Prayer was struck out at the revision in 1661: "and to the end the people may the better hear in such places where they do sing, then shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading: and likewise the epistle and gospel."

Cf. Myrk, 278, &c.; Vernon, *ante*, p. 140, l. 425.

P. 16, B. 155. *flyttes his boke.* The reason given in the Micrologus (c. ix) is that there might be more room at the south part of the altar, where the oblations were always placed. When the oblations were made by the people in kind (but they never did so(1) until after the gospel had been read) the additional room would have been necessary, "ad suscipiendas oblationes."

When this custom had become obsolete the flitting of the book was required by the change of position of the priest still prescribed by the Latin rubrics; but this ceremony was abolished at the reformation. By the first Book of Edward VI the priest was directed to stand "afore the midst of the altar;" and by the second book "at the north side;" but under the rubrics of 1540 some of the clergy continued to remove the book from the right to the left part of the table;(2) and in the time of Queen Elizabeth Bishop Parkhurst (of Norwich) at the Primary Visitation (1561) prohibits "shifting of ye boke."(3)

It will be observed that the reading of the epistle and gospel only at the altar is here specified as usual at low masses, or in parish churches, &c. At capitular masses, according to the Sarum use, they were read from a pulpit, or at the step(4) of the quire, according to the day; at Durham from an eagle on the north side; and elsewhere in these positions, or from the rood-loft, &c., according to local use.

B. 156. *north.* It does not seem that the points of the compass were ever employed in the rubrics of the Roman Missal, the Ordo Romanus, or other distinctively Roman ritual formularies; but it was the usage of the Church of England before the reformation, and the revisers of the prayer book in 1552, having occasion to specify a side of the Lord's table, very naturally reverted to it. In the present text, besides this place, we have "south altar nook," in lines 88 and 579. In the rubrics of Anglican, as of other missals, right and left are for the most part used, but in both the Sarum and York missals are examples of *pars australis*, or *aqui-*

(1) At Rouen, immediately after the epistle the sub-deacon brought the chalice and paten from the vestry and placed them at the south part of the altar where the missal had stood, and not on the credence table, the deacon having moved the missal to make room for them (*Voyage Liturg.*, 364), and a similar rite was observed at Tours.—*Ib.* 124.

(2) Bucer. *Censura, Script. Anglic.*, fol. Basil, 1577, p. 494. Bishop Ridley's *Injunctions*, 1550, Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I, p. 93, l. 13.

(3) Quarto, London, John Day, *s. a.* § 4.

(4) "*Ad gradum chori*," probably from a lectrinum (*lectern*) which is elsewhere spoken of in the rubric. Martene (De *Ant. Rit.* I, 136), quoting from the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, mentions that the Abbot Desiderius placed a "gradum ligneum" without the quire, for reading the lessons at night, and the epistles and gospels at the masses of the principal festivals.

lonaris.(1) This practice may very probably have come to us, like other peculiarities, through the ancient Gallican church from the East. At all events the parts of the church and the sides of the altar were in early times and are still distinguished in the East according to the four quarters of the heavens. Goar uses *βορεῖον κλίτος* or *μέρος*, and *νοτεῖον μέρος* (*north and south side or part*) as the appropriate terminology in the description of the church of a Greek monastery.(2) We find the phrases *διὰ τοῦ βορείου κλίτους*, *διὰ τοῦ βορείου μέρους*,(3) and *πρὸς ἀνατολὰς*, *πρὸς δυσμὰς*(4)—*towards the east, towards the west*—in the rubrics of the Greek church; and a similar use of north and south in the rubrics of the Syriac *Ordo Communis.*(5) The early use of this language in the East may also be inferred from its being found at the present day among the Christians of St Thomas, in reference to the parts of the altar, which we learn from Mr Howard's translation of their vernacular liturgy.(6)

P. 16, B. 157-9. *a cross vpon þo letter.* The custom of the reader, whether celebrant or deacon, signing the book with sign of the cross at the place where the gospel begun appears to have been general, and is very commonly specified in rubrics.

So Lydgate's *Virtue of the Mass:*

"The gospel begynnethe withe tokene of tav.(7)
The booke first crossed and after the forhede."

Harl. MS. 2251, fol. 182*b*.

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(1) *Miss. Sar.* Burntisland, col. 253, 255, 350. *Miss. Ebor.* (Ed. Henderson), p. 84, 204.

(2) *Euchologion*, p. 13; cf. n. 30, p. 31.

(3) Goar, *Euchol.* 4. 73. Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, Venice (the modern Greek Prayer Book), 1854, 4. 55.

(4) Goar, *u. s.* 67, 5. The modern Euchologion, 47, 6.

(5) Renaudot. *Liturg. Orient.*, 1716, II, 13. 24.

(6) *Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies*, by Rev. G. B. Howard, B.A., 1864, p. 195, 197-8. It may be observed that Archbishop Menezes (of Goa) in his high-handed attempt to obliterate primitive usages among the native Christians, that were not in accordance with the latest Roman ritual, with which alone he was acquainted—a course Renaudot very strongly reprobates,—allowed this Eastern peculiarity to remain in one of the rubrics of their ancient liturgy, as castigated by him at the Synod of Diamper in the year 1599.—*Liturgia Malabarico-Menessiana*, Raulin; *Historia Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ*, Romæ, 1745, p. 301.

(7) Ezekiel, IX, 4. "Set a mark upon their foreheads," where the Hebrew תָּו, a mark, is rendered *σημεῖον* by the LXX; left untranslated by Aquila and Theodoteon, *Θαῦ*; and in the Vulgate, "signa thau super frontes;" and Douay "mark Thau." Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* III, 22) quotes this as "Da signa Thau in frontibus virorum," and goes on to apply it as a prophecy of the cross which Christians should "print upon their brow." There is much curious learning on this point in Vitringa (*Sacr. Observat.* II, 15), where he gives extracts from Origen, St Jerome, and others.

In the old Hebrew or Samaritan alphabet, the tau was cruciform, and it

P. 16, B. 158. *with his thoume.* The signing of the text of the gospel appears to have been general, but there was considerable diversity in the rubrics directing it. Many of the old uses are silent as to manner. The use of the thumb is prescribed in some cases, and of fingers (in the plural) in others. It will be seen (*page* 98) that the York MS. has no rubric on the point, nor have the printed editions. The Sarum rubric is as follows: "faciat signum super librum, deinde in sua fronte, et postea in pectore cum pollice."(1) The Hereford rubric specifies the thumb, without any mention of the breast, and the modern Roman and the Ambrosian (*ed.* 1849) agree in specifying the thumb, but add the signing of the mouth.(2)

The varying numbers of fingers and other particularities in making the sign of the cross by the celebrant at other places in the mass are directed by rubrics, but it will be sufficient to mention the manner of making the sign of the "large cross" by the laity, which is elsewhere (B. 176) enjoined in this treatise.

It was the first lesson taught a child at school.(3) The earliest notices of the manner of making the cross was with one finger, but in the seventh or eighth century it had become usual to use three. In our own country we find Ælfric prescribing this custom in his homily on the Exaltation of the Cross:(4) "Þeah þe mon wæfge wundorlice mid handa ne biþ hit þeah bletsung buta he wyrce tacn þære halgan rode . . . Mid þrym fingrum man sceall senian *and* bletsian for þære halgan þrynnesse." (*Though a man wave wonderfully with hand, yet is not blessing unless he make the token of the holy rood. With three fingers should one sign and bless for the Holy Trinity.*) In the Eastern Church the thumb and the two next fingers are used, the other two being doubled into the palm of the hand, as we see in old painted glass, seals, and illuminations; and the cross is made from the forehead to the breast, and then from the right to the left shoulder, and crosses on parts of the person or detached objects were made in the same

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was the received opinion in the middle ages that the tau of the prophet was the sign of the cross, and this is very frequently brought forward in the mystical application of the ceremonies of the mass, and specially in reference to the T of the Te igitur, which the priest appears at one time to have kissed, as afterwards the rubrics required him to kiss the altar.—*Ante*, p. 104. Cf. "A sine of tau **T** make ȝe þer."—*Cursor Mundi*, 6078.

(1) *Miss. Sar.* col. 13.

(2) Gavanti notes this signing of the mouth as not being directed in the old *Ordo Romanus*, but refers to the *Gemma Animæ* as mentioning it. This treatise was written by Honorius of Autun in the twelfth century.

(3) *Boke of Curtasye.* Babees Book, p. 303, l. 144. St Chrysostom had exhorted Christians to teach their children from their earliest years to seal their foreheads (i. e. make the sign of the cross) with their hand.—*In Epist. I, ad Cor.* Hom. xii. Ed. Ben. Tom. X, p. 108 B.

(4) *Legends of the Holy Rood* (Morris), E. E. T. S., p. 105.

direction. Dr Rock(1) tells us, "Up to the middle of the fifteenth century the same method was likewise employed throughout the Latin church."(2) It may be observed that this cross is prescribed for the priest in the rubric of the York use (*ante*, p. 112, l. 6-9). In the twelfth century we find a pope giving a mystical reason for it;(3) but modern Roman Catholics use the open hand, and make the cross from left to right; and so much importance appears to have been attached to the change in the church of Rome, that we find that at the Council of Diamper (A.D. 1599) Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, made a canon,(4) abrogating the ancient custom which the Portuguese Missionaries found amongst the native Christians of St Thomas, and claiming a mystical significance for the new rule.(5)

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(1) *Hierurgia*, II, 530.

(2) In the *Myroure* (*ed.* Blunt, E. E. T. S., p. 80) we find the nuns of Syon had adopted the change: "And then ye blysse you wyth the sygne of the holy crosse. to chase a waye the fende with all hys dysceytes. For as Crisostome sayth. where euer the fendes se the sygne of the crosse they flye away dredyng yt as a staffe that they are beten wyth all. And in thys blyssynge ye begynne wyth youre honde at the hedde downewarde. & then to the lyfte syde. and after to the righte syde. in token. & byleue *that* our lorde Iesu cryste came downe from the hed. *that* is from the father in to erthe. by his holy incarnacion. & from the erthe in to the lyfte syde *that* is hel. by hys bytter passyon. & from thense vnto his fathers ryght syde by his glorous ascencion."

(3) "Est autem signum crucis tribus digitis expimendum, quia sub invocatione Trinitatis imprimitur, de qua dicit Propheta: Quis appendit tribus digitis morem terræ (Esaiæ. XL [12]), ita quod a superiori descendat ad inferius et a dextrâ transeat ad sinistram, quia Christus de cœlo descendit in terram, et a Judæis transivit ad Gentes."—Innocentii III, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, Lib. II, c. xliv.

(4) "CCXXXVII. Cupiens Synodus Montanam hancce Ecclesiam omnibus conformare consuetudinibus Latinæ necnon Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Romanæ; cui perfectam detulit obedientiam, cum probe sciat juxta morem ipsius signum crucis et benedictionem a læva ad dexteram partem duci, ita ut dum proferuntur ea verba: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, prius contacto capite manus per pectus deducatur ad ventrem; deinde transversim, crucem perficiendo ab humero sinistro ad dexterum transferatur, id quod mystica significatione non caret; significat enim virtute crucis Christi Filii Dei, ac Domini nostri, a læva reproborum translatos esse ad dexteram partem quæ est electorum; præcipit, ut in instruendis pueris reliquisque, ipsis insinuetur modus se signandi cruce, qui adhibetur in ecclesia Latina, atque adeo abrogetur modus inversus, quo se signant in hac diœcesi ducendo manum ab humero dextro ad sinistrum."—*Synodi Diamperitanæ Actio* VIII, Decretum XXXVII. Raulin, p. 245.

(5) Nowhere perhaps in the present day are the Latin and Greek rites brought into sharper contact than at Warsaw, but an incident came under the writer's observation in that city in 1859, from which we may infer that there is not this same rigid intolerance of a difference in unimportant points in the Eastern Church.

The present emperor, Alexander II, had come into Poland on his tour of

P. 16, B. 162. *gods son of heuen.* Here "*of heaven*" must not be understood as if it were *heavenly*. The phrase in the text occurs in Thoresby's Catechism (*fol.* 295*b*) in stating the truth of conception of our Lord; in the Festyval (W. de Worde, 1515, fol. 4), when Pope Gregory showed the host "turned into reed flesshe and blode bledynge" to the doubting woman, "and she cryed and sayd, Lorde I crye the mercy. I beleue yt thou arte veray god and man and goddes sone of heuen in fourme of breed;" and in other places. It points to our Lord as "He that came down from heaven;" "of heofnu," *Lindisfarne;* "of heofne," *Rushworth;* "de cœlo," *Vulgate.* Jo. iii, 13. "*Of*" was constantly used as a preposition of motion in the earlier monuments of our language: "stefn of heofnum cuoeð," *Lindis.;* "stemn of heofnune cweþende," *Rushw.;* "vox de cœlis dicens," *Vulg.* Matt. iii, 17. "þis wæs ȝefohten siþþan he of East-Englum com" (*after he came from East Anglia*).—*A.S. Chronicle*, A.D. 658, M.H.B., p. 316.

We still find an instance of the same use in the Authorized Version: "Come they not hence, even of your lusts."—Jam. iv, 1. And in the Book of Common Prayer: "O God, the Father, of heaven, have mercy upon us"—the "Pater, de cœlis,(1) Deus, miserere nobis" of the Latin litany.

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inspection. He had not been in the cathedral since he had been there when a boy with his father upon occasion of his being crowned King of Poland, and since then there had been the Polish Revolution and the Crimean war. It was not therefore without significance when it was announced that he intended to present himself at the cathedral. At the appointed time he was received with great pomp by all the chief Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, the heads of religious orders, and a large number of clergy in the presence of the principal Polish nobility and high Russian officials. When he presented himself at the great western door, and was met by the clergy in procession, he crossed himself with the Latin cross, and long before he reached the step of the altar, near which I happened to be standing, the fact was passed from mouth to mouth, and I was told it with great excitement by those who were near me. I must own that until then I had never heard of the difference between the Latin and Greek cross, but a Roman Catholic friend soon explained it to me, and indeed one did not need to be a liturgiologist to enter into the hopeful augury, which the emperor's Polish subjects drew from this condescension to their religious feelings, their hopes too soon to be doomed to disappointment by the abortive attempt at revolution in 1861.

(1) The thought and the phrase may probably be traced to Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple; "Hear thou from thy dwelling place, even from heaven, and when thou hearest forgive." "Exaudi . . . de cœlis." —*Vulg.*, 2 Chron. vi, 21. The comma which our printers have inserted ("Father, from heaven") has not been sufficient in all cases to prevent those who do not know the source of the words of the petition, or the earlier force of the preposition, from the inaccuracy of reading and explaining the "Of heaven" in this place as "heavenly," though they might plead the example of the Authorized Version, which has used "heavenly" in a somewhat similar connection, "How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit," ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει—(Lu. xi, 13). Here the *Bishop's Bible* had "of heaven

P. 16, B. 163. *reders. herers.* Cf. the prayer for grace to the curate and all pastors in the York Bidding Prayer (p. 69, l. 1). And notice that in that prayer, and in the corresponding place in later forms, we have "techers" and "sugettes." Perhaps it is not far-fetched to see in the "readers" and "hearers" of our text the consideration for the layman, which is throughout its special feature.

B. 163-6. Whether the translator found in this place a reference to the rule of the diocese of Rouen, as to reading the gospel in French immediately after the deacon had finished it in Latin,(1) or whether he himself was one of those churchmen, who sought to silence objectors by removing stumbling-blocks and correcting abuses,—and we hear of many such in the highest stations in the church before the reformation, until the party who would yield nothing and learn nothing gained a triumph for a time by the passing of the Act *de Hæretico comburendo*—or however else we may account for it, a tone of dissatisfaction at the existing practice in England is very evident in these lines.

For an example of a very different spirit in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,(2) we have no need to go farther than the

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give," and seems to have succeeded better in giving the force of the original by keeping more closely to it. This has also been done in the old English Versions, *Lindisfarne* "of heofnum," and *Rushworth* "of heofne," and also in the *Rhemish* "from heaven," by following the *Vulgate*, "pater vester de cœlo dabit."

(1) I cannot produce any authority for this being the practice at Rouen at the date of our MS., but I think I may be justified in assuming that it was so, because I find (*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 418) that it was the rule of that diocese at the close of the eighteenth century; and it is most improbable that a practice which was so exceptional, if not unique, in France, should have been introduced at any intermediate date. Grancolas, who was a contemporary of the author of the *Voyages*, mentions in his *Liturgie Ancienne* (p. 53) that the reading of the gospel in Latin and French was directed in some old manuscript rituals at Soissons and Tours, in a way which is quite inconsistent with his having known that, when he wrote, it was the practice elsewhere in France. De Vert, who wrote much about the same time (*Cérémonies*, III, 155), speaks of the gospels having been explained *formerly*; and in his Letter to M. Jurieu, 1 May, 1690 (*id. IV*, 362), answers his objection as to the gospel being read in Latin, so that the people could understand nothing, "Ce n'est pas la faute de l'Eglise si tous n'entendent pas le latin, et elle a eu de tres bonnes raisons pour conserver son ancienne langue." The practice was adopted—though not the rule at present—many years afterwards, when the public exercise of Christian worship was re-established after the excesses of the first Revolution. At all events, immediately after the Restoration in 1814 it was remarked that in churches at Paris both Epistle and Gospel were read in French from the pulpit before the Nicene creed, at the principal mass, on Sundays and holy days.

(2) There is no reference to the reading of the gospel in English in the constitution of Archbishop Peckham, passed in provincial council at Lambeth in 1281, as to the instruction of the lay-people, and known by its first words *Ignorantia sacerdotum*; where, if still enjoined, it would in all likelihood have

Vernon MS., in the Appendix (p. 140, l. 425-48), and there is no doubt that the Latin gospels continued to be read without translation down to the Reformation.(1) It recognizes the fact that there were laymen that were "none clerkes" who would have liked "to wite what þe prest seeþ" at the gospel; but the writer appears to have proved to his own satisfaction that its true power still availed them, though they failed to understand it. We may well believe that there were parish priests, like Chaucer's "pore persoun of a toun,"

"That Cristes gospel truly wolde preche;"

but we cannot doubt that there was a general neglect to observe, and at all events no attempt to enforce what in Anglo-Saxon times had been the written rule of the Church of England, as to the gospel in English. This had most probably fallen through after the Conquest in consequence of the intrusion into the Church of England of prelates who knew nothing of English, and, many of them, showed a contemptuous indifference towards the English clergy and laity, over whom they had been promoted.

It has been said, as by Dr Lingard,(2) that in the Anglo-Saxon Church the epistle and gospel were read in English, but if it is intended that they were read in set form, like the reading of the epistle and gospel in Latin and Greek when the Pope celebrates pontifically, or as they were read in the eighteenth century, at the Benedictine Monasteries of Monte Cassino, and St Denys in France, I have nowhere met with any contemporary authority for this opinion. On the other hand, the authorities usually brought for-

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been mentioned; nor in the similar instructions put forth in the convocation of York in 1357, and quoted as Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism.

(1) This seems very evident from the absolute absence of any contemporary mention or allusion, and still more from the manner in which the reading the epistle and gospel "in the vulgar" is mentioned in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, printed in *Original Letters* (Ed. Ellis), 3rd Series, II, 192. The year is not given, but is probably 1531, and if I might venture to offer another conjecture, where the learned editor has been silent, it was written by Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, who was the Duke's son-in-law, and had been sent on an embassy to the Pope and the Emperor, accompanied by Cranmer and others, in the year 1530. He is describing the Protestant mass at Nuremburg, very much as we find it soon afterwards in the "*Ordnung der Messe, wie die soll gehalten werden*" of the "*Nürnbergische Kirchenordnung*" of 1533:— "The Preest in vestmentes after oure manner, singith everi thing in Latine," "as we use, omitting suffrages. The Epistel he readith in Latin. In the" "meane time the sub Deacon goeth into the pulpite and readeth to the people" "the Epistle in their vulgare; after thei peruse other thinges as our prestes" "doo. Than the Preeste redith softly the Gospell in Latine. In the meane" "space the Deacon goeth into the pulpite and readith aloude the Gospell in" "the Almaigne tung." (*)

(2) *Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, 307.

(*) *See also England in the Reign of King Henry VIII.* (*Ed.* Cowper), E. E. T. S., p. 137, l. 1285.

ward seem to have had, or, perhaps, to have been obeyed as having had, a more definite purpose than generally, "to enforce the duty of preaching," as has been supposed.(1)

The so-called Excerpts of Egbert, Archbishop of York (A.D. 732—766), require priests on holidays and Sundays to preach the gospel to the people.(2) The Canons of Ælfric are more precise. They require the mass-priest on Sundays and Mass-days to tell to the people the sense of the gospel in English (þæs godspelles angyt on Englisc þam folce), and concerning the Pater-noster and the creed also, the oftenest that he can:(3) and, as a matter of fact, the oldest sermons and homilies that have come down to us are almost invariably on the gospel of the day. The same may be noticed in the sermons of the next few centuries, which have been edited by Dr Morris and others; and at a later date Wyclif in his sermons observed the same rule.

In the thirteenth century Ormin wrote the *Ormulum*, which, as explained by himself in the dedication, is first a paraphrase of the gospels, and then an exposition of their meaning for the use of those who were bound to preach it to the people:—

"Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc
þa Goddspelless neh alle,
þatt sinndenn o þe messeboc
Inn all þe ȝer att messe.
Annd aȝȝ affterr þe Goddspell stannt
þatt tatt te Goddspell meneþþ,
þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe follc
Off þeȝȝre sawle nede" (*Ded.* 29—36).

And he then goes on to explain,

"Whi icc till Enngliss hafe wennd
Goddspelless hallȝhe lare" (*Ded.* 113-14).

But his reasons, though well worth reading, are too long to insert here.

In the next century we have the author of the Metrical Homilies, edited by Mr Small, written for "lered and laued bathe," though in one of them he inserts the Latin poem on the "Signa ante judicium," which, as pointed out by the editor (*Introduction*, p. vi.), a rubric directs the preacher to omit, "quando legit Anglicum coram laycis." He thus explains his purpose:—

The faur godspellers us shawes
Cristes dedes and his sawes.

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(1) Maskell, A. E. L., p. 49.

(2) "III. Ut omnibus festis et diebus dominicis unusquisque sacerdos evangelium Christi prædicet populo."—*Excerptiones Egberti;* Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II, 98. "Closer examination shows the *Excerptiones Egberti* not to be Egbert's at all."—Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 403.

(3) *Thorpe*, Ancient Laws, II, 350-1.

Al faur a(1) talle thay telle,
Bot seer saues er in thair spelle,
And of thair spel in kirk at messe,
Er leszouns red bathe mar and lesse,
For at euer ilke messe we rede
Of Cristes wordes and his dede.
Forthi tha godspells that always
Er red in kirc on sundays,
Opon Inglis wil Ic undo,
Yef God wil gif me grace tharto,
For namlic on the sonnenday,
Comes lawed men thair bede to say
To the kirc, an for to lere
Gostlic lare that thar thai here,
For als gret mister(2) haf thay,
To wit quat the godspel wil say
Als lered men, for bathe er bouht
Wit Cristes blod, and sal be broht
Til heuenis blis ful menskelie ;(3)
Yef thai lef her rihtwislie,
For wil Ic on Inglis schau,
And ger our laued brether knawe
Quat alle tha godspelles saies
That falles tille the sunnendayes
That thai mai her and hald in hert
Thinge that thaim til God mai ert.(4)

English Metrical Homilies (Small), p. 4—5.

These and similar collections were mainly intended for the assistance of preachers,(5) but in the latter part of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries arose the practice, necessarily confined to the educated classes, of following the epistles and gospels in an English translation ; and we find sometimes the four gospels, and sometimes the whole of the New Testament with tables for

(1) one.—See note p. 215, B. 173.
(2) need.
(3) humanely, kindly.
(4) provoke. Cf. Heb. x, 24.
(5) This was the professed object of the Festyvale, as set forth by Myrc in the "Prologus," except that it was drawn from the Golden Legend instead of Holy Writ. "Myn owne symple understandinge feleth well how it fareth by other that ben (*) in the same degre, and hauen charge of soules and holden to teche theyr paryshens of all the prynepal feestes that come in the yere.

"¶ But for many excuse them for defaut of bokes and also by symplenes of conynge. Therefore in helpe of suche clerkes this treatyse is drawen out of (Legenda Aurea) *that* he that lust to studye therin, he shall fynde redy therin of all the prynepall feestes of the yere of everyone a shorte sermon nedeful for them to teche, and for other to lerne."—W. de Worde, 1515, fol. 2.

(*) "By myne owne febul letture y fele how Yt fareth by othur yt bene."—Caxton.

finding the portions appointed to be read at mass. I give the rubric of the table from a MS. belonging to my friend Mr Davies-Cooke of Owston, Yorkshire, and Gwysaney, which is interesting from its historical associations. It was part of the Llannerch library, which he inherited through the Davies of that place and of Gwysaney, Co. Flint, from Sir Edward Ffitton, to whom it was given by Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who has received it from Lord Burghley, as appears by the unfortunate earl's(1) autograph.(2)

"Ere bigynneþ a rule *þat* telliþ *in* whiche chapitris of þe bible(3) ye may finde þe lesso*n*es pistlis *and* gospelis *þat* ben red in þe chirche aft*er* þe usse of salisbury, marked wiþ lettris of þe a b c at þe begynnyng of þe chapitris, towardis þe myddil or ende aft*er* þe ordre as þe lettris sto*n*de in the abc: first ben sett su*n*daies *and* ferials togidre, And aftre *þat* þe sanctoru*m*. þe *p*ropre *and* comonn togidre of al þe ȝeer. And þa*n*ne last þe com*m*emoraciones þat is clepid þe tempral of al þe ȝeer. ffirst is writ*en* a clause of the bigynnynge of þe pistle or gospel: *and* a clause of the endi*n*ge þ*er*of also.

þe I Sunday in aduent.	rom*an*s xiii M^{t}. xxi	**d** we knowe*n* **ende** lord *iesu crist*. **a** wha*n*ne *iesus* **end** *in* hiȝe þingis."

After the invention of printing the epistles and gospels were printed either separately,(4) or as an addition to the primer.(5)

No alteration was made in the manner of celebrating mass in the reign of Henry VIII, but by the injunctions issued immediately on the accession of Edward VI, it was directed, "21. Also,

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(1) Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, having been committed to the Tower as a favourer of Mary Queen of Scots, "was found dead in his bed, shot by a pistol, 21st June, 1583, as alleged, by his own hand."

(2) Inscription in MS.:

"This booke was given me by The Lorde Burghley highe Treasurer of Englande the fourtenth of Januarie anno dni 1574.

Northūberlād.

And after gyven by the same hari Erelle northumbarland to S^{r}. Edwarde ffitton of Gawsworth his Cosyn.

ff[*rancis*] ffitton."

This MS. is small ($5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$) but beautifully written in the fifteenth century. There are two quartos in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 1712, $9\frac{1}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$; and MS. Harl. 1029, 9×7. In Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I, p. lv, two similar MSS. are mentioned in the King's Library.

(3) One of the MSS. quoted by Mr Maskell here reads "bible new lawe," or New Testament.

(4) *Title.* "Here be gynneth the Pytles and Gospels, of every Sonday and holy daye of the yere."—*Colophon.* "¶ Imprinted at London by me Robert Redman dwelling at the signe of the George next of St Dunstons Church."

(5) "The Prymer in Englysh and Latyn, after the Use of Sarum, set out at length with manye goodly prayers, &c., with the Epystels and Gospels on every Sonday and holye daye in the Yeare."—London. Thomas Petyt [1543].

In the time of high mass within every church, he that saith or singeth the same shall read or cause to be read the Epistle and Gospel of that mass in English and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place, as the people may hear the same."(1)

For many years it has been very general among the Roman Catholics in this country to read the Epistle and Gospel in English, after they have been read in the Latin, at the principal mass on Sundays and holy-days, but this change has not prevailed at Rome or in other parts of Italy, or in other Roman Catholic countries.

P. 16, B. 168. *or els hit rede.* See the blessing, or rather the prayer of the priest for the gospeller and his prayer for himself in the York Mass, *ante*, p. 96, l. 18-24. I add the directions for the reader from the *Myroure*, which are dictated by a not less devout spirit, and would be very serviceable both to themselves and to their hearers in the case of many readers in the present day. "¶ They also that rede in the Couente. ought so bysely to ouerse(2) theyr lesso*n* before. & to vnderstonde yt; that they may poynte yt(3) as it oughte to be poynted. & rede. yt sauourly & openly to *the* vnderstondinge of the here[*r*]s. And *that* may they not do; but yf they vnderstonde yt. & sauoure yt fyrste themselfe."(4)

B. 169. *swete* is used of God, and especially in addressing our Lord, as in the Prymer rendering of the *Ave verum*, or Prayer at the elevation :—"O dulcis, O pie, O Jesu, fili marie." "O swete, O holy, O Jesu sonne of Marye." *Primer*. 1555. "O most dere lorde *and* saviour, swete Jhesu, I beseche," &c. *York Horæ*, fol. 140*b*.

B. 170. *oure bale wold bete.* Cf. Vernon, *ante*, p. 129, l. 35.

"Jesu, Jesu, my hony swete,
My herte, my comfortynge,
Jesu all my bales þou bete,
And to þi blysse me brynge."
Religious Pieces (Perry), p. 74, l. 69-72.

B. 173. *on a manere.* One contrasted with "anoþer" in l. 174. F. changes the northern "a" (= one) into the southern "o.", but the midland scribe lets it stand, possibly because he understood it as the indefinite article, as "a" is used in line 19.
See note B. 17, page 168.

"Fader and sun and haligast,
That anfald(5) God es ay stedfast;
Worthi driht in trinite,
A God, a might in persons iii."
English Metrical Homilies (Small), p. 1.

(1) Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, I, 13.
(2) *Ouerse*, look over.
(3) "*Mind your stops*," as here glossed by Mr Blunt.
(4) *Myroure*, E. E. T. S. (*ed.* Blunt), p. 67.
(5) Anfald, *simplex*. Cf. manifald, *multiplex*.

"God and man bothe in a person."

Registrum, Thoresby, fol. 295*b*.

P. 16, B. 174. *bos*, where E. has the longer equivalent be-howns, the impersonal construction being preserved in both. Cf. the Thornton MS. (*Religious Pieces*, Perry, p. 8),

"And þis sacrement bus haue thre thynges."

The English of Archbishop Thoresby's catechism, from which this is taken, reads "behoues haue," and the Latin original "cuius tres sunt partes."

C. 85-7. It is assumed that the reader may be able to read the Latin, and this variation from the earlier text is accounted for, as elsewhere remarked, by the fact that this MS. was written for a religious house.

C. 88. Cf. the various reading of D. in the foot-note. I have glossed this in the margin as if it referred to the substitution of paternosters by those who knew no more, but perhaps the reference is to the reading from a book, instead of "cunning without book," as directed in B. 625, C. 370, p. 58.

C. 89-90. In a monastery there would be lay-brethren and novices, and perhaps professed brethren, not in holy orders, who could neither read the services from a book, nor say them without book, and in their case the repetition (*rehearsal*) of paternosters, as at a later date, of ave-marias and paternosters,(1) was held to be equivalent. Thus from St Francis' Testament, "Our dyvyne seruice the clerkis saide as other clerkis, and the lay bretherne said ther pater noster."(2) We find a similar rule in respect to the laity who were members of gilds, as, for example, the Gild of St Katherine at Norwich: "At *the* Dirige, euery brother and sister *that* is letterede shul seyn, for *the* soule of *the* dede, placebo and dirige, in the place wher he shul comen togeder; and euery brother and sister *that* bene nought letterede, shul seyn for *the* soule of *the* dede, xx. sythes, *the* pater noster *with* Aue maria."(3)

Penance also was commuted for paternosters when the penitent could not fast and had neither money nor "letters." Thus in the Pœnitential of Archbishop Egbert of York: "LXI. An dæges fæsten man mæg mid anum penize alysan: oððe mid twam hund sealmum. . . . And ȝif se man sealm-sang ne conne. þonne sinze

(1) In the fifteenth century the following was the rule for the sisters of Syon:—"*Of the servise of sustres unlettred.*" "They than kan not rede schal say dayly in stede of matens fourty paternostres, with as many aues, and oo crede; and for eche euensonge as many: . . . . . for our lady masse fyftene paternostres, with as many aues, and oo crede."—*Additions to the Rules*, Aungier's *Syon Monastery*, Appendix, p. 364.

(2) *Monumenta Franciscana* (Brewer), p. 54.

(3) Ordinances of the Gild, as returned in obedience to the writ of Richard II in 1388.—Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 20. See the very interesting introduction to her father's work by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxix.

he for anes dæges fæsten. L. Pater noster. *and* swa oft hine on eorðan astrecce."(1) A man may discharge a fast of one day with one penny, or with two hundred psalms. And if the man knows not psalm-song, then let him sing for one day's fast fifty paternosters, and as often prostrate himself on the ground.

An indulgence of two thousand years was granted for saying the prayer "*Domine Jesu qui hanc sacratissimam carnem,*" between the elevation and the last Agnus Dei (*ante*, p. 106—112); and in Wyclif's Apology we find it said that in the pope's bull granting this indulgence that provision was made for the unlearned: "Also putting to ouer (*adding thereto*) for lewid men, þat can not þis orisoun, þat þei schal haue as mikel or more indulgencis for þe pr. nr. as oft as þei sey it, and as gret charite and mekenes deseruing indulgens."(2)

P. 16, C. 91. This abridged reference to the gospel takes the place of lines 152—174 in the older forms, which were not very pertinent to the English rite when the gospel was read only in Latin. See note, p. 210.

P. 17, E. 155. We may account for this variation in this text in order to adapt it to the case of the mass-book being "flitted" by the clerk, or the gospel being read elsewhere than at the altar.

P. 18, B. 176. *A large cros on þe þou make.* At B. 159, we have the cross by the priest, here the layman is directed to make the large cross, which is described, note, p. 207-8. And so Myrc, ll. 280-1:

"And blesse feyre as þey conne
Whenne gloria tibi is begun."

In the "Additions to the Rules" of the sisters of Sion it is directed "The *prose* or *sequence* ended, they schal turne to the auter, so enclynynge at the *gloria tibi, Domine*, whan the preste enclynethe, makyng a token of the crosse in ther forehedes, and upon ther brestes, as the maner is."(3) In a MS. missal of the

(1) Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, II. 222. A similar provision is included among the Fragments of Archbishop Theodore: "De iis qui jejunare non possunt, nec habent unde redimere possint," which whether actually his work or not is of very ancient date.—Thorpe, *u. s.* 69. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 212.

(2) *Wycliffe's Apology* (Todd), Camden Society, p. 8. In the note, p. 122, Dr Todd quotes the rubric to this prayer in the Sarum Horæ (Regnault, Paris, 1536). "¶. Our holy father pope Bonifacius sextus hath graunted to all them that say deuoutly thys prayer folowynge between the eleuacyon of our lorde et the. iij. Agnus dei. x. thousande yeres of pardon." This, as remarked by the learned editor, differs from the apology and other authority quoted by him in assigning *ten* thousand years to this indulgence. He also explains that by Boniface VI, is meant the pope, usually styled Boniface VIII (A.D. 1294—1303), Boniface VI, who reigned only sixteen days, and Boniface VII, who was an Anti-pope, not being counted.

(3) Aungier, p. 327; and see Amalarius, *De Eccles. Officiis*, III, 17.

monastery of St Denys "in Francia" of the eighth century, the following prayer is given: "*Quando se signant.* Crucis vivivicæ signo muni, Domine, omnes sensus meos ad audienda verba sancti Evangelii, corde credenda, et opere complenda."(1)

P. 18, B. 180. *a sothfast god.* The scribe here, as in line 173, does not alter the northern "a," as it has been altered in text E, and he has altered it elsewhere.(2)

"Ðrifald on tal *and* a on nome
trinus in numero et unus in nomine."
[Interlinear] *Anglo-Saxon Ritual* (Surtees Society), p. 111.

"Þe myght of þe Fader almyghty,
Þe witte of þe Son alwytty,
And þe gudnes of þe Haligast,
A Godde and Lord of myght[*es*] mast."
Hampole, P. C. 1—4.

"A Lord God of myghtez maste
Fader, and Son, and Haly Gaste.
Fadir, for thou ert almyhty,
Sone, for þou ert all wytty(3)
Haly Gaste, for thow all wyll
That gud es and nathynge yll.
A God and ane Lord in threhed,
And thre persons yn anehede."
Nassington, *Religious Pieces* (Perry), p. 57, l. 1—8.

And *Metrical Homilies,* quoted above, page 212.

—*Sothfast,* true, very.

"Sothfast God and sothfast man."—P. C. 8658.

Cf. "Very God and very man" of the Athanasian Creed.

—*of mighles most.*

"Dominus virtutum nobiscum."
"Laverd of mighles with us es he."
Ps. (46) xlv, 8.

"Laudate eum, omnes virtutes ejus."
"Alle his mighles him love yhe."
Ps. (148) cxlviii, 2.

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(1) Martene, *Antiq. Rit.* I, 188.

(2) Note (B. 17), p. 168.

(3) This special ascription of wisdom to our Lord is very often met with, and is probably founded on 1 Cor. i. 24. I add a few lines, illustrating the sense in which it was used from a very beautiful prayer to Christ in one of the *Early English Poems* edited for the Philological Society by Mr Furnivall

"I can no more but trust to the,
In whom ys alle wysdom an wyt;
And thou wost what ys best for me,
For alle thyng in thy syȝt ys pyt."
Early English Poems. Berlin, 1862, p. 141, l. 104-7.

P. 18, B. 182. *ioy*, that is *glory*. See before, p. 196. By an unwritten tradition "Glory be to thee, O Lord" continues to be used in the Church of England after giving out the gospel.

B. 184. *þat dere þe boght.* Cf. Ac. xx, 28, "which he hath purchased with his own blood."

"And der mankind on rode boht."—*Eng. Met. Hom.* p. 4.

"God þat boght þam dere."—Hampole, P. C. 3292.

B. 187. *Ihesu myne.* The MS. is very indistinct here owing to an erasure, but Mr Thompson pointed out very clearly that it does read "myne."

Cf. "Swete iesu, louerd myn."—*Hymn.* MS. Harl. 2253.(1)

B. 190. *þo gode to chese and leeue þo ille.* Cf. Isaiah, vii, 15, 16. ".... refuse the evil and choose the good;" and Thoresby's Catechism on the fifth virtue, *Prudentia:*

"it kennes us to knaw the gode fra the yuel,
and al-so to sundir the tane fra the tothir,
for to leue that is yuel, and take to the gode,
and of twa gode thinges to chese the better."—Fol. 297.

"Til wham (*man*) he (*God*) has gyven witte and skille
For to knaw bothe gude and ille,
And fre will to chese, als he vouches save,
Gude or ille whether he wil have;
. . . . . .
Whar-for þat man may be halden wode,
þat cheses þe ille and leves þe gode."
Hampole, P. C. 91—100.

B. 195-6. *Som-where bisyde, when hit is done,*
þou make a cros, and kys it sone.

The *Ordo Romanus* notices the custom of the people crossing themselves at the end of the gospel in the following terms:—"Perlecto evangelio, iterum se signo sanctæ crucis populus munire festinat."(2) Durandus also specifies this as one of the places where the cross ought to be made,(3) and Romsée refers to it as a peculiarity of the Carmelites.(4) I am not able to cite any contemporary mention of the particular observance enjoined in the

(1) *Quoted*, Guest's English Rythms, I, 296.

(2) Cassander, *Ordo Romanus*, Colon. 1561, fol. 5. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* II, 46. Le Brun, in a note (*Tom.* I, *p.* 117), quotes Remigius of Auxerre, as using the same words.

(3) "Sane regulariter in omnibus evangelicis verbis debemus facere signum crucis, ut in fine evangelii, symboli, dominicæ orationis," &c. *Rationale*, 5, ii, 15.

(4) "Hunc ritum in suam liturgiam invexerunt Carmelitæ, nam celebrans, lecto evangelio et missali osculato, se cruce signat in omni missa, quæ non est de *Requiem*."—Tom. IV, p. 135.

text, but it was explained to a Roman Catholic friend of mine, whom I had asked to make the inquiry, that "they used to make a cross on their book, if they had one, and if not, on their hand, and kiss it;"(1) and this explanation is confirmed by a passage in Becon, whose evidence I quote as having been a parish priest (Vicar of Brenzett in Kent) in the reign of Henry VIII, when the old ceremonial was intact, but only as to facts, which he mentions incidentally, and which were not matter in controversy. I cannot, however, quote this writer—and I may have occasion to quote him again—without once for all utterly disclaiming any sympathy whatever with the tone or tenor of his disgraceful attacks upon the adherents to the Church of Rome, which were characterized by an unusual grossness, even in times when unseemly allusions and unchristian invective were too common on both sides of the controversy. He says,(2) ". . . . ye rehearse a few Latin sentences out of the gospel, which neither ye for the most part, nor yet the simple people understand. And, notwithstanding, the silly, simple, sheepish souls solemnly stand up(3) and give good ear, as though they should hear some notable thing, and go home the better instructed; but all in vain, for they learn nothing. Only when ye rehearse the name of Jesus, they learn to make solemn courtesy; and so, a piece of the gospel being once read, they stroke themselves on the head, and kiss the nail of their right thumb, and sit down again as wise as they were afore."(4) In Myrc (l. 282) there is no direction of this kind:

"And whenne þe gospel is I-done
Teche him eft to knele down sone."

(1) My correspondent, who forwarded me this information, had himself been for many years the priest of an hereditary English Roman Catholic congrègation, but he had never seen anything but the ordinary crossing. I asked another Roman Catholic clergyman, and he had formerly noticed something of the kind; and a country gentleman, who is several years their senior, told me it was common enough when he was a boy; but that, except in the case of one or two old family servants, and some of the Irish reapers who come over at harvest time, he had not seen it for a good many years.

(2) Thomas Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Mass*, Works, Cambridge, 1844, III, 257. He wrote this piece in Germany, where he had succeeded in making good his retreat, with the professed intention of persuading those of the clergy, who had conformed on the accession of Queen Mary, to throw up their preferment. His scurrilous violence is much more likely to have had a contrary effect, and the only excuse for him, and that is no excuse for his gross obscenity—judging of that only from what has been allowed to remain in the expurgate edition of the Parker Society—is that when he wrote it, he had only just escaped the stake by being accidentally released from the Tower in mistake for another prisoner.

(3) Cf. Lydgate, *ante*, p. 149, l. 56:

"Lestene as thou were adred."

(4) In the Vernon MS. mention is made of another observance at the gospel after mass. See *ante*, p. 146, l. 650, and the note there.

In the Mozarabic liturgy the people answered *Amen*, which seems to carry a very early sound with it. In the York Horæ (*fol.* 4) there is the following rubric and prayer:—"¶ *This prayer following ought to be said at mass whan the priest hath sayd the gospell.* Per hec sancta euangelica dicta deleantur uniuersa delicta."(1)

In the absence of any suggestion as to the origin of the practice mentioned in the text, and the similar observances referred to in this note, it has occurred to me that they may not impossibly be a maimed and expiring survival of a custom which would seem to have been universal in the church, and, we may well believe, to have taken its rise in the more demonstrative gratitude and reverence of the earlier Christians for the good news of the gospel. The *Ordo Romanus* describes the deacon, after he had read the gospel, as giving the book to the subdeacon, who thereupon held it before his breast above his chasuble ("*planetam*") to be kissed first by the bishop and clergy, and then by the people—"*universo clero necnon et populo.*"(2) In the thirteenth century, Pope Honorius III, under pain of excommunication, forbid the gospel to be presented to any layman to be kissed,(3) except a prince who had been anointed. Merati, in his disquisitions on the modern Roman missal at this place, mentions that Pope Paul III, in the year 1549, at the request of the King of Poland, indulged his queen, who had not been crowned, with this privilege of the kiss.(4) In the Eastern church there has been no similar exclusion of the laity; and all, without exception, take part in the ceremonial kissing of the gospels on those occasions when it is enjoined to the clergy. In Russia the gospels, or rather the gorgeous and often jewelled binding, is kissed by all, from the Tzar to the private soldier and the moujic; or—if in the case of very large congregations, not by every one—apparently by all who present themselves, or are beckoned forward by the attendant clergy. In Greek churches the same rule is observed, and in the church in London Wall, the priest, as directed in the rubric,(5) may be seen

(1) The priest, after the gospel was read, according to the York use (*ante*, p. 98), said, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." Nothing is prescribed in the other English uses, but in the Roman mass, the server says: "Laus tibi, Christo."

(2) *Ordo Romanus*, Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, II, 46.

(3) See the rubric of the York use, *ante*, p. 98, l. 16.

(4) *In Gavantum, Rub. Missæ Rom.* 2, IV, 2. Pope Benedict XIV gives the later rule of the Church of Rome, which restricts the kiss to the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and adds that it is allowed to princes, "ex tolerantia." —*De Missæ Sacrificio*, Sec. I, § 143.

(5) See the rubric εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον (*Euchologion*, 9; *Goar*, 9), as to the accustomed kiss of the gospels, ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνήθως. In the Greek church *Orthros* (*Matins*) invariably precedes the liturgy, strictly so called, i. e. the order of Holy Communion. In this office the gospel is read by the priest standing at the south side of the altar facing north; in the liturgy it is read by the deacon, if there be one.

coming into the nave, and the gospels are kissed by men, women, and children of the congregation. Renaudot quotes the rule of the Coptic liturgy, that the people should follow the example of the priests and kiss the book of the gospels when it was brought to them, after having been read [*in the ancient Coptic version*] and translated [*into the vernacular Arabic*].(1)

P. 18, B. 197. *som tyme.* Cf. Lydgate's *Vertue of the Masse;* MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 182 *b*:

"¶ Credo in solempne dayes.

¶ The gospel redde. a Cred after he saythe
Solempne dayes. for a remembraunce
Of .xij. articles. that longithe to our faithe
The whiche we are bounde to live(2) in oure creaunce."

A list of these solemn days is given in the rubrics, which vary slightly, according to the different uses. This mention of the creed shows that these devotions were intended for those who could hear mass daily, and not only on Sundays and the principal holy-days.

B. 202. *tellis*—viz. B. 241, of the Offertory.

C. 100. It will be noticed that the later texts omit the prayer during the gospel, and the cross after it.

P. 19, F. 75. *sayenge.* The modern form of the participle instead of the *-and* of the older texts.

P. 20, B. 204. *þin englyshe crede.* The creed to be said by the layman is the Apostles' Creed, or "þe lesse crede," as it was called,(3) "that each man is bound to can and to say,"(4) which was used in common prayer at prime and compline, and in private devotions. The Nicene Creed, the symbolum patrum or mæssecreda,(5) was used in the mass at this place. It will be observed that the distinction is drawn in this treatise, B. 198.

B. 208. *And alle of noght.* Cf. Hampole:

"First whan God made al thyng of noght,
Of the foulest matere man he wroghte,
þat was, of erthe.'—*P. C.* 372-4.

B. 209-10. These two lines are written as one in the MS.

B. 210. *al onely.* Cf. alone, B. 142.

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(1) *Liturg. Orient.*, I, 211.

(2) live, *for* bileve. A.S. gelyfan, *to believe.* W. de Worde prints "beleue." See note, p. 163.

(3) *Old English Homilies* (Morris), First Series, p. 217.

(4) *Myroure*, 311.

(5) *The Canons of Ælfric*, IV, Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II, 345. "The Masse Crede," *Myroure*, 311. See *ante*, p. 98, l. 13.

P. 20, B. 213. *gast* preserves its northern(1) form to rhyme with *chast*, which did not admit of alteration, and similarly in B. 68 *gastly* is left unaltered, either *per incuriam* or to preserve the assonance to *largely*. The midland scribe does write *gost*, B. *ll.* 233, 275, &c.

B. 213-16. Cf. "He lighted doun ful mekeli
Into the maiden wamb of Mary."
English Met. Homilies (Small), 12.

"And born of a mayden cleene
Bicause a man, in meekenes moost."
Songs to Virgin (Furnivall), p. 101, l. 11-12.

B. 217. *pounce pilat.* Ponce, which still lingers in our cottages, stood its ground in the Apostle's Creed in the daily service of the Prayer Books of Edward VI, Elizabeth, and until the last review in 1661, when it was changed to Pontius;(2) and this is the more to be remarked as Pontius had been the rendering of the Nicene Creed from 1549. Perhaps some new-fangled classicist will protest against Pilate, and propose a further change to the Latin Pontius Pilatus in full.

B. 219. Cf. "And þei diden him upon þe rode,
And he bougt *wit* his blissed blood.
And sithen he went to helle
þe fiendis power for to felle."
MS. York Minster Library, XVII, 12, fol. 63 *b*.

"And specially for þe haly crose, þat god was done opon." *Ante*, p. 68, l. 12.

B. 223. *Vp he rose in flesshe and felle*—

Compare: "In soule oonli þou went to helle,
And took þens þi part, it was good riȝt,
But up þou roos in fleish and in felle,
þe þrid day bi godli myȝt."
Hymns to the Virgin, &c. (Furnivall), p. 102.

The *fell* may have been specified in these and other instances, with reference to the vision of the resurrection of dry bones in the prophet Ezekiel, "I will . . . . cover you with skin" (ch. xxxvii. 6). Or, perhaps, it may have been in reference to the place in Job, "Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh" (ch. x. 11), that our forefathers may have so generally specified the skin in proof of a true human body.

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(1) "þai salle þair God apertly se,
And alle þe þre parsons in trinite,
þe Fader, and Son, and Haly-gaste
þat sight salle be pair ioy maste."—P. C. 8651-4.

(2) See Black-letter Prayer-Book of 1636, photozincographed 1870, p. 60. I happen to have a Prayer-Book of 1638, which has Pontius in this place; but there was no lawful authority for the change.

Thus to begin with an extract from the celebrated passage in Ælfric's Paschal Homily:—"Se lichama soþlice ðe Crist on ðrowode, wæs ȝeboren of Marian flæsce, mit blode *and* mid banum, mid felle *and* mid sinum, on menniscum limum, mid ȝesceadwisre sawle ȝeliff ært," &c. The body, truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bones, with skin and with sinews, in the limbs of a man, animated with a reasonable soul. So again (of our Lord):—

"Man in felle and flesche was he."
English Metrical Homilies (Small), 109.

"And alswa he ordaynd man to dwelle
And to lyf in erthe, in flesshe and felle."—P. C. 81-2.

"Bot þe ryche man saule feled in helle(1)
Payne, als he had bene in flesshe and felle."—P. C. 3076-7.

"Oft y crie merci, of mylse (*mercy*) thou art welle,
Alle buen false that bueth mad bothe of fleysche ant felle,
Levedi suete, thou us shild from the pine of helle,
Bring us the joie that no tongue hit may of telle."
Lyrical Poetry (Wright), 102.

It will be observed that E. reads *Vp he ros as fel.*—When this was written, *fell* may have begun to be restricted, as now, to the skins of beasts; and the scribe, to get out of one seeming impropriety, and unable to find another rhyme, blundered, as usual, into describing our Lord as *fell*: not to say anything of his utter disregard of the metre.

P. 20, B. 225. *stegh*—which we still have in the north, in the sense of mounting up, and more particularly by the help of a *stee* or ladder, appears to have been as strange to the southern scribe, as *fel* in line 223; and he blunders again into confounding the Resurrection and the Ascension.

B. 226. *pouste*, from the O.F. *poesté*, Lat. *potestas*.

"For Ic am man under pouste,
And Ic haf knihtes under me."
English Met. Hom. [Matt. viii, 9] (Small), 127.

It was also written, *pausty*.

"he þat giues me pausty."
Cursor Mundi (Morris), Fairfax, MS. 4371.

B. 229, 231. *deme—ben*. Cf. the rhymes *synn* and *hym* (B. 269, 270), *temptacionem* and *amen* (B. 488-9).

B. 232. *In adam sede*.

"þens schalt þou come us alle to deeme
Boþe quik and dede of adams sede."
Hymns (Furnivall), p. 102, l. 29, 30.

(1) Cf. Appendix, p. 135, l. 269.

P. 20, B. 235-6. *And so I trow that housel es bothe flesshe and blode.* This is, perhaps, in itself the most noteworthy passage in the treatise, regarded as a literary curiosity, and it, moreover, furnishes a note of time,(1) from which we may infer that the French original was not earlier than the twelfth century.

We at once see that the author has understood the "sanctorum" of the creed as neuter,(2) instead of masculine. In so doing, he has gone against the whole current of ecclesiastical tradition—"*Credo in . . . . sanctorum communionem*"—"I believe in . . . . the communion of saints." However contrary this may be to the principle of sound criticism universally professed, if not uniformly practised, at the present time, the forcing of any meaning which could be drawn from words, without reference to the context, or the subject matter to which they referred, would in those days have been regarded as a legitimate exercise of scholastic ingenuity, or mystical profoundness.

Dr Newman notices the absence of the "dogma of the real presence"(3) from all the creeds, and supposes that "the omission is owing to the ancient *disciplina arcani*, which withheld the sacred mystery from catechumens and heathen, to whom the creed was known." However this may be, we may fully admit the fact that the creeds are silent as to the doctrine; and this makes it all the more curious that the exigencies of controversy, concerning the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, should have led to an article of the creed being pressed into service in support—or at least as a statement—of the doctrine, that "flesh and blood" were both present under each of the two species of bread and wine.

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(1) This opinion was not formally accepted before the council of Constance in 1415; but it was generally received in the twelfth century, and was held to justify the withdrawal of the cup from the laity and afterwards from the clergy also, except the priest who was celebrating mass. We do not meet with it in the time of the Berengarian controversy, but we find it thus stated by Anselm in the end of the eleventh century, "*In utraque specie totum Christum sumi;*" and by Peter Lombard in the middle of the next century, "*Integrum Christum esse in altari sub utraque specie.*" The council of Constance defined "*integrum Christi corpus et sanguinem tam sub specie panis quam sub specie vini veraciter contineri;*" and the terms finally adopted in the creed of Pius IV, as now prescribed and professed under oath in the Church of Rome, are as follows: "*sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumque sacramentum sumi.*"

(2) "*Sancta*" occurs in an *Ordo Romanus* of the consecrated host. (Mabillon, *Iter Ital.* II, p. xxxix.) Unless, perhaps, we are to understand *evangelia*, we find a similar use in the Laws of King Cnut, "XXXVI. *Si quis falsum juramentum super sancta jurabit.*" "Αγια in the Greek Liturgies is used of the holy gifts after consecration, as it is also used of them before consecration, when placed in set form and ceremony upon the altar. For this last use of *sanctum* and *sancta*, see Martene *De Rit. Antiq.* I, 197, 213, &c.

(3) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 141.

In the trilingual creed, printed by Dr Heurtley, to which he assigns the date of A.D. 1125,(1) this article is thus given :—

"Ic gelefe on . . . . . Halegan hiniennesse.
Jeo crei . . . . . La communiun des seintes choses ;
Credo in . . . . . Sanctorum communionem,"

where the insertion of "choses" points to a similar application.

There is a third and, so far as I know, among the many extant versions of the Apostles' Creed, and the varying paraphrases of this particular article, the only(2) other example of a gloss in a similar sense—and this embodying a farther development(3) of the doctrine—in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede.(4) The first two

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(1) *Harmonia Symbolica*, Oxford, 1858, p. 91-3.

(2) At the end of the Royal MS. (17 B. xvii), from which our B-text is printed, there is written, or rather scrawled, on a blank leaf (p. 263-4), the creed in English in a very unformed hand of the xvth century. This article is paraphrased as follows ; but it will be seen that it is rather an incomplete enumeration of the seven sacraments, often specified under this head, as being the inheritance of the saints, than an application of the article to the sacrament of the altar ; and, moreover, it does not touch the particular point of the presence of the body and blood under the same species : "I beleue in sacrament of hooly chyrch a ȝift of the fadur & of the son & of the hooly goost thre persones in o godhead I beleue also in hooly chirch ordrynge us I byleue in þe sacrament of goddis flesche & his blood þat he shedde on the blissid rood tre for me and for alle man kynd."

Compare Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (Morris), p. 14. "And ine þise article / byeþ onderstonde / þe zeve sacremens / þet byeþ ine holy cherche." Also Thoresby's Catechism on this article :—

"That is comunyng and felaured of all cristen folke,
that comunes togedir in the sacrements
and in othir hali thinges that falles til hali kirke."

Durandus gives the following as an alternative exposition : "Vel præcipio sanctorum communionem, i. e. panem benedictionis de quo dicitur, Crede et manducasto."—*Rat.* 4, xxv, 26.

(3) The text asserts the presence of the body and blood of Christ, which were sundered by His death : the *Crede* speaks of Christ Himself in the oneness of His person and the fulness of His bodily nature, in which He suffered.

(4) This was a satirical attack on the friars, written quite at the end of the fourteenth century by an avowed favourer of Wyclif; and it is so very common to read history backwards—and especially the history of doctrine—that this definite statement of his belief may, perhaps, come most unexpectedly upon some of those who are familiar with the opinions of later reformers, and know that this very point afterwards became one of the great battle-grounds with the Church of Rome. But we must recollect that in the fourteenth century it was practical abuses and not points of doctrine which in the first instance gave rise to opposition, and even afterwards, at least in respect to the doctrine of the eucharist, it was not the presence that was in dispute, so much as the scholastic explanations which were put forward to account for it, and the logical consequences which were supposed to be involved in it.

lines of my quotation were among those left out, without any indication of the fact,(1) when the Crede was printed in the last year of the reign of Edward VI, and so dealt with, no doubt, because they were inconsistent with the doctrine of the forty-two articles then in force. Thanks to the practised sagacity(2) of Mr Skeat, they have been recovered, and were for the first time printed, when he edited the Crede for this Society.

"And in þe sacrement(3) also · þat soþfast God on(4) is,
Fullich his fleche & his blode · þat for vs deþe þolede.—
And þouȝ þis flaterynge freres · wyln for her pride,

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(1) Not only were these lines suppressed, but there was the further dishonesty of inserting others, printed unsuspectingly by previous editors, which Mr Skeat proves to be forged, by their absence from the MSS., and also by their failure in the laws of alliterative verse, though "the imitation of style and spelling is very ingenious."—Mr Skeat's Preface, p. xviii.

(2) See his Preface, § 3—5.

(3) If we read *sacrament* in the singular, we must understand it of the "form of bread;" for the notion of separating the thing signified from the sign, and placing it in the "ordinance," was not mooted until some hundred and fifty years after the Crede was written. *Sacremens* in the plural, the reading of what Mr Skeat considers his best MS., was, perhaps, intended to express the received opinion of the time that the "whole" presence was "*sub utraque specie*."

(4) Mr Skeat in his note here pointed out that "on" is often used in the sense of "in;" and explained this place:—

"And I believe in the sacrament too, that the very God is *in* both flesh and blood fully."

But "on" is also *one*, as in this very poem (*line* 4):—

"Alle in on godhed endles dwelleþ,"

and Mr Skeat now agrees with me that it is used here in this sense, and not as the preposition. No great stress can be laid on the fact, that "in" already occurs in this line, for nothing can exceed the uncertainty of spelling in MSS. of this date (see note, p. 195); but the manner in which "one" is used in the common places of contemporary divinity in treating of the change effected by consecration, would seem to be conclusive as to the meaning being as follows:—

And in the sacrament also [*I believe*] that very (*or* verily) God is one—not two, the separate flesh and blood, but one—fully flesh and blood.

Quotations, in this sense, ranging from the twelfth century downward, might easily be multiplied to any extent; but I confine myself to two, which have not been elsewhere printed.

The one from the Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 144, ll. 587-8,

"God þat on the Rode was slon
þe two [i. e. *flesh and blood*, l. 581] and he beoþ boþe on."

The other is from the Latin original of Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism, "Eucharistia est unum corpus Christi; et illud, si digne sumatur, sumenti proficit ad vitam æternam; si indigne sumatur, ædificat ad gehennam."—Thoresby's Register, fol. 298 *b*—*ante*, p. 119.

Disputen of þis deyte(1) · as dotardes schulden,
þe more þe matere is moved · þe masedere(2) hy worþen."
Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (Skeat), ll. 822-6.

P. 20, C. 101. *ay whil*, for *a whil*, one while, at one time, sometimes. See B. 197, *som tyme;* F. 81, *whiles.* One while is used in this sense by the "Translators to the Reader" of the authorized version of the Bible: "One while through oversight, another while through ignorance."

P. 21, E. 223. *fel.* See note, p. 223, B. 223.

P. 22, B. 239. *flesshe.* E. 239. *flesche.* No doubt that in the original we should find *fles* rhyming with *forgyfnes* (l. 237). *Fles* or *flesse* was the northern form of *flesh,* as we still hear it in the East Riding.

B. 241. *fast.* See note, p. 192, C. 56.
hande, not altered, as elsewhere, into *hond*, that it might still rhyme with *offrande.*

B. 242. *tyme of offrande.* This may mean either the time at which the layman might make his offering; or—perhaps more probably—that part of the mass which was called the offrande or the offertory. This, as explained by the ritualists,(3) began at that point in the service after the creed, or if the creed was not said, after the gospel, when the priest turned to the faithful—in earlier times

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(1) *deity.* The dispute here referred to was probably in reference to the *hypostatic union*, or the inseparable conjunction of the divine and human natures in the one Christ, by which the conjoint presence of the flesh and blood was explained. Aquinas propounded his explanation under the name of *concomitance*, which term was first used by him, and has since been adopted by the Council of Trent in framing the authorized explanation of the Church of Rome.—11 Oct., 1551, Sess. XIII, *De Eucharistia*, c. iii.

In the *Complaint of the Ploughman*, there is also a statement of this doctrine, not, however, in connection with the creed, but followed by a very direct reference to the Wycliffite objection to the theory of transubstantiation:—

"On our Lords body I doe not lie,
I say sooth through true rede,
His flesh and blood through his misterie
Is there in the forme of brede.

"How it is there, it needeth not strive,
Whether it be subget or accident,
But as Christ was when he was on live
So he is there verament."
Political Poems and Songs (Wright), I, 341.

(2) "more in a maze, more confused."—*Mr Skeat's note.*

(3) Officium quod nos dicimus *offerenda*, ab illo loco inchoatur ubi sacerdos dicit, *Dominus vobiscum:* Et finitur ubi excelsa voce dicit, *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.*—Amalarii *de Eccles. Offic.* Lib. 3, c. 19. *Ed.* Migne, 1128 A. These words are repeated, Honor. Augustodun. *Sacramentarium*, c. 85. *Ed.* Migne, 790 A.

catechumens and heathens were first dismissed(1)—and greeted them with the accustomed salutation, "The Lord be with you."(2) It extended to the end of the prayers for the acceptance of the gifts—the *secreta* or *super oblata*—and was followed by the preface. Here too in this country, unlike the Roman rule, was the sermon, when there was one during the celebration of mass.(3) The sermon in that case on Sundays in parish churches included the bidding prayers, before the preaching or sermon, as we now restrict the term.

P. 22, B. 243. *leeue.* As this occurs in a rubric, it seems more natural to suppose that it directs a definite act rather than permits what, from the very use of the phrase, would have been regarded as a failure to do what ought to have been done:—and this all the more, when we take it in connection with the "as þe lyst," explained in the next note. I have therefore assumed in the margin that *leeue* is used as a neuter verb, to remain (*remanere*), rather than in the active sense, to leave (*relinquere*),(4) as we find it used, *to let alone, to leave undone*, with a suggestion of neglect, as in Chaucer's matchless picture of the "pore parsoun":—

> "Wyd was his parisch, and houses fer asundur,
> But he lafte not for reyn ne thondur,
> In siknesse ne in meschief to visite
> The ferrest in his parissche, moche and lite."—C. T. 493-6.

It is evident that the intransitive use of this verb was beginning to be obsolete in the fifteenth century, for E omits it altogether, and F changes it to *lete*. C retains it as *leve*, and the word again occurs in the same sense (C 356), but there written as *lyve;* and we have it also, *ante*, p. 120, l. 13, in the determination that no material bread or wine *remained* (leved) on the altar after the saying of the sacramental words.(5)

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(1) In the Eastern Church the proclamation for the departure of the catechumens is made to this day at this place, and the form is found in all the Greek liturgies. In that of St James the purpose of the exclusion is more fully indicated, as it specifies the uninitiated, and those who are "not able to join in prayer with us," and the so-called Clementine liturgy adds "the hetorodox." St Justin and St Chrysostom speak of this discipline, and it is curious to know that it was practised in Germany in the last century at the coronations of the Emperors, the ambassadors of other than Roman Catholic powers and the Protestant Electors withdrawing from the ceremony at this time.—See note on B 280, *secreta*.

(2) *Ante*, p. 102, l. 9.

(3) The rule according to the Church of Rome was, and is, that sermons in the mass should follow the gospel. See note, *post*, under Bidding Prayer, p. 62.

(4) It is used as a verb transitive, *ante*, B. 190, and *note*, p. 219.

(5) Cf. "Thus leeveth not of the breed but oonli the lieuesse." Freer Daw Topias, *Political Poems and Songs* (Wright), II, 108.
See also Wyclif's *Works* (Arnold), III, 409.

We do not find *læfan* as neuter in Bosworth, but it would not be difficult to multiply examples in later English,—for instance, in the Ormulum :—

"*Annd* siþþenn shallt tu makenn ȝunnc(1)
To fode þatt tær lefeþþ."—8663-4.

"Leef we now here."
William of Palerne (Skeat), 1836.

"There fore þey schule wyth water & wyn
Clanse here mowþ that noȝt leue þer In."
Myrc, *Instructions*, 258-9.

"My godis that leves aftir my dettis paid."—Will of Sir John Hedlam of Nunthorpe, Knight, A.D. 1461.—*Test. Ebor.* (Raine), II, 247.

P. 22, B. 243. *wheþer þe lyst.* The free-will character of the people's alms at the time of Holy Communion was always maintained in theory. Thus we may notice that in our Vernon MS., though very strong pressure is put upon the layman, he was nevertheless reminded that he was not "þer-to in dette."(2) Whatever we may think in this last instance, Dan Jeremy's whole tone proves that he was sincere when he leaves it to his readers to offer or not as they list. Unlike many mediæval tales and treatises on the mass, his first thought seems to have been, as he expresses it in the next line, that the laymen should know "how they should pray;" and, whether we agree with or protest against his doctrine—a question which I conceive to be wholly out of place in the publications of this Society—we may well believe that the main purpose of his treatise was the spiritual edification of better instructed worshippers, rather than the extortion of more bountiful mass-pennies, which was the fruitful theme of contemporary satirists.

It is not very probable that our author had any acquaintance with the writings of Justin Martyr, and it may admit of question whether the phrase employed by him in this place and that here quoted from the Mozarabic liturgy were derived from a common scource; but—more especially in connection with the fact of the general resemblance of the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies, and the suggestion elsewhere made that there are traces in this treatise of the Eastern origin of the Gallican liturgy—it is curious to note the similarity of expression. The phrase in St Justin to which I refer is found in his description of the Christian Eucharist. He is

(1) ȝunnc. *dual dative*, = σφωίν, for you twain. "*tibi autem et filio tuo facies postea.*"—3 Reg. xvii. 13.

(2) *Ante*, p. 142, l. 515. So too in the Description of the ordering of Princely and Knightly Funerals (*Book of Precedence*, Furnivall, 1869, p. 36), though the offering of the chief mourners, &c., is prescribed, others are then "to offer that will."—See also p. 242, and note (4), p. 235.

speaking of the collection for the sick and needy from those who were prosperous, and adds this farther condition, "being willing" —Βουλόμενοι.(1) The Mozarabic rubric after the oblation of the host and chalice is as follows: "Let the priest turn to the people; and let them make their offering if they should be willing —'*si voluerit*'—and let the choir say the '*Sacrificium*'" or anthem answering to the offertory of the Roman and Anglican use.(2)

It will be noticed that the impersonal construction—lyst. *libet*(3) —is retained in C and E; C writing *luste*. As was the tendency of later English in respect to this and other impersonals, F has changed *þe lyst*, into the personal, *thu list*.

P. 22, B. 243. *Offer or leeue wheþer þe lyst.*—No part of the service of the mass presents more marked variations in the different uses, diocesan, provincial, and monastic, than the offertory. This, as I conceive, may be accounted for in churches of the Roman communion by the gradual shifting of the central point of the oblatory action from the oblation of the bread and wine—the new sacrifice of the Sarum form of presentation(4)—to the recital of the words of institution or moment of consecration. It might be interesting to trace the mutual action of dogma upon ritual and of ritual upon dogma in this instance, but it would be too large a subject to enter upon in this place, even if it were possible to discuss it without touching on points which have been the subject of doctrinal controversy, and therefore, according to the view which the

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(1) *Apologia* I, *c.* 67—Ed. Ben., 83 E.

(2) *Missale Mozarabes*, Rom. 1755, p. 3, l. 28. This is in the rubric for the first Sunday in Advent, which in other places is more full than that for the Ordinary of the Mass. The corresponding rubric there is: "*Postea offerat populus.*" Lesley in his note on this place explains that the offerers went up singly and made their offering to the priest (p. 223). He blessed them in the form, "*Centuplum accipies et vitam æternam possideas in regno Dei;*" and they then kissed his stole and made way for others.

(3) As an example of the curious analogy that may often be observed in different languages it may be noted that the substantives formed from these two verbs, *lust* and *libido*, have both gone off *in malum sensum*.

(4) "Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo, hoc sacrificium novum."—*Sarum*. "Acceptum sit sacrificium istud omnipotenti Deo."—*Ebor*. Cf. "Et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo, offert Deo."—Iren. *adv. Hæres*, IV. c. 32.

In case any of my readers should turn to Maskell's "*Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*"—which is still the most available, as until the publication of the Burntisland edition of the Sarum, and Dr Henderson's editions of the York and Hereford Missals, it was the only book on this subject within the reach of the student at a distance from our great libraries,—I may mention that by a curious misprint at page 56 the words here quoted from the Sarum use are altogether omitted; nor had Mr Maskell's attention been called to it, until I happened to point it out to him a few years ago when we met at the Bodleian Library, where the means of verification were abundantly at hand and were at once resorted to.

writer has taken of the duties as an editor for a mixed society, ought to have no place in the publications of the E. E. T. Society.

The offering by the layman in the mass at the period of our manuscript occupied so prominent a place in the church life of our forefathers, and is so intimately connected with our subject, that even at the price of a long note it may be convenient to give some account of it.

The rubrics of the mass of the several English uses are altogether silent on this point, nor—perhaps because the lay offering was every day passing before men's eyes—do we meet with any detailed description in contemporary authorities, but numerous incidental notices bring the ceremony very distinctly before us.

Except at coronations, ordinations, the consecration of nuns, and special services when the mass was celebrated by a bishop, it had ceased to be the custom in this country to offer bread and wine.(1) The money-offerings of the people were received after the offertory had been sung,(2) and the bread had been taken

(1) The bread and wine were "found at the cost and charges" of the clergy. It was a very common provision in wills directing masses to be said for the testator, that the priest should find bread, wine, and wax; and in the *Norum Registrum*, or Revised Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, already quoted, *p.* 173, it is provided (*p.* 26) that the treasurer should find wine, water, hosts, and candles for all the altars of the Church, and for the communion of the faithful at Easter.

The waferer's was an established trade; and in the inventory of the stock of a general shopkeeper at Kirton-in-Lindsay, forfeited to the king on his suicide in 1519, we find singing-bread among the unnumbered sundries, in company with nails, girdles, lace-points, &c. (Letter from Mr Peacock in *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1864, p. 501-2.) The wafers were made in irons called *singing-irons*. In 1429 Annas Wells of York leaves "tria instrumenta ferri vocata syngyngirons, ij alia instrumenta ferri pro pane ad eucharistiam ordinando." —Canon Raine, *York Fabric Rolls*, Glossary, 353.

In 1371 the chamberlain of York Minster charges under the head of *Variæ Expensæ*, "In iiij. m. wafris, 7*s.* 4*d.*" (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 124). In 1375 "Pro iiii. m. wafers emptis pro choro, 7*s.* 8*d.*" (*ib.* p. 127). There is a corresponding entry in 1551: "For ij thowsaund singing breade spent this half yeare, 16*d.*" (*ib.* p. 136). The rubric then directed "that the bread prepared for the communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion; that is to say, unleavened and round as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and somewhat more thicker and larger than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces."

(2) See Chaucer on the Pardoner:

> "Well conde he rede a lessoun or a storye
> And altherbest he sang an offertorie;
> For wel wyst he, when that song was songe,
> He most preche, and wel affyle his tunge,
> To wynne silver, as he right wel cowde;
> Therfore he sang ful meriely and lowde."—C. T. 711-16.

Lydgate in his *Vertue of the Masse*, quoted above, page 163, treats of the Offertory in a very different spirit:

from the paten and laid upon the corporas, and the chalice "made," that is, after water had been mixed with the wine.(1)

It is not improbable that at the first all the brethren offered their gift at the altar, founding it on our Lord's words in the Sermon on the Mount.(2) The Apostolical Constitutions, though spurious and of no ecclesiastical authority, may nevertheless be accepted as reflecting with considerable accuracy the practice and tone of feeling in the third century, as they undoubtedly in-

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¶ The offeratory next comyng [fol. 182 *b*.]

¶ Int*er*pretacioun . who wisely can adu*er*te
The offeratory . is named of offeryng
As whan a man . offrith*e* to god his hert
Richest(*) oblacioun . rekene by writyng
And for Melchisedech*e* . both*e* prist and kyng
Gaf brede and wyne . to Abrah*a*m for victory
Whiche oblacioun . in figure by remembryng
Iche day at masse . seyde is the offeratory

¶ Tokenyng of Ih*es*u oure saviour and oure lorde
Ayen oure fieblenes . and Impotens
Last on the Awt*er* . callid goddis borde
His body his bloode . of most Reuerence
We to receyve it . with*e* diewe diligence
In forme of breede and wyne for a memory
Figurith*e* . that the lamb chief of Innocence
Offred vp his body . grounde of the offeratory.

MS. Harl. 2254, fol. 182 *b*—183.

See also *Langforde's Meditations*, quoted above, page 168 :

"At þ*e* offertory when þ*e* p*r*est doith taik þ*e* Chalice *and* holde yt vp *and* formys þ*e* Oblatyon.

Haue medytatyon how our Lord þ*e* Sauyou*r* of All*e* mankynd, most wyllfully offerd hym selff . to hys Eternall*e* father to be þ*e* sacrifyce *and* oblacyon for mans Redemptyon *and* offer yo*ur* selff to hym Agayn bothe body *and* soolle . whiche he so dere bowght. Rendryng in recognycyon of the same to hys *gr*ayce . by devoute Medytatyon . all*e* þ*e* thank*es* off yo*ur* harte . þat yt wolld lyke hys goodness to be þ*e* ravmsom for yo*ur* trespas *and* synnes."—Bodleian MS. A. Wood, 17, fol. 10-11.

(1) This we may gather from English authorities, but it was expressly laid down in the rubrics of several French uses ; *e. g.* in that of Evreux. The priest elevated the chalice with the wine and water, and the paten upon it, and the bread thereupon, and after the prayer *Suscipe* (cf. the York form, *ante*, p. 98, l. 29) he placed the bread on the corporas, and took the paten for the offerings, and after the offering said over the people : "Centuplum accipiatis, et vitam æternam possideatis." See MS. xiv. Cent.—Martene, I, 232.

(2) St Matt. v. 23-4. On the eve of the Reformation in this country bishops only appear to have laid their gift on the altar. See *post*, p. 238. Cf. the custom at Basle, *post*, p. 243.

(*) Cf. Bishop Heber's Epiphany Hymn:

"Vainly we offer each ample oblation,
Vainly with gifts would His favour secure:
Richer by far is the heart's adoration,
Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor."

fluenced them afterwards; and they speak of the brethren offering their "sacrifices, that is, their offerings (*τὰς θυσίας ὑμῶν ἤτοι προσφορὰς*), to the bishop, either by themselves or by the deacons."(1) As the ceremonial of the Divine Service was elaborated, the distinction between the layman and the ecclesiastic was more rigidly marked, and in the course of time restrictions, which were more or less generally observed, were imposed by synods and councils. About the middle of the fourth century it was prescribed at Laodicea (*Can.* 44) that women should not enter the sanctuary,(2) and (*Can.* 19) that only priests and deacons(3) should enter the sanctuary and communicate. But at the end of this century (A.D. 390) this rule was not observed at Constantinople, at least in respect to the Emperor, as we know from the account which Theodoret gives of the admission of Theodosius to communion at Milan, by St Ambrose, after he had been excommunicated by him. When he brought his gifts to the holy table, as was the custom, he was going to remain within the rails, to receive the Divine sacraments, "but the great Ambrose taught him a lesson as to the distinction of places," that within was for priests alone, and that "the purple made emperors, not priests," and the emperor thereupon in all good part explained that it was not out of arrogance that he had remained within the rails, but because he knew it to be the custom at Constantinople.(4)

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(1) *Constit. Apost.* II, c. xxvii. Martene in the *Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins* describes an incident in a parish church near Basle, which proves not only that the more simple practice of an earlier age had survived to the beginning of the eighteenth century, but also that the rule as to the exclusion of women was not of more force in the diocese of Basle than, as we shall see, it was in this country. He says (Vol. I, Partie 2, p. 141-2): "Nous entendîmes ensuite la messe paroissiale, et nous remarquâmes que les hommes y étaient séparez des femmes, les hommes à la droite, les femmes à la gauche, et qu'ils demeurerent à genoux durant toute la messe. A l'offertoire une fille tenant un enfant nouvelment baptisé commença à l'offrande suivie de toutes les femmes; elles mirent leur offrande sur l'autel dû côté de l'épitre et firent le tour de l'autel."(*)

(2) *Θυσιαστήριον*, properly altar: but the altar itself was more generally spoken of by the Greek fathers as the Holy Table, as it is still in the rubrics of the Greek Church.

(3) *Ἱερατικόι*, which (*Can.* 24) is explained as including priests and deacons.

(4) Theodoreti *Eccles. Hist.* V, 18, *Ed.* Gaisford, p. 439-40. At the Trullan or Quinisext Council of Constantinople, A.D. 692, the rule as to exclusion of laymen from the sanctuary was again ordained (*Can.* 69), but with an exception in favour of the emperor "when he desired to bring gifts to his Maker." Nothing is said as to his communicating, but it would seem that the custom of his going within the sanctuary survived from the time of

(*) It is not a little curious in connection with this laying on the altar of their offerings by lay people by their own hands to find individual offerers spoken of as "*singuli sacrificantes*" in the rubric of a MS. Missal for the diocese of Basle of the tenth century.—Martene, I, 215 *b*.

Similar regulations became general in the West. An Ordo Romanus which reaches back to before the eighth century describes the reception of the gifts in kind from the laity, who remained in their appointed places according to their degree, whilst the clergy went about the church.(1) Cardinal Bona(2) quotes a capitular of Charles the Great, ordaining that they should offer on every Lord's day, and that their oblation should be received outside the rails or chancel skreen, "*foris septa.*"(3) Theodulph of Orleans, about the same time, applied the rule of exclusion to women only. This capitular, being translated into English in the tenth century, may be supposed to have had a certain amount of authority in this country ;(4) but whether the exclusion of women from the altar ever obtained in the Church of England, or not, there can be no doubt there was no objection to women going up to the altar to offer at the date of our manuscript. Chaucer's Wife of Bath will occur to many of my readers :

> "In al the parisshe wyf ne was ther noon.
> That to the offryng beforn hire schulde goon,

Theodosius till the extinction of the Byzantine empire. I find an account of the ceremonial in Codinus "*de Officiis magnæ Ecclesiæ et Aulæ Constantinopolitanæ*," and he wrote a few years only before the city was taken by the Turks. He says that when the emperor was prepared for communion, he went within the Bema, laid aside his diadem, received the portion of our Lord's body from the patriarch into his own hands, and himself put the cup to his own lips, like the priests. [*The bread sopped in the chalice was given to laymen into their mouths with a spoon.*]—*Hist. Byzant. Scriptores*, Venet. 1729, XVIII, 108.

(1) Ordo I, *Mus. Ital.* II, 10. See also Ordo II, *ib.* p. 47, Ordo III, p. 57. In a later Ordo (Ordo VI, p. 74), we find the bishop conducted to the place where the faithful, whether men or women, offered their oblations, and the deacon giving his hand, in which he held the chalice, for them to kiss after they had made them.

It is curious to notice that the revisers of the second book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward VI, in preventing the people from coming up to the altar to offer their alms, should have sanctioned the adoption of the earlier and distinctively Roman practice of going about the seats to receive them. This practice has of late years become very general among the protestant dissenters, as well as in the Roman Catholic congregations in this country.

(2) *Rer. Liturg.*, 2, ix, 1.

(3) This is explained by a paralled constitution of Herald, Archbishop of Tours, quoted here by Bona :—"Ut populus extra cancellos stet; ejus oblatio extra cancellos recipiatur."

(4) "VI. Ut fœminæ ad altare in celebratione non accedant. Eac we beodaŏ þæt þæm tidum þe mæsse-preost mæssan singe þæt nan wif ne ȝenealæce þam weofode. ac standen on hyra stedum, and þe mæsse-preost þær æt hiom onfó þære ofrunge, þe hiȝ Gode ofrian wyllaŏ."—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II, 406. *We also command at what times the mass-priest mass sings, that no woman draw near the altar, but let them stand in their places, and the mass-priest there from them receive the offerings which they to God offer will.*

And if ther dide, cẽrteyn so wroth was sche
That sche was thanne out of alle charite."(1)

The constitutions of Theodulph, as referred to above, enjoin that all Christian men should on Sunday morning come with their offerings to the celebration of mass.(2) The authorities here quoted prove that up to the reformation the offerers used to come up to the altar, upon the celebrant giving them a signal by turning round; perhaps, if they were slow in coming forward, by asking for his offering;(3) or by coming down the altar step, attended, if it was high mass, by deacon and subdeacon; or, in a small church, by the parish clerk. The offerings were placed in the hand of the celebrant, or in the paten held by the deacon, or in a bason, held by the clerk or by laymen(4) of estate standing on the left side of the priest. The offerers went up, first men and then women, in the order of precedence, according to their "degree"—two and two, if mourners at funerals, members of gilds in procession, &c.—and after kissing the paten in the hands of the deacon,(5) or the hand of the celebrant, and, if a bishop, receiving his blessing, they returned to their places.

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(1) C. T. 451-4. See also examples of women offering in this country, p. 238, in the diocese of Basle, p. 234. The *vetulones* at Milan are a witness to this day of the ancient discipline.

The knight of La Tour-Landry, speaking to his daughters of the great worth of humility, tells them of "sum amonges women that of that gret pride . . . . . be envyeusis whiche shalle goo furst up on the offerande, for to haue most of the vayne glorie of the worlde."—*Knight of La Tour-Landry*, Wright, E. E. T. S., 1868, p. 150.

Cf. Chaucer, The Persone's Tale. *De superbia.* "And yit is ther a prive spice of pride that . . . . . desireth to sitte above him, or to go above him in the way, or kisse the pax, or ben encensed, or gon to the offringe beforn his neighbore."

(2) ". . . on morȝenne mid heora offrunȝum cuman to þære mæssan symbelnysse."—Thorpe, A. L. II, 420.

(3) See Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 142, l. 510.

(4) Pope Pius V. forbid this giving of the paten to kiss (*Merati in Gavanti*, Par. II, Tit. VII, Obs. xxi.), and it was afterwards forbidden by the 3rd Provincial Council of Milan, held under Cardinal Carlo Borrhomeo in 1574, "*Ne patena, cum oblatio fit, ... fidelibus ad osculum præbeatur.*"—*Decreta*, Mediolani, 1574, p. 58. At Rouen, however, both in the cathedral and parish churches, the forbidden practice continued to be observed—and the description given of the ceremony in the eighteenth century might very well have served for that in an English mediæval church. "Aux grandes fêtes le célebrant avec le diacre et le soûdiacre descend au bas de l'autel, et donne a baiser la patene. C'est le soûdiacre qui reçoit les offrandes, et qui les porte sur l'autel."—*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 366.

(5) "Item the heire of the saide estate, after he hath offrede, shall stand upon the lifte side of the preste receyving the offering of the swerde . . . . . .

Item ij men of worship to stonde on the same side of the preste, holding a bason with therin for the offering."—*Booke of Precedence*, Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1870 (*Ordering of a Funerall for a noble person in Hen. VII time*), p. 31.

The following extracts, which range from the coronation of the king to the "enterring of the dede corps" of a brother of a "Poor man's gild," will, without further explanation, give sufficient —perhaps those of my readers, who do not feel an interest in the small details of the lives of our forefathers, may think a more than sufficient—insight into this part of the layman's mass, and the accustomed payments in respect to it.

I have already referred to the Vernon MS. (*ante*, p. 142, ll. 509 —516), where we have the priest turning to the layman, who places the mass-penny in his hand (l. 522). In the tale of the vision of the widow at Candlemas, we have the lady, who was the Virgin Mary, with her "great company of fair maidens" going to offer, and the details of the vision no doubt were in accordance with the practice of the time, the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

"An tua clerkes scho saw comande
In surplices wit serges berande
And after thaim reuested rathe
Com suddeken and deken bathe,
And Crist him selven com thar nest,
Reuested als a masse prest.

. . . . . .

And quen thai com til thair offerande,
This leuedy yed with serge in hande,
And ofered first als comly quene,
And efter hir other bidene.
This wif satte ay stille, als hir thoht,
For offer hir candel wald scho noht.
The prest abade bifor the auter
Bot scho no wald noht cum him ner."(1)

The English rubrics of "the Order of Consecration of Nuns," given by Mr Maskell, present us with an example of the survival to the sixteenth century of the offering of the oblations of bread and wine by the people: "Every virgyn shall haue a long sudary or towell uppon both hir handys, and in the ryght hande she shall haue a patine with an host: and in the left hande a cruette wyth wine. And then commyng by ordre to offer, they shall shyft the hoste fromme theyr patines to the patine that the deacon holdeth,(2) and then delyuer theyr cruetteys to the bisshop, kyssyng hys hand: whereof the bisshop shall some deale put into the chalice whych

(1) *English Metrical Homilies*, Small, p. 161.

(2) This agrees with the Sarum Pontifical, but the York Pontifical here reads "in patenam quam tenebit episcopus vel ejus diaconus." *Ed.* Henderson, p. 169: and so the Exeter Pontifical, *ed.* Barnes, p. 122. According to the modern Roman Pontifical a lighted candle takes the place of the ancient oblations.

is preparede for theym after theyr communion." Then followed the "offeryng of other folkys."(1)

The corresponding rubrics at Coronations, Ordinations, &c., are to be found in Mr Maskell's Monumenta and in the Anglican pontificals which have been subsequently printed. I give an extract from the "Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII." because it is in English: "Whiles that ['the offertory, *Intende voci*'] is in singing, the king crouned shalbe ladd . . . . to the high aulter . . . . . and the cardinal having his face to the Quer, as the observaunce at thoffering is, the king shall offer an obley of bred laid upon the patent of Saint Edward his chalice, with the which obley after consecrate the king shalbe houselled, also he shal offre in a cruet of gold wyne which he shal vse in the said chalice after he is housilled, and aswell the said patent with the obley as the cruet with wyne shall be delyuered unto hym by the gospellar at the tyme of his offering."(2)

To this I may add an extract as to the offertory at his (Henry VII.) "burial at Westminster." "The Archbishop of Canterbury came from the altar to the second step of the said altar where he received the offerings in manner following. The chief mourner. . . . . Then came the bishops and Abbots and offered in their order, the bishops going to the altar and there making their offerings, and the Abbots going to the Archbishop, kissing his hand and taking his blessing. After whom came the lords and barons, making their offerings every man in his degree . . . . ."(3)

Mr Toulmin Smith's Ordinances of English Gilds do not indeed furnish us with any additional information as to the ceremonial at the altar, but they supply contemporary evidence as to the universality of the custom of making offerings in the mass. In the gild of St George the Martyr at Bishop's Lynn, begun A.D. 1374, it was ordained "þat eueryche brothir and sister þat longes to þe ffraternite shal be redy atte þe general day, atte hous þat is assigned for þe fraternite for to gone ij. and ij. togedre worshipfully to þe chirche, *with* þe Aldirman for to heren masse and euensonge, and atte general messe to offre in worship of þe holy martir and at messe of Requiem, ilk for hem þat ben deed, vp þe payne of *di lib.* wax."(4) In the gild of St Katerine, Norwich, the amount of the offering was prescribed: "and at *that* messe euery brother and sister shall offeren an halfpenny."(5) The Carpenters' gild in the same city were to go together in procession with their candle and torches into the minster of the Trinity "and offeren es vp at þe

(1) Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, II, 327.

(2) *Rutland Papers*, Camden Society, 1842, p. 21.

(3) Leland's *Collectanea*, Hearne, 1774, IV, 306-8. See *post*, particulars as the offerings at the burial of noblemen, p. 242, and members of gilds, p. 243.

(4) Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*, E. E. T. S., 1870, p. 76.

(5) *ib.* p. 19.

heye auter and heren þe heye messe and everi offerin an halpeny atte messe."(1) In the gild of St John Baptist, at Oxeburgh in the county of Norfolk, the alderman was to offer a penny at the mass, and each brother and sister was to give a farthing "in the worship of Seint Johan."(2)

The Northumberland Household Book and the Privy Purse expenses supply us with information as to the offerings of persons of a higher rank; and though they are of a later date than the examples already quoted, and later than any of our texts, yet as these payments were very probably regulated by custom, which had not changed in the meantime, they may serve for the purpose of comparison.

"The ii^{de} day of July [1502] for the Queenes offring in the colleage of Windesore at high masse there. v *s.*"(3)

"Item for thoffering of the Quene upon Christmas day [1502] v *s.* and for her howselle the same day xx *d.* Summa vj *s.* viij *d.*"(4)

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(1) *ib.* p. 38. Thiers, in his *Traité des Superstitions* (Tom. II, p. 519), speaks of large wax candles hung about with pieces of money, being still presented in his day. (2) *ib.* p. 122.

(3) *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, Nicolas, p. 27.

(4) *ib.* p. 89, *howselle*, that is the housel-bread or host. A sum was paid on each occasion of communicating independently of what may have been given at the offertory. See other examples collected by Sir H. Nicolas, page 202. The queen appears to have communicated three times in the year, Easter-day, All Saints, and Christmas-day, and paid the same sum on each occasion. At Easter (p. 1) there was a farther payment of xlvj *s.* viij *d.* "for hir pardon," the "schrift-silver" of Daw Topias (*post*, p. 241), or the "pro confessione" of Bishop Chrodegang (*post*, p. 240). Sir Harris is at a loss to account for so large a sum as ten shillings being allowed to buffoons for their howsel, but this last item may serve to explain it. At Easter, 1530, there is a payment in Henry VIII. Privy Purse Expenses (p. 41) "paid to Thom the Jester for his howsill, and for his leveray Cote. xxv *s.*," where the coat accounts for the larger sum. In 1497 six shillings and eight pence was paid "for the kings [*Henry VII.*] offering at his Housillyng."

"Taking his rights," was also used in the same sense. In 1538, "Item for the Kingis offeringe this Sonday at takyng his rights in the mornyng vi *s.* viij *d.*" (*Privy Purse, Henry VIII.*, p. 371).

In 1531 there is a payment of ten shillings each to three of the King's servants, "ayent Easter for to take their rights" (p. 121), a similar sum having been paid at the previous Easter, where it is entered "for ther howsell x *s* a pece" (*p.* 38).

In the Northumberland Household Book we find the same phrase used—"Item. My Lordis Offeringe accustomede yerely upon Ester-Evyn when his Lordshipp takyth his Rights—iiij *d.*"

"Item. My Ladis Offeringe accustomede yerely upon Estur-Evyn when hir Ladischipe taketh hir Rights if sche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at hir owen—iiij *d.*"

"Item My Lorde usith and accustomyth yerly to caus to be delyverid to his Lordschippis Childeren that be of Aege to take there Rights for them to offer upon Easter even after ii *d* to every of them."—p. 334-5.

On the 16th June, 1531, twenty shillings was paid for the king's

"Taking their housel" was also used :—

"But for as moche as man and wife
Shulde shewe her paroche prest her lyf
Onys a yeer, as seith the book(*)
Er eny wight his housle toke."

Romaunt of Rose, Chaucer's *Works*, Morris, VI, 194-5, l. 6385-8.

This payment for the housel was objected to by the Lollards :

"Non licet offerre in acceptione corporis Christi."

Fasciculi Zizaniorum, 375.

Mabillon dates these money payments from the eighth century, though he does not consider they became universal until the twelfth. He quotes from the Rule of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, *c.* 42, "Si aliquis uni sacerdoti pro missa sua vel pro confessione ; aut clerico pro psalmis et hymnis, seu pro se ipso vel pro quolibet caro suo, aut vivente aut mortuo, aliquid in eleemosyna dare voluerit ; hoc sacerdos vel clericus a tribuente excipiat et exinde quod voluerit faciat."—*Præfat. in Acta Sanctorum, O. S. B.* Sæc. III, § 42. In this country the money offerings appear to have become the property of the individual priest, or of the body to which he belonged, except in the case of appropriate churches when the vicar was required to account for the whole, or a proportion of them.

On this point it may be interesting to quote from *Jacke Uplande*, a satire written about A.D. 1400, against abuses in the church and specially against the friars ;—an answer by Friar Dan Topias, whose real name was John of Walsingham ;—and Jack Upland's rejoinder, as they very strikingly illustrate the tone of feeling at this time on these points. Jack asks :

"Freer, when thou receivest a penie
for to say a masse,
Whether sellest thou Gods bodie for that penie,
or thy praier, or else thy travell ?
If thou saiest thou wolt not travell
for to say the masse but for the penie,
that certes if this be sooth,
then thou lovest too little meed for thy soule ;
and if thou sellest Gods bodie, other (*or*) thy prayer ;
then it is very simonie,
and art become a chapman worse than Judas,
that sold it for thirtie pence."

Jacke Uplande. Political Poems, Wright, II, 23-4.

Daw Topias replies :

"Jak, thou seist (*sayest*) with symonye
The seuen sacramentes we sellen,
And preien for no men
but ȝif thei willen paien.
God wote, Jakke, thou sparist
here the sothe,
And, er we departen us asoundre
it shal wel be shewid.
But oon is the sacrament
that we han to dispensen

(*) See *ante* page 121.

offering at Windsor; and the same day he gave "to Coristars in Wyndesor in Rewarde. vj *s.* viii *d.*"(1)

On Easter day, 1537, the Princess (*afterwards* Queen) Mary, then in her twenty-second year, offered "at high mass, iii *s.* ix *d.*" (2); and in November of the same year we find, "Delyuered to my Ladys grace for her offring for xiii dayes, every day xii *d.* at Hampton Court and Windesor at the quenes masses. xiii *s.*"(3)

In the Northumberland Household Book, which was begun in 1512, we have an account of "his lordship and my lady's offerings accustomed" which extend over several pages. The following may serve as examples:

"Item My Lords offeringe accustomede upon Ester-Day yerely when his Lordschip is at home at the High Mass, if my Lorde kepe chapell—xii *d.*"

"My ladys" offering on the same occasion was eightpence; and "my lorde useth and accustometh upon Ester-day yerely when his Lordship is at home, if my Lord keep chapel, to cause to be delyuered to my Lords eldest son. the Lord Percy and to every of

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off penaunce to the peple
when nede askith.
I trowe it be thí paroche priest
Jacke, that thou menest,
that nyl not hosel his parischens
til the peny be paied,
ne assoilen hem of her synne
withouten schrift silver."—*ib.* p. 45-6.

Jack in his rejoinder, after retorting that "oure gentil Jhesu" and his apostles

"were the best prestes
that ever rose on grounde;
and the best messes song,"

answers the jibe against the secular clergy.

"Dawe, thou spekest proudely,
apeching oure prestes;
but of oon thing I am certen,
thai ben less evil than ȝe.
For alle if thai synne oft,
As it well knowen,
ȝet the ground that thai have
is playnly Cristis religion.
And thouȝ thai straye oft therefro,
ȝit mow thai com to grace.
Bot ȝe han left that grounde.
. . . . . .
Bot I prayse nother prestes ne thee,
for ȝour assent in symonye."—*ib.* p. 46-7.

(1) *Privy Purse Expenses, Henry VIII.*, Nicolas, 140.
(2) *Privy Purse Expenses, Princess Mary*, Madden, p. 24.
(3) *Ib.* p. 45. Queen Jane Seymour had died on the 13th of October.

my yonge Masters my Lords yonger sonnes After j *d.* every of them for them to offer the said Ester-day in the chapel at the Hye Mas—iij *d.*"(1) Candles were offered at Candlemas and certain other festivals, and there was a custom of garnishing them with pieces of money, as Thiers tells us was practised in France.(2) "Item my Lordis offeringe uppon Candilmas-Daie yerely to be sett in his Lordschippis candill to offer at the High Mas when his Lordschipp is at home V Groits for the V Joyes of our Lady—xx *d.*" My Lady's offering was three groats; my Lord's son and heir, Lord Percy, two pence; and "for every of my yonge masters my Lords yonge sonnes to be set in the candells afore the offeringe j *d.* for aither of them—iiij *d.*" "Item. My Lordis offeringe accustomede yerly upon Saint Blayes Day to be sett in his Lordschipps Candill to offer at Hye Mas of his Lordschyp Kepe Chapell—iiij *d.*"(3)

On the marriage (February, 1548-9) of the Lady Barbara, daughter of James Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatellerault, Regent and heir-presumptive to the crown of Scotland, we find the following entry in the Treasurer's accounts:—

"Item. gevin to the Lady Barbara to offir, the day of hir mariage. xxij *s.* vi *d*" [*Scots*].(4)

The offerings at funeral masses were the subject of very definite regulations, not indeed enforced by any law of the Church, but not the less binding from the force of opinion. In "*The manner at the offering at the Interment of noble-men*," as set forth at length in the Book of Precedence, edited for this Society by Mr Furnivall, we find specific directions as to the order and amount of the offerings. There were to be three masses, the first in the morning, of our Lady, the second mass of the Trinity, and at each certain offerings are prescribed. The third mass was of Requiem, and that was sung by the noblest prelate *pontificalibus*. The chief mourners offer for the mass-penny vij *s.* viiij *d.*, "then all the other to offer that will, the greatest estates to offer first, next after the executors. The offering don, the sermon to begin."(5)

The funerals of members of craft and other gilds were equally the subject of regulation with those which were ordered by the heralds; and their offerings, to say the least, were as large in proportion. We have seen that a groat appears to have been the

(1) *The Earl of Northumberland's Household Book*, edited by Bishop Percy, 1827, pp. 335-6.

(2) See note, before, p. 239. (3) *ib.* p. 333.

(4) Preface, Lauder's *Minor Poems*, Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1870, p. vii.

(5) *Book of Precedence*: p. 34-6. "The number of mourners according to the degree of the defunct" is also prescribed:—The King to have xv; a Duke, xiij; a Marquis, xi; an Earl, ix; a Baron, vij; and a Knight to have v. The first English marquisate was created in 1386, and this fixes the earliest possible date for these regulations, but they are probably much later, though no doubt founded on established custom.

customary payment for a mass by high personages of the blood royal, in the sixteenth century, one penny was the sum paid by gilds and members of gilds in the fourteenth century. By the ordinances of the carpenters' gild at Norwich, which have been already quoted, on the death of a member, all were to be "at his messe of requiem from gynnyng to þe ending, and everi offerin a ferthing, and ȝeuen an halpeny to elmes for þe soul. And eueri broþer and sister ȝeuen a peny to do seyn a messe for þe soule and for alle þe bretherin soulis and sistrin of þis gilde, and alle cristen soulis."(1)

In the gild of St Katherine every member was to offer a halfpenny at the mass, and give a halfpenny for almes, "and for a messe to be songen for the soule of *the* deed, a peny."(2)

In these and other similar examples the payments by members were not for a single mass, provided by the joint payment of the whole fraternity; but the penny of each member was in payment for a separate mass. In the case of the Poor Men's gild at Norwich, each member did not pay the penny for a mass. All were required to be present at the "enteryng of þe dede corps" and to offer "at his messe," but it was ordained that they should give "xxx *d* for xxx messes singing, for the soule and for alle cristen soules."(3)

The offering in the time of mass, or "mass-penny," which in theory at least was always at "will,"(4) and the offering for the housel,(5) must be distinguished from the stipulated honorarium for masses with any specified application to be said at the desire, or on the behalf, of particular persons, living or dead. A specific payment was made in that case, although it had been forbidden at a legantine council at York in 1195, and the priest was allowed to receive the mass-penny only—"*hoc duntaxat, quod offeretur in missa, recipiat.*" (6)

In the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII., in August, 1502, the queen being then sick at Woodstock, we find a payment "to fyve preestes for V masses doon before our lady at Northampton. xx *d.*"(7) Sixteen years later we find her nephew, the Earl of Devon, in like manner paying his groat. 3 Jan., 10 Henry 8. "To a priest for singing mass before my lord 4 *d.*" 13 Feb. "To a priest for singing a mass before my lord in Powles Church, London, 4 *d.*", and on this occasion my lord's offering appears to have been of the like amount.(8)

As may be supposed, very numerous bequests, and directions to executors for the procuring of masses, occur in mediæval wills. I quote that of John Burningham, Treasurer of York Minster and Provost of Beverley, who died in 1457, because it directs that the

(1) *English Gilds*, 38. (2) *ib.* p. 20. (3) *ib.* p. 41.
(4) Above, p. 230. (5) Above, p. 239. (6) Wilkins, I, 501.
(7) *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York* (Nicolas), p. 37.
(8) State Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. III, No. 152 (iii).

masses should be celebrated with the matin and vesper offices of the dead: "Item volo quod mille missæ de Requiem cum Placebo, Dirige, et Commendacione, citius quo fieri poterit post mortem meam, celebrentur pro salute animæ meæ, et animarum . . . . . : et quod quilibet presbiter secularis vel regularis, ut prædicitur, dicens placebo, Dirige, cum Commendatione et missa habeat iiii *d.* Summa xvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*"(1)

P. 22, B. 244. *stondes.* The northern *-es* of the second person remains, although the *a*, as in many other places, has been *midlandized* into *o*.(2) The layman, according to the rubrics of this text, had been standing from the beginning of the gospel (B. 177), and continued to do so, throughout the offertory, until the priest began the *secreta* (B. 281). It will be noticed that the later texts C and F omit this reference to standing. See note, p. 193, on C 58.

B. 246. *god to paye.* Here the verb "to pay" is used in its primary signification. The Old French *payer* comes from the Latin *pacare* (pax, pacis), to make peace, to pacify, and was used in the same sense, and also, to satisfy, and then because payment satisfies a debt, to pay.

Littré does not notice the obsolete use, but he quotes from a psalter of the thirteenth century, where we at once recognize it:

"Par ton commandement est la mers troblée et par ton commandement sera païe" [? Ps. (89) lxxxviii, 10].

In English we find it constantly used:

"Thi voyage mai noht pai me
Bot ef thou do that I bid the."

E. M. H., Small, 54.

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(1) *Test. Ebor.*, Raine, II, 204. It may be curious to compare the above with a similar provision for masses by the late Cardinal Antonelli, who died on the 6th Nov. 1876. A translation of his will appeared in the *Times* (Dec. 7, 1876), whilst these notes were passing through the press: "During the eight days following my death, I order that a hundred masses a day be celebrated with the alms of 30 sous(*) for each mass. A part of these masses shall be caused to be celebrated by the Mendicant Friars."

The payments for masses—the *pretium* of Lyndwood, and *retribution* of later French writers—are now designated *eleemosyna*, and the amount is fixed by the bishop.—Bened xiv, *Dr Synodo Diœcesana.* Lib. v. c. 9. Dens, *Theolog.*, Dublin, 1832, VIII, 135. As explained in this last-quoted Manual, no priest, secular or regular, can exact more than the sum so fixed. They may receive more, or ask less, but this last may sometimes be forbidden "*ne hinc consuetudo introducatur minus dandi in præjudicium aliorum.*"

(2) The scribe has not altered the northern *stand*, B 84, 261, 303, 507, nor at line 593, in which last place it was necessary to the rhyme.

(*) Thirty sous, or *soldi*, is comparatively a much smaller payment than the four pence of the York dignitary. We may measure it by this fact—Canon Raine tells us in his note that the south-west tower of the minster probably owes its erection in a great degree to his bequest of £50 "ad usum ecclesiæ Eboracensis;" and fifty pounds would be as nothing for such a purpose in the present day.

Hampole, quoting St Bernard, ". . ut possit aut non placere deo aut displicere," translates:

> "Swa þat outher þan may it noght
> Pay God almighty, þat es swa wroght,
> Or peraunter it hym myspaye."—*P. C.*, 2560-2.

> "For nouther is trouth. (*faith*) worth withouten gode werkes
> Ne ne werk withouten trouth mai pai god almighten."
> Archbishop Thoresby's *Catechism*, fol. 297.

In the Promptorium we find neither the verb nor the substantive in this sense (p. 377), "PAY or payment, *Solucio*"; "PAYYD, of dette, *Solutus*"; but we have "PAYYD, and quemed or plesyd, *Placatus*." And the various reading in our MS. D at the foot of the page(1) would seem to point out that the use of the word, except in the sense of payment, had already become obsolete at the beginning of the sixteenth century; in addition to which I may mention that Palsgrave (p. 651) gives a whole column of uses of "I paye," and does not notice either appeasing or pleasing, though (p. 433) he gives "I apay" as "*contenter*."

P. 22, B. 247—260. It will be observed that this devotion at the offering occurs in a shortened form in the Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 142, l. 524, "God þat was in Bethlem bore," &c. The first part of both forms are evidently taken from the same English original, but this would seem to have kept nearer to it, and the alterations in the Vernon MS. to have been made to adapt it to the requirements of the metre.

I have not been able to trace this prayer any farther either in Latin or French, but it will be noticed that it has a certain resemblance to parts of the mediæval Epiphany sequence. We have, as recorded in the gospel, the threefold gift(2) (ll. 248-9):

> "Huic magi munera deferunt præclara
> Aurum simul thus et myrrham."

Then the "*wyssing*" them home to their country (ll. 251-2), an

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(1) The fragment in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, our MS. A, reads "pey." Mr Turnbull, in his Visions of Tundale and other fragments, printed "prey," but I mention that as no impeachment of his accuracy, for it is the only variation I was able to discover on a careful collation with the transcript which my friend Mr Raven had made for me. That it was a misprint which had escaped notice I am able to state on the best authority, for I wrote to him to look again at the MS., and he asked the late Mr Cosmo Innes, and he, with his usual readiness to help forward every kind of antiquarian enquiry, came out of court with him, examined the MS., and certified to the correctness of the transcript.

(2) Sequentia in die Epiphaniæ, *Miss. Ebor* (Henderson), I, 32; *Miss. Sar*, Burntisland, 1861, col. 85. There is no sequence for the Epiphany in the Missale Romanum.

addition to the gospel history, mentioned in the apochryphal gospel I, *Infancy*, iii, 3:

"Magi sibi stella micante prævia
Pergunt alacres itinera patriam
Quæ eos ducebant ad propriam."

The prayer for personal needs in ll. 253—460 may perhaps have been suggested by the last part of the sequence(1):

"Omnis nunc caterva tinnulum jungat laudibus, organi pneuma,
Mystice offerens Regi regum Christo munera preciosa,
Poscens ut per orbem regna omnia protegat in sæcula sempiterna."

P. 22, B. 248. There is no occasion to enter upon the legend of the three kings, but it may be acceptable to those who are interested in the devotions of our forefathers to have before them the "Collects to the Three Kings at Coleyn," as they are to be found in the Horæ, both of Sarum and York.

"Oratio ad tres reges.

Rex Iaspar, rex Melchior, Rex Balthasar rogo vos per singula nomina; rogo vos per Sanctam Trinitatem; rogo per regem regum, quem vagientem in cunis videre meruistis: ut compaciamini tribulationum mearum hodie, et intercedite pro me ad dominum: cuius desiderio exules facti estis: et sicut vos per angelicam annunciationem de reditu ab Herode eripuit: ita me hodie liberare dignetur ab omnibus inimicis meis visibilibus et invisibilibus: a subitanea et improvisa morte, et ab omni mala confusione, mala fama, et omni periculo corporis et animæ. Amen.

Versus. Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent.
Responsorium. Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.

Oratio.

Deus illuminator omnium gentium da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere: et illud lumen splendidum infunde cordibus nostris quod trium magorum mentibus inspirasti dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, Qui. tecum vivit [*et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus. Amen*].

¶ Alia oratio ad tres Reges.

Trium regum, trium munus,
Christus honor, Deus unus,
Unus in essentia.

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(1) Cf. the "Benedictio populi" in the Mass for Epiphany-eve in the Gothico-Gallican Missal:

"Esto tuæ familiæ ipse lux itineris, qui stella indice clarificatus es Rex salutis."—Forbes, *Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, Burntisland, 1855, p. 53.

Trina dona(1) tres signentur ;(2)
Rex in auro, Deus thure,
Myrrha mortalitas.
Colunt reges propter Regem,
Summi reges servent gregem,
Coloni Coloniæ.
Nos in fide sumus rivi
Hii sunt fontes primitivi
Gentium primitiæ.
Tu nos ab hac, Christe, valle
Duc ad vitam, recte calle,
Per horum suffragia,
Ubi patris, ubi nati, tui.
Et amoris sacri frui
Mereamur gloria.

Versiculus : Vidimus stellam ejus in oriente

Responsorium : Et venimus cum muneribus adorare dominum.

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(1) *Dona.* Abl. Sing.—"Volo quod fiat generalis dona sive distributio . . pauperibus."—Maigne D'Arnis, *Lexicon*, s. v.

(2) *signentur.* This is also the reading of the *Sarum Horæ*, Paris, Vostre, 1507. Cf. *servent* four lines below. This signification of the threefold gift was thus explained by Pope Leo the Great : "Thus Deo, myrrham homini, aurum offerunt regi, scienter divinam humanamque naturam in unitate venerantes."—*Serm.* xxxi, 2.

Cf. a hymn from a xiii century MS.—Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, I, 80 :

"Jus in auro regium,
Thure sacerdotium,
Myrrha munus tertium
Mortis in indicium."

Also the *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Surtees Society, *ed.* Stephenson :

"soþne hi andettan and god
Verum fatentur et Deum
lac berende rynelice.
Munus ferendo mysticum."
Hymnus Epiphaniæ ad Vesperam, p. 48.

"ferdan tungel-witegan þi hi gesawon
I bant Magi quam viderunt
steorran folgiende forstæppendne
Stellam sequentes præviam
leoht hi sohton mid leohte
Lumen requirunt lumine
god hi andettan mid lace
Deum fatentur munere."—*ad Matutinam*, p. 51-2.

Cf. also the Epiphany Sequence from which a quotation has been made above :

"Huic Magi munera deferunt præclara, aurum, simul thus et myrrham
Thure Deum prædicant, auro regem magnum, hominem mortalem myrrha."

Oratio.

Deus qui tres magos orientales Iaspar, Melchior, et Baltazar, ad tua cunabula ut te misticis venerarentur muneribus sine impedimento, stella duce, duxisti: Concede propitius. vt per horum trium regum pias intercessiones et merita commemorationum nobis famulis tuis tribuas: vt itinere quo ituri sumus celeritate, letitia gratia et pace, te ipso sole vero, vera stella, vera luminis luce, ad loca destinata in pace et salute et negocio bene peracte cum omni prosperitate salvi et sani redire valeamus. Qui vivis.

Et regnas deus. Per omnia secula sæculorum. Amen.(1)

These extracts will interest those of us who do not accept the "Romish doctrine concerning . . . invocation of saints"(2) mainly from a literary or antiquarian point of view. We must not, however, forget that they present only one aspect of the faith of our fathers, and I cannot forbear adding a "Devout Prayer" from the York Horæ—and there are many such in the old Service-books of the Church of England before the reformation—for I do not doubt that the devout spirit, in which it is conceived, will commend itself to the religious sympathies of "all who profess and call themselves Christians":

"O most dear Lord and Saviour; sweet Jesu, I beseech thy most courteous goodness and benign favour to be to me, most wretched creature, favourable, lord, keeper and defender; and in all necessities and needs, to be my shield and protection against all mine enemies bodily and ghostly. Merciful Jesu, I have none other trust, hope, nor succour, but in Thee all-onely, my dear lord sweet Jesu, the which of thine infinite goodness made me, of nought, like unto thy most excellent image; And when I was lost by my first father Adam's sin, with thy precious blood, dear lord, thou redeemedst me, and since then ever daily most graciously with thy gifts of grace most lovingly thou feedest me; Grant me therefore most gracious lord and Saviour to dread thee and love thee above all things in this present life, and after, in joy and bliss without end. Sweet Jesu. Amen."(3)

P. 22, B. 249-50. *myrre, þirre.* The rhyme, as in other places, accounts for the midland scribe retaining the northern *þir*, which, as we shall

(1) *York Horæ*, fol. lxiiii *b*—lxv *b*. The hymn is printed without a break, as often in MSS.

(2) *The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*, Art. 22.

(3) *York Horæ*, fol. clx *b*. For once I modernize the spelling.

For devotions of the same character, see *ante*, pp. 28, 30, 40, &c., and especially the "Questions to be asked of one near death" (*Myrc*, ed. *Peacock*, p. 64). "Believest thou fully that Christ died for thee, and that thou may never be saved but by the merit of Christ's passion, and then thank thereof God with thine heart as much as thou mayest. *He answereth.* Yea." See also similar questions, slightly varying in form, in the *Craft of Deyng* (dying), *Ratis Raving*, Lumby, E. E. T. S., 1870, p. 7.

see in the next note, has been more or less successfully displaced in texts E and F, and in the Vernon MS.(1)

P. 22, B. 250. *forsoke*, refused. The more modern usage of *forsake* suggests the notion of leaving, deserting, neglecting, and implies an already existing relation. This appears to be the sense in which the scribe in Text E understood it:

"þou forsoke non of hem þere."—l. 250.

(*Thou didst not desert any of those that were there*); unless indeed he referred "hem þere" to the presents, in which case his rendering exactly reproduces his original.

The proper meaning is preserved in the Vernon MS. and Text F:

"þou tok heore offryng of all þre."
Vernon MS., p. 143, l. 527.

"And thou forsoke not here presense."—F 92.
(*And thou didst not refuse their gifts.*)

This sense of refusing, forbidding, resisting, is that of the word in Old English: A.S. "*forsacan*, to oppose, to refuse"; and this from A.S. "*sacan*,(2) to contend, to defend one's right." It is given as one of the senses in the *Promptorium*, p. 172: "For-sakyn, *Desero, relinquo, renuo.* Forsakyn, and denyyn'. *Abnego.* For-sakyn' and refusyn. *Abrenuncio, refuto, recuso.*"

In the Lindesfarne Gospels, of the Baptist forbidding our Lord to be baptized of him (Mat. iv. 14), we have: "*fo*resoc *and* fo*r*ehead hine." *Vulg.*, "*prohibebat eum.*" A.V. "forbad him."

"For al þas men sal bere his (*anticrist*) merk
þat sal forsake (*refuse*) to wirk Cristes werk."—*P. C.* 4405-6.

The old sense of forsake has survived in our marriage service, "forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her" or "him,"(3) where *forsake* is not the abandoning of any "ante-nuptial attachments" (though it has been so understood), but is used in the sense of rejecting and refusing.

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(1) MS. A reads, "þu for soke none of þere;" and D, "And *th*ou for suke nane of *th*ir."

(2) In Cleasby-Vigfusson, we find the Icelandic *saga*, to fight. Mr Skeat in his *Mœso-Gothic Glossary*, p. 193, draws attention to the connection between the English *forsake* and the Gothic *sakan*, which is used by Ulfilas in rendering ἐμάχοντο, Jo. vi, 52; μάχεσθαι, 2 Tim. ii, 24; ἐπετίμων, Mar. x, 13; ἐπιτίμησον, Lu. xix, 39.

(3) According to the use of Sarum and Hereford, the priest was required to ask questions, much as in the present prayer-book, from the man and the woman, the Sarum manual specifying in their mother tongue, the form being given in Latin. In the York form of spousals the priest not only asked the question, but the form was provided for him in English: "*Postea Sacerdos dicat ad virum cunctis audientibus in lingua materna sub hac forma:* . . . . and all other forsake for her, and holde the only to her to thy lyues ende."—*Manuale Ebor*, Henderson, 26.

P. 22, B. 250. *þirre.* *þir*, or sometimes *þer* (these), is a distinctively northern form. It is akin to *þeir* and *þær*,(1) the Icelandic masculine and feminine plural of the personal (*third person*) pronoun, but in later northern English it is found in all cases and genders, both by itself and with a noun following. It occurs in the *Cursor Mundi* of the very gifts of the three kings:

"O þir þre gifts, sais sum bok
At ans all thre he tok."—ll. 11507-8.

And so elsewhere,

"þir kinges rides forth þair rade."—ll. 11427.

And very frequently in Hampole, and the Metrical Homilies:

"þir er þe wordes of þe gospelle."—*P. C.* 4699.

"þer er Barnard wordes þat says."—*P. C.* 2548.

"þe whilk þir clerkes noght elles calles."—*P. C.* 1281.

"Thir fair wimmen fal in sin."—*E. M. H.* p. 15.

"þas ten er þir, þat I now rede."—*P. C.* 3400.

"þir wordes aftir þe lettre er hard to here."—*P. C.* 6759.

"þer ten puttes veniel syns away."—*P. C.* 3410.

"Ilkan of þir es a dedly syn."—*P. C.* 3369.

"Whaswa wil of þer four take hede."—*P. C.* 1830.

"In þir seven er sere materes drawen."—*P. C.* 9545.

"With þer he was first norished þar."—*P. C.* 461.

"For als men heres þer clerkes say."—*P. C.* 3392.

"For bale sal ger thir bernes blede."—*E. M. H.* p. 23.

B. 251. *wissed hom . . . home agayne*, showed them the way home again (*by the star.* See above, p. 245-6). In the *Promptorium* (p. 530) we have, "Wyssyn, or ledyn, *Dirige.*" A.S. wisan. *Icel.* vísa—"vísa e-m til vegar, *to show one the road.*"—C-V. 717. *Germ.* weisen—Einem den rechten Weg weisen.

Cf. "Swa him God wisode."—*Gen.* xxiv, 12.

"*Annd* wissenn hemm, *annd* ȝemenn hemm
Fra deofless *annd* fra sinness."—*Ormulum*, 11244-5.

"And þe right way of lyf us wysse."—*P. C.* 9472.

"And ȝif we wyl leve our synne,
He wil wys us for to wyne
To heven the rede way."
Audelay, *ed.* Halliwell, p. 67.(2)

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(1) Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, I, 320. See Cleasby-Vigfusson, 733 *a*.
(2) Cf. Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 129, l. 37, where "teoheþ."

"Wische me the richt way till Sanct-Androes."
Lyndesay, *Sat.* 1929.

The variations in Texts E and F in the parallel passage prove that *wissed* had begun to lose the meaning above shown. It does not occur in Palsgrave.

P. 22, C. 104. The variation from the original text will be noticed here. The Vernon MS. (p. 142, l. 509) also refers in this place to the priest's washing his hands.

C. 112. *noon of þir.* I cannot account for the presence of *noon* in this place, and it is especially curious when joined to such a distinctively northern form as *þir*. *Oon* (l. 313) is equally anomalous in a northern text. We might have expected the northern forms *ane* and *nane*. [See Correction, p. 400.]

P. 23, F. 85. *whethere thu list.* Note the change from the impersonal to the personal use of list.

F. 92. *here presense*, their presents. Present (gift) had been introduced into the language long before the date of this MS. (*see* Richardson, *s. v.*), but the form in which it appears here would almost suggest, that a sort of confused idea of our Lord's presence with the Magi on their homeward journey was running in the scribe's head when he wrote it.

P. 24, B. 257. *for-done*, done away with, taken out of the way.

Cf. "For ofte sythes of þe day men falles
In syns, þat clerkes veniel calles,
Thurg werk, or worde, or thoght in vayn,
And ilka syn es worthy pain,
Þe whilk most be fordone clenly,
Outher here or in purgatory."—*P. C.* 3496—3501.

"Here may men se how mykel is mercy
To fordo alle syn and foly."—*P. C.* 6322-3.

B. 259. *mys*, both here and in Text C, is used as a substantive, though it will be noticed that in Texts E and F it has become misdeeds as in our modern English.

Cf. ". . . sei3 & de3 so much mis."—*Ancren Riwle*, p. 86.

"And yhit when he had done mys,
And thurg syn was prived of blys."—*P. C.* 109-10.

"Als Innocentes þat never dyd mys."—*P. C.* 3289.

B. 261. *3it vp-standande.* According to this text the people had been standing from the beginning of the gospel (see B. 154, cf. B. 176, 245), and continued to stand until the priest said the *secreta* (see B. 281); but, as has been pointed (*ante*, p. 191, 193), the direction to stand appears to have been purposely left out in the more recent texts.

B. 262. *wasshande.* See before, Order of Mass, p. 100, l. 5.

The washing of the hands after the offertory is prescribed in all the English uses, and the Mozarabic and other western(1) liturgies, except the Ambrosian, in which however the celebrant, before the *Qui pridie* (*ante*, p. 106, l. 27), "*Accedit ad cornu epistolæ, ubi stans, ministro aquam fundente, lavat manus.*"(2)

The York rubric in this place, as usual, is less full than others. The priest either went to the *piscina*, or to the "altars end," where he was served "with basin, ewer, and towell."

P. 24, B. 263. *wasshing.* See *wasshande* in the line above, an example of the distinction between the participle present and the verbal substantive, which we have lost, and which evidently was not familiar to the scribe of Text E.

B. 263-4. . . . . *þo preste wil loute*
þe auter & sithen turne about.

See the Vernon MS., p. 143, ll. 533—542, and the York rubric, p. 100, l. 10. *Loute* is the *inclinatus* of this and other uses.

Becon, whose more offensive ribaldry I omit,(3) gives a fuller account of this and the next ceremony at the *Orate:* "After ye have washed your hands, ye return again to the altar, holding your hands before you . . . . and bowing yourselves . . . . ye make a cross upon the altar and kiss it . . . . , and then . . . . ye turn yourselves, looking down to the people and saying: *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores;*(4) 'O pray for me, ye brethren and sistern;' when many times there is nobody in the church but the boy that helpeth you to say mass; and so making solemn courtesy . . . . ye return again to your accustomed pattering."(5)

B. 264. *with stille steuen.* It will be seen that in the York Order of Mass (*ante*, p. 100, l. 19) there is no mention of the "*still voice.*" The Durham and Hereford uses in this resembled the York, and the rubric of the Sherborne Missal is simply "*Sacerdos conuertit ad populum.*" In the printed editions of the Sarum use we have "*tacita voce,*" but no doubt this change from singing or intoning (saying), was the universal practice in this country, and, as explained by the old ritualists, was intended to signify the spirit of humility in which the priest asked the prayers of the people. Durandus here

(1) Also in this place according to the Syro-Jacobite rite. Renaudot, II, 11.

(2) *Rubricæ Generales*, Mediolani, 1849, § 19. Gerbert, *Disquisitiones*, I, 330, mentions other peculiarities in German and French uses. See also *Voyages Liturgiques*, 56. *Voyage Litteraire*, II, 111.

(3) See note, p. 220.

(4) *Displaying of the Popish Mass*, Works, Camb., 1844, III, 365-6.

(5) "*Sorores*" does not occur in the old Monastic uses, nor in the present Roman Missal, but it retained its place in the Paris Missal until 1615, and the Metz Missal until 1642. There are other and significant variations in the forms of different uses and at different periods. See the York form, *ante*, p. 100, l. 20.

says "*voce aliquantulum elata*,(1) *ut oratio omnium auxilietur ei, quasi non præsumens quod solus possit tantum officium exequi:*"(2) and the rubrics of Continental uses for the "*still voice*" are sometimes varied by directions expressly pointing to this humble attitude of the mind; in that of Verdun, "*humiliter dicere debet;*"(3) Bayeux, "*dimissa et humili voce.*"(4) In a very early printed Benedictine Missal we have "*humili capitis inclinatione;*" and in an early MS. Missal for the diocese of St Pol de Léon there is the following rubric: "*Hic sacerdos vertat se ad populum, dicendo submissa voce, manibusque junctis ante vultum neminem respiciendo.*"(5)

The existing rubric of the Roman Missal directs the priest to say the two words *orate fratres* in a voice somewhat louder (i. e. than the preceding prayer which he had said *secreto*), "*voce non nihil elata,*" and to say the remaining words of the address secretly.(6)

P. 24. B. 267. *Take gode kepe.* Take good heed, pay close attention to. This phrase so exactly corresponds to the French *prendre garde*, that we might have taken it for a bald rendering of the French original, except that we find it in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, which is some fifty years older than the date I assume for the translation of our text:

"of godes bode he nam gode kepe" (l. 939).

Whether it came from the French or no we find the phrase was very general in the fourteenth century:

"Herbes and trese, þat þou sees spryng,
And take gude keep what þai forth bring."
Hampole, *P. C.* 646-7.

"If þou leue nedful besynes of actyf lyfe and be rekles, and take na kepe of thi werldly gudes."—Hampole, *English Prose Treatises* (Perry), p. 15.

"Takest thou no kepe that my sister hath lefte me aloone to serue."—Wyclif, Lu. x, 40.

"¶ & tak kep, for from hennes-forthward."
Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, Skeat, p. 4, l. 2.

"And or that Arcyte may take keep."—*C. T.* 2690.

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(1) This is illustrated by the rubric of the Præmonstratensian Missal of the xiith century, "*Mediocriter, ut possit audiri.*" Le Brun. IV, 246.

(2) *Rationale*, 4, xxxii, 3.

(3) Mart., I, 213. (4) Ed. 1501—Le Brun. IV, 241. (5) Mart., I, 239.

(6) *Ritus Celeb. Missam*, VII, 7. The Mozarabic rite differs from other western uses in requiring the priest to sing the *Orate*, as follows: "Adjuvate me fratres in orationibus et orate pro me ad Deum." The musical intonation is given in the Missal, p. 224.

"They ben so bare, I take no kepe
Bot I wole have the fatte sheepe,
Lat parish prestis have the lene
I yeve not of her harme a bene!"
(False-Semblant in the person of a Friar-pardoner.)
Romaunt of Rose, Chaucer's *Works*, Morris, VI, 197, l. 6463-6.

The same phrase occurs again in our text, l. 305, and in both these places it is used very much as the *πρόσχωμεν* of the deacon in the Greek liturgy,(1) though it would be too far-fetched to class this amongst the survivals of the Ephesine rite in Gaul which may be traced in Dan Jeremy's treatise, and in the practice of the Gallican and Anglican churches.

P. 24, B. 268. *Knoc on þi brest.* The celebrant was directed to do this by the rubrics of all the English uses except York, at the prayer in the canon (*ante*, p. 110, l. 9) "*Nobis quoque;*" as does the Roman Missal, as also at the mention of sins in thought, word, and deed —"*percutit sibi pectus ter*"—in the confession (Ctr. the York use, *ante*, p. 90, l. 27); at the *Agnus Dei* (*ante*, p. 112, l. 21); and before he receives the communion. Hampole specifies this practice, which of course was suggested by the publican in the parable smiting upon his breast, as one of

"ten thynges sere þat veniel syns fordus here.
. . . . . .
knocking of brest of man þat es meke,
Last enoyntyng gyven to þe seke."—*P. C.* 3400-8.

At the reformation it was provided by the Book of Common Prayer, 1549, that "As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left as every man's devotion serveth, without blame."

B, 270. *noght worth to pray for hymm.* There is a marked absence in Dan Jeremy of the tone of sacerdotal arrogance, which was common among his contemporaries; and what is here said does not necessarily imply any assumption of moral superiority, but may rather have been intended to enforce the humility which both the downcast mien of the priest and the smiting on the breast of the layman were intended not only to express, but also to suggest. Cf. the collect for 12th Sunday after Trinity—a very happy rendering of the Latin original:

"Pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy . . . . giving

(1) Πρόσχωμεν is one of the calls of the deacon to the people which the Syriac liturgies retain in the original Greek, or in characters intended to represent it, just as *Kyrie Eleison* was retained in the west.—See Renaudot, II, 20; Howard, *Christians of St Thomas*, 219(d). It appears as "*Proschume*" in the Armenian Liturgy of the Mechitarist (*Uniate*) monks.—*Liturgia Armena transportata in Italiano*, Venezia, 1826, p. 39. It occurs several times in the so-called Liturgy of St Chrysostom, and the use of it in the liturgy is referred in this father, *Hom.* xix, *in Act. Apost., Ed. Ben.* I, 159 E, 160 A.

us those good things which we are not worthy to ask but through the merits and mediation," &c. "*Effunde super nos misericordiam tuam ut . . . adjicias quæ oratio non præsumit, Per*," &c.

From among the many that might be collected, I add one other similar plea of unworthiness from the Alexandrian liturgy of St Gregory, where the priest (*ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει*), in a litany after the consecration, but before the communion, prays for himself and other clergy—"That Thou wouldest accept us, who by Thy grace have been called to this ministry to Thee (*πρὸς τὴν σὴν κεκλημένους διακονίαν*), unworthy though we be. *The people say*, Lord have mercy."(1)

P. 24, B. 274. *Answere* þo *prest with* þis *in hie* (*à haute, à haute voix*), with a loud voice.(2) Elsewhere consequential changes in our MSS. enable us to trace changes in the manner of conducting the service; but this rubric for the people to answer aloud to the *Orate* or the "*Obsecratio ad populum*" is of additional interest as an indication of the date of the original treatise.(3) In the later texts C and F it has been omitted, so as not to clash with the altered practice of the people, and the confused reading of text E may not improbably be accounted for by supposing that the writer was not acquainted with a custom which at the first had been universal in the East and West.(4)

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(1) Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.*, 1716, I, 111.

(2) "þe angell answerd him in hy."—*Holy Rood*, Morris, p. 69, l. 277. "þan seyd þe aungel to hym an hy."—Bonaventura's *Meditations*, Cowper, l. 397.

(3) My position throughout is that the original French of our text was adapted to the Rouen use. I do not know how far the reader may follow the argument in a subsequent note, that the answer in the next line had survived from the Rouen use of the twelfth century,—and through the ante-Caroline Gallican church from the Ephesine rite,—but inasmuch as the answer of the people in the Rouen Missal of the middle of the thirteenth century is rubricated "*clerici respondeant*" (Mart. I, 229), it follows that our author in directing the people to answer aloud, if he did adapt his treatise to the existing use of Rouen, must have written before the date of this manuscript, though it does not follow that the change from *populus* to *clerici* may not have been made earlier, more especially as in gradual and local changes of custom, as this was, the change of rubrics follows, rather than causes them.

(4) This rite of the priests' asking the prayers of the people at the offertory —though most accordant with the spirit of our English prayer-book—was not retained in 1549, when the old service books of the Church of England were revised and translated into the mother tongue,—partly, it may be, because the answer of the people had come to be in dumb show,—and still more, in all probability, because from an objection to the Sarum answer which was then prescribed for the laity in both provinces (*see* p. 264), and which the greater number of the revisers must have themselves used in Henry's time. Although it still preserved the older phraseology "*sacrificium laudis*," nevertheless, in the form printed in all the editions, it referred to the propitiatory view of the mass as an offering for sin—"*pro peccatis et offensionibus*"—which it was the declared object of the reformers to reject.

It may be said that the rubrics of the Eastern rite, as now used, do not assign this answer to the people. But that, by itself, is no proof that the people did not join at the first, for as a rule the rubrics refer only to the officiating clergy, and the people are not uniformly specified except in cases where, as in the *Ectene*, they respond to the deacon; and I think it will be admitted that the two examples, which I now bring forward, go very far to prove that, whatever later practice may have been, the original rule of Eastern Churches was that the people should answer with the deacon. The first is from the Liturgy of the Christians of St Thomas, as it was "expurgated" by Archbishop Menezes in accordance with the acts of the synod of Diamper,(1) where—in the most unlikely of all unlikely places—I find a rubric at this place, "*Illi respondent cum diacono;*" and it is not conceivable that these native Indian Christians should have practiced this rite, unless they had received it at the first with their liturgy; and still more inconceivable that the Portuguese Archbishop should have established it amongst them, when it was obsolete in the Church of Rome, and at the very time when he was forcing Roman peculiarities(2) upon them instead of primitive customs—a course, upon which a distinguished prelate of his own communion, the learned Renaudot, has remarked with not undeserved severity.

My other example is from the Liturgy of St Chrysostom according to the use of the Greek monks in the Basilian monasteries in Sicily and the lower parts of Italy. In this the priest calls upon "those on the right and left" (the *circumstantes* of the Latin rubrics), and they answer (καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποκρίνονται) in the words of the angel from the Greek of St Luke (i, 35), to which I shall again refer in the next note.

In the West there is no difficulty in finding evidence as to the people's part in the writings of the earlier ritualists and the rubrics of different uses. For example, Amalarius speaks of their *singing* the answer;(3) and we find it rubricated "*Responsio*

(1) Raulin, *Hist. Eccles. Malabaricæ*, Romæ, 1745, p. 309. Both the rubric and the answer of the people appear to have been wanting in the MSS. used by Mr Howard for his translations in *The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies*, 1864, see p. 220. So also in Hough, *Christianity in India*, IV, 633, and Renaudot, II, 20.

(2) See before, p. 208.

(3) *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, iii, *c.* 19. Cf. "Acclamans autem populus orare debet ita."—Walden, *Doctrinale*, IV, *c.* 35. In the Capitular of Otto or Hetto, Bishop of Basle (811—836), we find it laid down that not only clerks and nuns should learn the answers to the priest, but also that the whole of the laity should answer together with them: "Tertio, intimandum est ut ad salutationes sacerdotales congruæ salutationes discantur, ubi non solum clerici, et Deo dicatæ, sacerdotali responsionem offerant, sed omnis plebs devota consona voce."—*Hettonis Capitulare*, iii. *Patrolog.*, Migne, CV, 763. See also the council, quoted from Cassander, *ante*, p. 200.

populi ;" "*Respondent circumstantes ;*"(1) "*Tunc dicatur a singulis ;*"(2) "*Deinde respondelur ei ab omnibus,*"(3) and so forth.(4)

It is beyond our purpose to enquire what doctrinal or other causes had been at work to bring about this ritual change, but as we are here more especially concerned with the devotions of the people, it may not be out of place to draw attention to the change which did take place. A comparison of fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts and the first printed missals brings out the fact that at latest before the end of the fourteenth century the people's part had been already assigned to the clerks in a great majority of cases.(5) The insertion of "*secrete,*" which is not found in any one of the known MSS., in all the printed editions of the York Missal, *ante*, p. 100, l. 24, is noteworthy as an onward step in the process of excluding the laity from a participation in the service, which has reached a further development in the existing rubric of the Roman missal, requiring the priest as an alternative to answer himself.(6)

P. 24, B. 275. *þo holi gost in þe light.* Text E here reads "into" for "in." This may very possibly be an old reading preserved in E, as old readings are elsewhere preserved in it, and it certainly scans better. By the help of the MSS. at the foot of the page, we may restore the next line :

> þe hali gast into þe light,
> And send his grace into þe right.

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(1) MS. (*Sæc.* VIII.), Monasterii S. Dionysii in Francia. Mar. I, 189. *Circumstantes* must not be understood only of the ministers of the altar or of those present in the quire, but of the whole congregation. Cf. "*circumstantium*" in the canon of the mass, *ante*, p. 104, l. 28.

(2) Ex. MS. *Pontificali* (*Sæc.* XI), Salisburgensi (*Salzburg*), Mart. I, 208. So also in the so-called *Missa Illyrici*, or the Mass printed by M. Flacius Illyricus, "*Tunc respondeatur ei a singulis.*"—Mart. I, 184.

(3) Ex Missali Tullensi (*Toul*), *Sæc.* XIII, Mart. I, 234.

(4) There is no occasion to multiply examples, for there can be no doubt of the fact. I will only add the *dictum* of a Roman ritualist of the highest authority : "Populus respondere consueverat . . . . . Nunc nomine populi unus minister respondet."—Maldonati, *de Cæremoniis, cui accedunt adnotationes* F. A. Zaccaria, Romæ, 1781, Tom. II, pars II, p. cxiij.

(5) The reading of the printed editions of the Sarum use is "*Responsio clerici* (or *cleri*) *privatim,*" but the Sherburne Missal written towards the end of the fourteenth century—now one of the choicest treasures of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, and unrivalled as an example of English art—preserves what would seem to be the older reading of the Sarum use :—"*responsio populi*" (p. 362) : and we find the same rubric in the beautifully printed folio missal (*ed.* 1500, fol. 93) of the "*diocese*" of Lyons, which even in recent times has been known for its resistance to innovations.

(6) "*Minister, seu circumstantes respondent : alioquin ipse Sacerdos.* Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis (*vel* meis) ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem quoque nostram, totiusque Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ. *Sacerdos submissa voce dicit :* Amen."

This couplet, I have no doubt, was intended to represent the answer in the oldest of the Rouen Missals, printed by Martene: "*Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi*,"(1) which is the Vulgate rendering of the answer of the angel Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin at the Annunciation.(2)

As we shall see in the next note, the verb "light" in the text was made to do duty in another sense, when the second couplet, (lines 277-8) was interpolated, as I propose to show it was, but the following quotations prove that it was the word which would have naturally suggested itself to an English translator.

In the present treatise we have:

"He lyght in mary mayden chast" (B 215),

where E reads, as here, "he lyȝht in to."

"þer nys no shapper but God almyȝt
þat yn þe vyrgyne Mary lyȝt."—H. S. 577-8.

"Kyd he was of myȝtis moost
and sent adown þe holi goost
And liȝhtned into Virgin marie
wiþouten(3) wem of her body."

Tale of Ypotyse, York Minster MS., xvi, L. 12, fol. 63 *b*.

"The holy Gost shall light in the."

Townley Mysteries, p. 75.(4)

It is an example of the tenacity with which words, after the sense in which they were first used has been lost sight of, still live on in forms, and more especially in liturgical forms, and so reveal their origin, that this rendering of a twelfth century original should have held its own through all the transcriptions of the translation, with no support from any English use, and spite of its adaptation to that of Sarum.

And this survival of a foreign form in the popular devotions of our forefathers is all the more remarkable, if I am not wrong in supposing that the Rouen answer(5) of the twelfth century was

(1) Mart. I, 229—quoted *ante*, p. 186. (2) St Luke, i, 35.

(3) MS. inserts "ony."

(4) Cf. the *Te Deum* in the *Book of Common Prayer*: "O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us."

(5) This answer is the only one in the earliest of the Rouen MSS. printed by Martene (I, 228).

It is given as an alternative in that of the fourteenth century (Mart. I, 229), with one the same as Sarum, as it is in a MS. Missal of the same century, according to the use of the monastery at Fécamp (Mart. I, 230).

It is one of several answers in an eighth century manuscript at St Denys, printed by Martene (I, 189); and is given by him as the answer at Beauvais (I, 143). With a form "sucipiat," &c. (something like the present Roman form, *ante*, p. 257, *n.* 6) joined on to it, it was the answer at Soissons (Mart, I, 220).

It is one of the answers mentioned by Amalarius in the ninth century (*De Eccles. Off.*, iii, 19). Le Brun (IV, 180) quotes it from the manual written for Charles the Bald. See also Bona, *Rerum Liturg.*, 2, ix, 6.

itself a survival from the old Gallican liturgy, and that too in a rite where it shewed its Ephesine origin by its agreement with primitive use.

Many points of agreement between the Gallican and Eastern liturgies have been enumerated by writers on these subjects; and, indeed, there would be no difficulty in proving from existing documents the continued use in France, England, and Western Germany of certain rites; for example, bidding prayers—in which, I may remark in passing, the laity took a prominent part. I must admit that I have no direct proof that the answer in our text was used in the Gallican liturgy(1) beyond the fact that it is found both in French Missals from the eighth century downwards, as quoted in the foot-note, p. 258, and in the ancient liturgies of the Eastern Church, as pointed out in the note below;(2) and being thus found

(1) In coming to a conclusion as to the probabilities of the argument which I here propose, it must not be forgotten that at the time when the Gallican liturgy was discarded for the Roman Missal by a high-handed exercise of the regal power, and indeed for some hundred and fifty or two hundred years afterwards, there was no such thing as a *Missale plenarium*, or service-book, which, like the modern Roman Missal or the Book of Common Prayer, professed to contain the whole of the office (*see* p. 155, *n.* 1); and consequently that the people's part, if committed to writing at all, would not be found in the book intended only for the priest, which is all that has come down to us.

See also the York order of mass, *ante*, p. 102, l. 21 and l. 23, where in the MS. from which this is a transcript two answers, which we know were invariably made, have nevertheless not been inserted.

Even when Missals were written "*in longum*," and after they were printed, the answer was often not included. The Hereford among English printed uses furnishes an instance. Cf. Dr Henderson's reprint, p. 118.

(2) In the liturgy of St James (*ed.* Trollope, p. 59) we have the priest asking those "on this side and on that"—ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν—equivalent to the words in the rubric of the Basilian use, already quoted, p. 256—"and they answer" in the words of the angel as already quoted from St Luke, i, 35—see also in Neale's *Tetralogia*, p. 95.

In the Venice editions of the liturgy of St Chrysostom (p. 56, *ed.* 1854), as printed in his text by Goar (*ed.* 1649), p. 73, and by Neale, p. 64, we have the same answer, but here and in the Benedictine edition of St Chrysostom it is assigned to the priest, in answer to the deacon. Goar, however, note 113, p. 133, points out that this is a "very great error of the scribes or printers," and so, no doubt, it was, unless perhaps a feeling on the part of some reviser that the old use was inconsistent with the dignity of the priest had something to do with the alteration. He quotes Greek ritualists, and ancient MSS., to prove what the genuine reading really was. One of the MSS. is that referred to above. He gives another, p. 94, which he found in the King's Library at Paris, in which the priest addresses the deacon only: "Deacon, pray for me," and he answers as before.

This reading of the liturgy as now used, and for more than two hundred years, in the Greek Church, is all the more worth noting at the present time, when we are constantly meeting with quotations from the Venice text, or a translation, as if it represented the use of the primitive Church without change and without interpolation.

at both ends, as it were, and the connection between the two being well established as respects other rites, it does not seem an unreasonable inference to assume that the use continued uninterrupted during the interval.

In fact, except on this supposition, it would be difficult to account for its presence in the Gallican Church after the end of the eighth century, for, everywhere but at Milan, the Roman Missal had been forced by Charles the Great, and his father before him, upon those of their subjects who had been used to the Ambrosian and Gallican liturgies—and this answer cannot be traced to any Roman source.

And there is yet another consideration which tells in favour of my suggestion that this answer did find its way into the diocesan uses of the Gallican Church from the old Gallican liturgy—and that is, the antecedent probability of the "Responsio populi" would in some cases have remained unchanged. There is abundant documentary evidence that many of the clergy yielded a very reluctant obedience to the edicts of the new Augustus for the regulation of the public worship of his churches—*nostræ ecclesiæ* is the phrase he uses. Their unwillingness to accept the new forms to which they were not accustomed is the explanation which French authorities give us of the peculiarities of the old liturgy which were to be traced in local uses; and it is only natural to suppose, as we know to have been the fact in other cases, that the old forms would have lingered on more tenaciously in the devotions of the laity, and if so, then most especially in respect to the answer in the text, for at that time it was exclusively the function of the people.

P. 24, B. 275-8. The answer to the Sarum Missal is as follows:

"Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua, et accipiat Dominus digne hoc sacrificium laudis de manibus tuis pro(1) peccatis et offensionibus nostris."(2)

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(1) Instead of these words "*pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris,*" we find "*pro nostra omniumque salute*" in the later form of the MS. Rouen Missal of the fourteenth century, and the folio edition of 1497, and I have little doubt that an examination of the earlier MSS. of the Sarum use would prove that this was the earlier reading.

We find these words in the monastic use at Durham (p. 263), which otherwise in the latter part of the people's answer was not altogether unlike the Sarum. I have not had an opportunity of examining any MSS. earlier than the latter part of the fourteenth century, but the reading of the later Sarum Missals seems to involve an inaccuracy of language,—and here we are not dealing with doctrine.

For sins and offences a sacrifice of praise (*sacrificium laudis*), or a eucharistic sacrifice, properly so called, can hardly be offered; but rather a sin-offering; whereas, according to the reading, I would say *preserved* at Rouen, if that were not to beg the question, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, without any violence to the language, might well be offered for the salvation of ourselves and all men—"*pro nostra omniumque salute.*"

(2) *Miss. Sar.*, Burntisland, 1861, col. 595.

It has been pointed out in the last note that the first two lines are, in fact, the answer of the Rouen use at the date of the original. When, however, the treatise came to be copied by a scribe, who knew nothing of the older answer, the mention of the Holy Ghost and the occurrence of the word "light" would not unnaturally suggest the "*Spiritus Sancti gratia*," and the "*illuminet*" of the alternative answer of the fourteenth century Rouen use, which was well known in this country as the answer of the Sarum use; whilst the awkwardness of "in thee light," instead of "thee light,"(1) would not have attracted attention in an uncritical age, unless indeed we suppose the various reading in A and its abrupt ending to be an attempt to escape from the difficulty. Be that as it may, "thy heart and thy speaking," in line 277, would have been at once accepted by the midland and southern scribes of the province of Canterbury as a sufficient rendering of the Sarum "*cor tuum et labia tua*," even if not intended for it.

Now the different answers at this part of the mass furnish one of the most distinguishing points of difference in the several mediæval uses, and in a Northern work, as, with all respect to Dr Morris' *dictum* as to the dialect, I suppose this to have been, we might have naturally looked for a distinctively northern answer, that is to say, according to the use of York; or, if it had been written in the diocese of Durham, then according to the use(2) of

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(1) Notice the syntax of the verb light = *illumino*.

And þet he fulle us mid his mihte
And mid his halie gast us lihte.
O. E. Hom. (Morris), p. 63, ll. 137-8.

þatt lihht tatt lihhteþþ iwhillo mann
þatt lihhtedd iss onn erþe.—*Orm.* 19073-4.

Light min eghen (*inlumina oculos meos*). Ps. (13) xii, 4.
Jesu my herte with lufe þou lyghte.
Religious Pieces (Perry), p. 73, l. 49.

Cf. A. V., St Luke, ii, 32: "A light to lighten the gentiles."

(2) In the books which touch upon the subject it is uniformly assumed that the Sarum use was adopted at Durham: and a friend of mine, who is perhaps better informed than any other scholar in this country on the subject of the "Cathedrals of England," in a new edition of one of his many works, repeated the statement after I had suggested to him that it admitted of doubt.

I still venture to think that this opinion is founded on a mistake except in so far that it is a fact that the York use did not extend to Durham, although by old law of the Church the several dioceses of the province were required to conform to the use of the metropolitical church, as parish churches were to the use of the mother church.

In the middle ages the ecclesiastical superiority of the Archbishops of York was regarded with great jealousy and repugnance by their most powerful and highly privileged suffragans, the prince-bishops of the county-palatine. This feeling extended to their clergy, and it was only so recently as the meeting of the existing convocation of York that the writer was a witness to the extinction, at the suggestion of the present Archbishop, of what was perhaps the last

the Church of Durham; but in the four lines we cannot trace the answer of the York Missal (*ante*, p. 100, ll. 23-5); nor, at least in respect to the first two lines, is the text any nearer to the Durham use. I quote from a fourteenth century MS., written for the Cathedral Church itself, and formerly belonging to the altar of St John Baptist and St Margaret, which was one of the nine altars ranged along the eastern wall beyond the high altar:

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formal expression of it—the presentation of protests by proctors from the diocese, when answering to their names at the preconization of the synod, and their customary rejection by the president as "frivolous and impertinent."

This was a very harmless formality, though from the time the Bishoprick of Durham had ceased to be a county-palatine, and the bishop was reduced to the position of any other suffragan, it had lost what little pretext there might have been for its original adoption. The manner in which the clergy of Durham exhibited their feeling towards their metropolitan was not always equally unobjectionable. In the *Northern Registers*, Raine, p. 398, we have a mandate from Archbishop Zouche to his official at York giving a detailed account, which would not bear translation, of certain clerks of the Bishop of Durham, and others, as alleged with the consent of the said suffragan, coming to York Minster on the 6th February, 1349, and there, at the doors of the quire "*subtus imaginem crucifixi*," being guilty of certain filthy acts by way of insult to him.

We can readily understand that the Benedictine monks who served the cathedral were sharers in the general feeling; and as respects the Ebor Missal they would moreover be unwilling to adopt its forms and ceremonies, were it only that they were in many respects different from the Monastic use which was the rule of other houses of their order.

The general impression as to the Sarum use may be explained by the circumstance that the Monastic use, adhered to at Durham, and in fact the uses of all the different orders, though differing among themselves, had much in common with the Sarum use, which was itself the old Benedictine use of Sherburne, as modified by St Osmund in the eleventh century.

The only Durham missal I have had an opportunity of examining is the Harleian MS. here quoted. In one afternoon at the British Museum I could not collate very much of it, but besides the variation at the *Orate*, which has led to this note, I took note of numerous differences from the Sarum use, which were convincing to me, that it could never have been intended for it—not only were there verbal variations in the rubrics, and a different nomenclature of Sundays, &c. (*e. g.* named from Pentecost, as York and Rome, instead of "after Trinity," as Sarum and many French diocesan uses), but the appointed vestments and ceremonies at certain feasts, epistles and gospels of certain ferials, other portions of scripture, *secreta*, &c., were often different. The only reference to the Sarum use which I did meet with, was the citation of it—and not without a certain subaudition of monastic superiority—as the use of certain seculars. After a rubric "*in Cœnâ Domini*"—"Post evangelium tot hostiæ ponantur ad consecrandum quot possunt fratribus sufficere ipso die et in crastino ad communicandum"—in a following rubric is added:—"Secundum consuetudinem quorundam sæcularium ponantur a subdiacono tres hostiæ ad sacrandum, quarum duæ reserventur in crastinum, una ad percipiendum a sacerdote, reliqua ut reponatur cum cruce in sepulchro,"—the words from "ponantur" to "sepulchro" being the Sarum rubric *verbatim*. Cf. *Miss. Sar.*, col. 303.

"*Respondeatur a circumstantibus*, Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis et suscipiat sacrificium de ore tuo et de manibus tuis pro nostra omniumque salute."(1)

Here we have the "heart and speaking" of the text, but not "light" or any mention of the Holy Spirit; so that unless the translator took the old Rouen answer, and added the Durham to it —and this intentional combination of the two answers is not at all(2) impossible—we must adopt the suggestion that I have made that these two lines were interpolated by a scribe, who intended to adapt his copy of the original English translation to the answer above quoted from the Sarum missal.

Such interpolation would not prove a midland origin of the translation. But if I should appear to any of my readers to have failed in making good my suggestion that the first two lines represent the old Rouen answer (St Luke, i, 35); and they assume that the four lines of the text, as it now stands, were the work of the translator and intended as the rendering of the answer which was universal in the southern province,—even this assumption, although at first sight it may seem to do so, does not necessarily touch the theory I have advanced in the introduction.

The answer of the Sarum use even as a part of the prescribed order of mass was not peculiar to the southern province. We have seen (page 258, *n.* 5) that it was an alternative in the Rouen fourteenth-century missal; and though it does not appear in the earlier missal, it by no means follows that it had not been previously used in the Church. In that case Dan Jeremy—supposing he wrote in the twelfth century—might very well have adopted it; or, if not, it is very conceivable that the later answer might have been interpolated in the original treatise before it was translated.

But there is a still further, and—if the reader accepts my suggestion (p. 257) that the people had ceased to answer "on hie" when the translation was made—a complete answer to an objection that the Sarum form proves the midland origin of the translation, in the fact, that although the Caroline answer to the Orate held its own in the York Mass, and was used by the officiating clergy, down to the Reformation,—*secretè* though it were,(3)—the Sarum

(1) MS. Harl. 5289, fol. 280 *b*. "Liber Sancti Cuthberti ex procuratione domini Johannis prioris Dunolm" (Johannes Fossor, Prior 1342—1371).

This was also the answer at the Benedictine monastery of Bec (Mart. I, 242): an alternative in the MS. mass, printed by M. Flacius Illyricus, which was written for the Benedictine monastery of Hornbach in the diocese of Metz (*ib.* 184); an alternative also in the Benedictine monastery of Stablo on the Recht (*ib.* 213); and in that of St Gregory in the diocese of Basle (*ib.* 216). Cf. the Cistercian answer, *post*, p. 264.

(2) Witness the Beauvais answer referred to, *ante*, p. 258, n. 5.

(3) See *ante*, p. 100.

answer, with verbal variations which are also to be found in the Sarum printed Horæ, was introduced in the York printed Horæ, for the use of those who were simply hearing mass, as follows :

"*Whan the preest turneth*(1) *after the lauatory.* Spiritus sancti gratia illustret et illuminet cor tuum et labia tua et accipiat dominus hoc sacrificium de manibus tuis dignum pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris."(2)

P. 24, C. 127. *Swilke prayers I walde ȝe toke.* It will be observed that the later text cuts out lines 267—272, and in these two next (l. 127-8) alters the rubric as to answering the priest aloud into a direction for a silent prayer, as has been already pointed out, p. 255. Even if we had not the older text before us, a later hand might have been detected in the use of ȝe, instead of þu, which is invariably used in the earlier text, and elsewhere in this MS., e. g. C. 93, 94, 102, 106, 224, &c.

C. 129-32. It serves to illustrate what is said, p. 257, as to the congregation having ceased to make answer to the priest in the fifteenth century, that the prayer which is here retained in the text does not follow the monastic use which was observed at Rievaulx, for which monastery the MS. was written. I am able to give the answer there used from a Cistercian Missal already quoted, p. 188, which for the reason there given, we know was used in this country, and very possibly was used at Rievaulx or some other Cistercian house in Yorkshire : "Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis : suscipiatur de manibus tuis sacrificium istud : et orationes tuæ ascendant in memoriam ante Deum pro nostra et totius populi salute. Amen."(3)

MS. A, *n.* (1). þo *awter kyste.* This must be either a corrupt reading awkwardly embodying a gloss as to the "lowting" of the altar being accompanied by a kiss ; or else the altar is called awter-kyste, much as sometimes in the present day we hear it called altar-table.

The rubric in the York use (*ante*, p. 100, l. 15) would alone justify the first suggestion ; and the rubrics of all the other English uses in one form or another direct the priest to kiss the altar before turning to the people.

In respect to the alternative suggestion, I remember the rough handling I received from some of my critics, who seemingly had not been at the pains to cast their eyes over the examples I had

(1) The southern *-eth* of the verb shows the inclination to adopt the fashion of the court in language, as well as ritual. A similar forsaking of old northern forms will be pointed out in the Bidding Prayer, No. V.

(2) *York Horæ*, fol. 13 *b*. Cf. the answer in the Sarum Mass, *ante*, p. 260. See also the same rubric and answer with the same variations "*illustret et*" and "*dignum*" in the *Sarum Horæ*, Paris, Vostre, 1507.

(3) *Missale ad usum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, Petit, 1516, fol. 82 *b*.

quoted, because I had spoken of wooden altars in England before the Reformation, and it is not unlikely that the fact of wooden altars being used to keep vestments may be equally new to them, and therefore equally incredible.

But not to encumber this note with proofs as to the practice of the Eastern Church, or the Church in Italy in earlier centuries, I will simply refer to the documents quoted above, p. 165-6, which are more nearly the date of the present MS.

I will only add in respect to the mention of *kiste* that this name is of constant occurrence for the *cista*, the chest or "locker" for keeping the vestments and other ornaments of the altar, and that, apart from its being used as an aumbry, the altar was called *arca* in the sixth century. Grancolas, in speaking of altars being sometimes made very much like a box (*à peu près comme un cofre*), quotes Gregory of Tours as speaking in this way of the altar of the Holy Rood at Poitiers, which St Radegonde had caused to be built —"At illa tumultum sentiens venientium, ad Sanctæ Crucis arcam deportari poposcit."(1)

P. 25, E. 258. The "ȝernynges" in the older text may have led to this variation—cf. "desire," F. 100—or it may be to introduce the prayer for forgiveness.

E. 261-2. Notice the change in the ending of the participle.

E. 270. See note as to "noght worth," *ante*, p. 254, B. 270. *ioynud*, joined (*with*) or enjoined.

F. 100. *desire*, for "ȝernynge" of the older texts.

P. 26, B. 280. *his priuey prayers.* The *secretæ orationes* or *secretæ*(2) of the Roman and later Anglican rubrics, Order of mass, *ante*, p. 100, l. 26; "his secre," Vernon, *ante*, p. 143, l. 545. The *Myroure*, p. 328, explains: "But before the preface. the preste sayeth preuy prayers by hymselfe. whyche are called secretes. and tho prayers he endeth as he dothe other collectes. or orysons. tyll he cometh to these wordes. *Per omnia secula seculorum*, And these wordes he sayeth by note. and so begynneth the Preface. And therto ye aunswer. *Amen.* And so ye saye. *Amen*, vpon the prayers that he hathe prayed pryuely in the secretes."

This prayer was also called *secreta parva*, to distinguish it from the canon, and Durandus(3) speaks of it as the *secretela* or *secretella*. Another name was *super oblata*, as in early sacramentaries, the Anglo-Saxon Ritual, p. 108; Archbishop Egbert's Pontifical, pp. 51, 52, &c., and originally in the Ambrosian rite, though in the modernized rubrics it has been printed *super oblatam*.

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(1) *Hist.* lib. 9, cap. 19.—Quoted Grancolas, *L'Ancien Sacramentaire de l'Eglise.* Tome II, Partie I, Paris, 1699, p. 39.

(2) Also *secretum*; e. g. *in Coronatione Regis.*—Maskell, *Monumenta*, III, 43, &c.

(3) *Rationale*, 4, xxvii, 1.

These prayers, like the collect, epistle, gospel, &c., varied according to the day.(1) They are invariably in the plural, and are not private in the sense of being offered by the priest for himself. There are many private in this last sense for use at the offertory in old MSS., rubricated, "*pro semet ipso*"; "*ad beneplacitum*"; or "*apologia sacerdotis*", or "*presbyteri*"—almost always in the first person singular. They were not originally part of any established "ordo,"(2) but the reader may observe two in the York Mass (*ante*, p. 98, ll. 29—32, and p. 100, ll. 11—14), and others have been inserted in the Roman Missal in comparatively recent times.

But though not private in this sense, there is no doubt they have been said in silence, wherever the Roman rite has prevailed, from the ninth or tenth century.(3) Towards the end of the seventeenth century some of the French bishops made an effort to re-establish what they maintained was the ancient practice, in respect to this prayer, and the canon. Bossuet put forth a revised edition of the *Missale Meldense* for his own diocese (*Meaux*), in conformity with his view of the requirements of public worship, which led to an animated controversy. It was maintained against him that this prayer was called secret because it was said *secretè*, and that it was said *secretè*, because it was *secreta* or *arcana*;(4) but, as pointed out by De Vert, this was reasoning in a circle,(5) and proved nothing. Bossuet answered that the prayer was called *secreta* either because it was offered over the bread and wine which had been set apart (*secreta*) from the offerings of the people, or else —which is much more probable, and was the view advocated by Grancolas, De Vert, and others—because it was a part of the *Missa fidelium*. The faithful(6) were then *secreti* or by themselves apart

(1) They were not retained in the Book of Common Prayer at the Reformation, and the only survival of this ancient devotion in the Church of England is to be found in the Order of Coronation. The Archbishop, after receiving the bread and wine from the sovereign, and reverently placing them upon the altar, says the prayer, altogether primitive in its character: "Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy gifts," &c. See Maskell, *Mon.* III, 43, "*Munera, quæsumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica*," &c. Cf. (Egbert's *Pontifical*, p. 104) the "*super oblata*" in the mass "*pro regibus in die Benedictionis.*"

(2) "Non ex aliqua ordine sed ex ecclesiastica consuetudine." Ivonis Carnotensis, *Micrologus*, c. xi.

(3) Cardinal Bona (*Rer. Liturg.* II, xiii, 1) gives his opinion that the custom of saying the canon aloud in the Latin Church was put an end to in the tenth century—and this is probably correct of the whole Church, as distinguished from exceptional practice of the ninth or even the eighth century.

(4) Martene (*Tom.* I, p. 143) brings forward this name as given to the prayer in many old MSS.

(5) *Explication des Cérémonies*, 1719, I, 390.

(6) This prayer is called *Oratio plebis*, in the 6th canon of the First Council of Lyons (A.D. 517), where *plebs* is used for the "chosen people," as

from the Catechumens and others, who up to that point had been allowed to join in the service; though, in accordance with the discipline of reserve in the early Church, they were not allowed to be present at the "mysteries," which therefore were properly *secreta* or *arcana*. This would explain why the canon was also called *secret* when it was still said aloud and the people answered Amen. It was called *secretum Missæ*(1) in this country as late as the twelfth century, though the name *secreta* had been very early applied κατ' ἐξόχην to the prayers we are now considering.

But there is one fact beyond dispute, which, as far as this prayer is concerned, is far more decisive than any *à priori* or etymological arguments in proving that it was not said in silence from the first throughout the West. In the Ambrosian rite, where, as already mentioned, it is called the *oratio super oblata* or *oblatam*, a rubric directs—or did direct(2)—the priest to say it *clara voce*, or, according to Gerbert,(3) *alta voce*, and it is impossible to suppose that this could have been changed from "*tacita voce*," unless we had some record of the innovation.

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in the canon of the mass "*plebs tua sancta*," *ante*, p. 108, l. 12. See Grancolas, *Liturgie Ancienne et Moderne*, 1752, p. 92.

(1) In the *Consuetudinarium* of Sarum, compiled by St Osmund, and printed Maskell, A. E. L., 180. Also in the northern province, at the legantine Council held at York, A.D. 1195, Constit. 3.—Wilkins, I, 501.

(2) Martene, I, 173, from the edition of 1560. So also in the *Rubricæ Generales*, § 18. I have the Milan edition of 1849 before me, and the rubric there stands as I here quote it, but I do not know how far it may have been since altered. In the last edition of "*L'Ordinario della Messa secondo il Rito Ambrosiano, colla versione Italiana*" prefixed to the *Vero Penitente* of Diotallevi I find (p. 34) a note under "*per omnia sæcula sæculorum*," explaining that "This ending of the secret" (*segrete*—the Roman instead of the Ambrosian name) "is said by the priest aloud ('*ad alta voce*') because the people confirm what he has said ('*con voce bassa*') with a low voice."

For more than a thousand years the Roman *curia* has directed its efforts against the peculiarities of the Ambrosian rite, and since the beginning of the sixteenth century it has been modified in many respects. The comparison of our texts discloses changes in the manner of the people's devotions in the middle ages, and it may not be without interest to give another example of the process in the present day. I need not remind the reader who has paid attention to liturgical questions that the rubric and prayer speaking of the breaking of the body of Christ has been the subject of much controversy among divines of the Roman communion, and it is therefore very significant that in this Italian *Lay-folks Mass-book* (p. 49) the prayer at the "Fraction" (cf. *ante*, p. 112, l. 15) beginning *Corpus tuum frangitur* is translated "*L'Ostia che si spezza*," &c.

Early English writers in their books "for the lewed" had no scruple in reproducing the language of their rubrics. For example, Robert of Brunne:

> ". . . euery prest aftyr þe sacre
> He parteþ þere Goddys body yn þre."—*H. S.* 7950-1.

(3) "*Oratio super oblata alta voce dicenda*, ut expresse habetur."—*Disquisitiones*, I, 332.

P. 26, B. 281. *Knele þou doun.* It will be observed that there is no corresponding direction in the later texts, for they assume that the people are already kneeling, see note, p. 251. The Vernon MS., *ante*, p. 143, ll. 545-7, agrees with this in directing the layman to kneel at the secret.

B. 282. *in blak wryten.* Cf. the mention of *rubrics*, ll. 57, 624.

B. 283-4. *amende, hende.* Here, as in l. 36, the northern plural is retained on account of the rhyme.

B. 287—296. It will be observed that this prayer of the layman during the "*secrets*" is an echo of the priest's "*Orate*," *ante*, p. 100, ll. 20-3, in asking it—though the *meum pariter que vestrum . . . . sacrificium*, in grammatical exactness and in the sense which, in theory at least, was always maintained in the middle ages,(1) ought to have been "(offered) *by* the priest and by us all," but has been paraphrased "*for* the priest and for us all."

B. 288. *þis solempne sacrifice*, that is the oblation of the bread and wine as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. It may be that some of my readers who connect the idea of an offering for sin with the sacrifices of masses—and this whether they accept or protest against the doctrine—may not be prepared for this application of the name of sacrifice to the unconsecrated gifts, but the name is invariably used in every one of the many mediæval orders of mass I have had an opportunity of examining (for one, the York use, *ante*, p. 100, l. 4, l. 18, &c.); and the elaborate ceremonial which was prescribed by the rubrics and other ritual regulations of western churches, and which is still observed at the "great entrance" in the East, bear witness to the special solemnity which was associated with this rite, until in the West an increasing and almost exclusive prominence, doctrinal and ceremonial, was given to the subsequent blessing and consecration of the gifts.

B. 292. *þo sakring to se.* Sacring is properly the consecration or blessing of the sacramental elements ("Sacryn or halwyn, *Consecro, sacro.*" PP. 440), but from the twelfth century onwards it was so closely connected with the elevation, which men could see —and the words of the canon they could not hear—that it was used in popular language for the elevation of the host, and not only for the elevation of the host when it was consecrated (*ante*,

(1) "A cunctis fidelibus, non solum viris sed et mulieribus sacrificium illud laudis offertur, licet ab uno specialiter offerri sacerdote videatur."—Petri Damiani *Dominus vobiscum*, c. viii. Five hundred years later we have the same idea, though not so well put, in the *Book of Ceremonies* (quoted above, p. 178), "The priest is a common minister in the name and stead of the whole congregation, and as the mouth of the same, not only rendreth thanks unto God for Christ's death and passion, but also maketh the common prayer and commendeth the people and their necessities in the same" (i. e. *the mass*) "unto Almighty God."—Strype, *Memorials*, Appendix, p. 285. Cf. the words of the canon, *ante*, p. 104, l. 30, "*qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis.*"

p. 106, l. 32), but also when it was again elevated(1) at the end of the canon (*ante*, p. 110, l. 21), according to an ancient rite, corresponding with the elevation in the Eastern Church, when the priest in all the liturgies now extant cries out, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (*Sancta sanctis*, Holy things for the holy).

In the rubric, B. 406, we find the more exact phrase, *levation to behold*, but no doubt the one above was what passed current among the people.

Cf. "All came this lady to behold
And all still vppon her gazinge
As people that behold the sacring."
Percy Folio, I, 161, l. 524-6.

P. 26, B. 293. *lyuen.* The change to the midland third person plural in *-en* adds a syllable to the line to the injury of the metre. Cf. the northern *-es* in C 139. In F 119, the northern *lyves* is retained, but the scribe not improbably in "*the lyues*" supposed he had the definite article and a plural substantive before him, instead of the plural of the verb and the older form of the relative (þe), which not improbably was the reading of the original text, elsewhere altered into *þat.*

Alle þat lyuen in gods name, as elsewhere, of Christ. Cf. "All they that do confess thy holy name."—B. C. P.

B. 294. Cf. "Mary Moder, meke and mylde
Fro schame and synne that ȝe us schyllde
For gret on grownd ȝe gone with childe,
Gabriele nuncio."
Christmas Carols, Halliwell, Percy Soc., p. 7.

B. 295. *hethen are past.* Cf. Hampole:

"Wharfor it semes þat mes syngyng
May titest þe saul out of payn bryng,
þat passes hethen in charite."—*P. C.* 3702-4.

hethen, though a northern word, has been left out in C, probably because obsolete in the middle of the fifteenth century, and is changed to *hensse* and *hennes* in E and F.

B. 300—302. The priest had gone to his book (B 279), which had

(1) Becon (*Reliques*, fol. 130 *b*) remarks upon the name of sacring being given to the elevation, and (*Displaying*, Works, III, 277) speaks of the minor elevation, as it came to be called after the first elevation had been established, being "called the second sacring." It was, in fact, the third elevation, at least according to those uses where the cup was elevated as in England, but was nevertheless spoken of by ritualists as the second, *e. g.* Grancolas (*Liturgie Ancienne et Moderne*, 1752, p. 143): "The custom of ringing a small bell at the second elevation, and at low mass of answering *Ave salus*, &c., which are spoken to Jesus Christ, whom men elevate (*qu'on élève*), is a remnant of the ancient discipline, and shows that at some time there had been this elevation only." So also, p. 135. But he calls this the third elevation, *e. g. ib.* p. 133.

been flitted to the north end of the altar before the gospel (B 155), in order to "look his privy prayers" (B 280), and now "after privy praying," that is, when he has finished the *secreta*, he removes him a little space to the midst of the altar,(1) and there begins the preface with *per omnia sæcula* (C 144), which was in fact the ending of the secreta, but being said aloud in the tone of the preface, was considered a part of it.

P. 26, B. 303. *Stande vp þou als men þe biddis.* The Eastern origin of the answer to the *Orate* has been pointed out (*page* 259), and although it is in itself a thing altogether indifferent, it may not be unacceptable to those who are interested in tracing the families, so to speak, of different liturgies, to draw attention to what seems to be a similar character in this direction to stand at this place instead of continuing to kneel, as was the later practice. In fact, the connection is better established by coincidences in these smaller matters, which are not likely to have been expressly borrowed, than by the similarity of rites or devotions which may very well have been adopted on the score of their importance.

It will be observed that there is no reference to this direction in texts C and F which were adapted to the practice in this country; nor have I met with any trace of any such direction in any use of the Latin rite, and certainly not in any of the old English uses. But in the Greek liturgies, and the so-called liturgy of St Clement in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in almost all the oriental liturgies collected by Renaudot, there is to be found in this part of the service either the Στῶμεν καλῶς of the deacon, to which St Chrysostom refers,(2) or some similar direction to stand; and, like the πρόσχωμεν (*ante*, p. 254)—curiously enough with reference to the survival of a custom once rooted in the traditions of the people—in many cases, as we learn from Renaudot,(3) the untranslated Greek words are reproduced more or less exactly in the vernacular liturgies of the Copts and Syrians, as we also find them in the liturgy of the native Christians of St Thomas.(4)

When therefore we take into account the Eastern origin of the Gallican liturgy and its influence upon the service of the Church, not only in France, but also in this country, and especially upon those parts of it in which the people were more directly concerned, it will not appear fanciful to suggest that in the direction of the text we may recognize an Eastern form cropping up through the

(1) Cf. "*Ut autem sacerdos finierit secretas, retrahat se contra medium altaris, dicens* Per omnia sæcula sæculorum."—*Lib. Usuum Cisterc.* c. 53, ap. Martene. IV, 61.

(2) *De Incomprehensibili Dei natura.* Hom. IV, § 5, *Ed. Ben.* I, 478 C. He also quotes these words, but in another part of the liturgy, Hom. II, in II Cor. i, 11, *Ed. Ben.* X, 435 D.

(3) *Liturg. Oriental.*, Tom. I, 225; Tom. II, 75.

(4) Howard, *Christians of St Thomas*, 206.

Roman order, if not in this country, when the translation was made, at least in France when the original was written, and this although—whatever date we may assign to Dan Jeremy—he must have lived several hundred years after the Roman had displaced the national liturgy.

As to the "bidding," the words might very well have been used, though no longer in the service books, or a signal might have called the worshippers to their feet, and we find this practice still existing in the diocese of Orleans, though noted as peculiar, so late as the end of the seventeenth century.(1)

P. 27, F. 113. *God reherse.* This may have been written by mistake for *receive*, or it might perhaps have been suggested by the thought that Christ presents in heaven what the Church offers on earth.

F. 119. *the lyues*, see above on B. 293, page 269.

P. 28, B. 307. *Sursum corda*, see order of mass, *ante*, p. 102, l. 24.

B. 308, *At þo ende*, sc. of the preface, *ante*, p. 102, l. 25—p. 103, l. 6.

[he] *sayes* sanctus *thryese.* It will be noticed that E reads *he says* in this place, and though in that text, notwithstanding the want of intelligence of the scribe, or perhaps in consequence of it, many old readings have been preserved which have disappeared in the other more recent texts, on looking at it again I am inclined to think I was wrong in adopting this reading and inserting it conjecturally in the B text. "Sayes" is the northern form of the second person, singular and plural, and in the York bidding prayer (*ante*, p. 66, l. 17, and p. 67, l. 1) we find the people bidden to pray with this form, "Says a paternoster and ave." It is therefore not at all unlikely that *sayes* here is a direction to the people to say the *Sanctus*, though the midland scribe may not have altered it to the "*saye*" to which he was more accustomed, as he did four lines lower down, from supposing that it here referred to the priest.

Martene (I, 143) draws attention to the fact that anciently the people joined in singing the *Sanctus*, citing several councils to that effect. It was the rule in this country, as witness a rubric in Archbishop Egbert's Pontifical, "*Dicit omnis clericus et populus*, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,"(2) and we find it referred to in the *Meditacyons* elsewhere quoted: "So lyke wyse dispose yow to say *with* þe prest *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.*"(3) As in other cases, already noticed, the people appear to have ceased to join in the *Sanctus*, as time went on, and it was said by the priest alone, or sung by the choir to elaborate music. According to the Roman rite, the *Sanctus* is said by the priest "*voce mediocri*," which cor-

(1) "Tout le monde se leve à *sursum corda* par geste."—*Voyages Liturgiques en France*, 220.

(2) *Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York* [A.D. 732—766], from a MS. of the tenth century, *ed.* Greenwell, p. 120.

(3) MS. Bodleian, A. Wood, 17, fol. 12, see p. 168.

responds to the "stille steven" of these rubrics, and the people kneel.(1) In England the priest "spoke the *Sanctus* with a loud voice,"(2) and, at least in the thirteenth century, the people stood, though we gather from our later texts they subsequently ceased to do so. At the *Sanctus* it became the custom in this country from the thirteenth century onwards at public masses at the high altar (capitular, conventual, or parish, as the case might be) to ring a bell, often hung in a bell-cote above the chancel arch, which was called the Sanctus bell, or sauce bell, in order to give notice to those who were unable to be present that the canon, or sacring, was about to begin.

Cf. Lydgate's *Vertue of the Masse* (above, p. 163), p. 12:

¶ The sanctus sunge thries. [fol. 18]

¶ The olde prophete . holy Isaye
Sawe in hevene . a trone of dignite
Where Seraphyn songe . withe euery Ierarchie
Sanctus . sanctus . sanctus . before the Trinite
After preface rehersed . tymes thre
Withe uoyse melodious . and after that osanna
Highe in excelsis . to-fore the mageste
Afore the sacryng . of oure gostly manna.

P. 28, B. 310. The later texts leave out the prayer, l. 314-27, which, it will be observed, is founded on the invariable part of the preface (p. 104, l. 4-10). In the German Messbüchlein there is a "*Layen gebett zum* Sanctus," which is to be said when the priest begins the canon, and the choir are singing the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*,(3) and though this overlapping of the several parts of the service was forbidden by different councils, it is not improbable that it gave rise to the directions in the text, unless indeed they may be accounted for as a reminiscence at Rouen, of the *Collectio post Sanctus* of the Gallican liturgy. The omission of all reference to any prayer in this place, in our later texts, when they were adapted for English use, is more or less in favour of this suggestion.

(1) De Vert, III, 215. (2) Becon, *Displaying*, p. 266.

(3) Fol. 142. The Messbüchlein here quoted (Dilingen, 1573) is described in the title-page as "Ein gar altes, aber vast nutzliches Büch" (*a very old, but most profitable book*), and contains the Latin of the ordinary and canon of the mass, with a translation, explanation of the ceremonies, and devotions in very quaint old German; and is interesting in reference to our present treatise, as having had the same object in view. It was edited (*inn Truck geben*) and dedicated to the Dean and chapter of Augsburg by Adam Walasser. He speaks of himself as having lived twenty years at Dilingen, but whether a layman or cleric it does not appear. He seems to have been very zealous for the "long-wished-for 'restitution' of the true old catholic faith," taking for his example Tauler, and "such like excellent gostly teachers," whom he brings forward in his introduction to two treatises by Luis de Granada, "*verteutscht*" by him and published in the following year.

P. 28, B. 320. Cf. "Louede and blessede ay mote þou be,
And with all herte I thanke the
Of all þat þou has done and wroghte."
Religious Pieces, Perry, p. 60, Nassynton, l. 25-7.

B. 328. *When þis is sayde, knele þou doune.* Cf. Vernon, *ante*, p. 143, l. 558-9:

"Bi-twene þe sanctus, and þe sakeryng,
ȝe schal preye stondynge,"

where "sakeryng"(1) appears to be used not of the consecration and elevation only, but of the whole canon; for the Vernon MS. would seem to agree with our present text, as (l. 563) it goes on to say, "Seþþe schul ȝe kneel adoun."

Perhaps, however, this difference may be attributed to the ritual being in a state of transition, the congregation standing during the first part of the canon and kneeling afterwards; whereas at the first they stood throughout, as afterwards, and when our later texts were written, they knelt throughout the whole of the canon.

B. 330—333. The prayer follows this division—from l. 336 to l. 354 thanksgiving for mercies received, followed (l. 355—360) by a prayer for grace; and then the prayer for all estates of men (l. 361—387), and everlasting life (l. 388—397).

It will be observed that this division corresponds with that of the canon. First the priest (p. 124, l. 18) prays for the acceptance of the gifts, already offered at the offertory—like the Ἔτι προσφέρομεν of the Greek liturgies—on behalf of the whole church; for which he then prays, and for the members of it, with a memento of the living. The memento of the dead comes after the consecration (*page* 110, l. 3), and it will be observed that the prayers in the text (B. 454) follow the same arrangement.

But though this devotion for the lay-folk corresponds with the main divisions of the canon, its greater fulness and particularity shows that it is not borrowed from it. On the contrary, like the prayer in English to be said at the office,(2) it continued to supply for individual worshippers that which was lost in the public worship of the church by the disuse of litanies—except indeed so far as it was supplied in parish churches by the bidding prayers. And we may further remark that in its resemblance to eastern forms, where they differ from the Latin, it is suggestive of the people's prayers, which under the different names, never ceased to be an invariable feature of the Eucharistic office according to the several Greek liturgies, rather than of the *preces*, still said each

(1) *Sacrament* was also used for the whole canon:
"Next the secrete, after the offeratory
The preface folwithe afore the sacrament."
Lydgate, *Vertue of the Masse* (above, p. 163), *fol.* 183.

(2) B. 91—114, and note, p. 191.

year, according to the rubrics of the Roman missal, on Easter Eve, or at Milan on all the Sundays in Lent.

P. 28, B. 331. Here the northern *ilk a man* and *þan* are left for the rhyme. In lines 612-13 the rhyme allowed a change to the midland forms.

P. 29, E. 328. *all men* replaces *ilk a man.* F 128 the *ilk* becomes *eche.*

P. 30, B. 336. We now come to the canon, or still-mass,(1) which long before the time of Dan Jeremy had been said in silence, the earlier *disciplina arcani* having been extended from the heathen to the layman. The knowledge of the words was in some cases kept from him of express purpose,(2) and in all the prescribed gestures of the priest had to serve as the sufficient signal for his devotions.

Thus, for example, the rubricated headings of the Meditacyons already quoted from (p. 168, &c.):

"From þe begynyng of þe Canon which ys when þe prest after þe Sanctus, and after þat he haith kyssyd þe Crucifix(3) on the masse book, dothe Inclyne A-fore þe Avter unto the sacring be done."—Fol. 12 *b.*

B. 339. *of more gode.* C reads *of mare* and F *of mi.* The southern scribe would seem to have written *mi* for the northern *ma* (mare) in the copy before him; and *godnesse,* because the use of good, as a substantive, in the singular may have already become obsolete.

B. 342. *My lyue, my lymmes, þou has me lent.*

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(1) The canon was also called "*swimesse*" in early English (2. O. E. *Homilies,* Morris, p. 97, 242), from *swigan* or *swigian,* to be silent; *swiga,* silence.—Cf. *σιγᾶν, σιγή.*

In modern German "*stille Messe*" is used of low mass (Binterim, II, 3, 240), but in the sixteenth and earlier centuries it was used, as in English, of the canon. Thus in the Messbüchlein (*above,* p. 272, note) it is explained, "*Der* Canon *haisst auch die Stillmess, darumb dass alle ding darinn haimlich und still gelesen werden.*" Fol. 114 *b.* In a bidding prayer, used in the Benedictine Monastery of St Blaise in the Black Forest, and quoted by Gerbert (*the Abbot*) from a xivth century MS., the Canon is called "*die stille Mvesse.*" —Disq. I, 369.

(2) See Vernon MS., *ante,* p. 146, l. 665—670, and the note there.

(3) The crucifixion was often the subject of an illumination before the canon; and in earlier printed missals there was almost always a full page woodcut of a crucifix, or the initial of the *Te igitur* (*ante,* p. 104, and note on Tau, p. 206) was a crucifix.

This kissing of the crucifix in the mass-book does not appear to have been directed by the rubric of any English use, but Gerbert (*Disq.* I, 413) has collected a number of authorities on this point, and draws attention to the fact that old missals are often stained in this place from being kissed.

All the English uses required the priest to kiss the altar (see the Ebor rubric, *ante,* p. 104, l. 16). So too in the *Book of Ceremonies*—"the priest . . . . . inclining his body, maketh a cross upon the altar and kisseth it" (Strype, *Memorials,* App. p. 287).

Cf. "For men sal þan strayte acount yhelde
Of alle þair tyme of yhouthe and elde;
Noght anly of ane or twa yhere,
Bot of alle þe tyme þat God þam lent."—*P. C.* 5644-7.

"And cryede ofte vpon cryste . for some socour hym to sende
If any lyfe were hem lente . in þis worlde lengur."
Chevelere Assigne, 111-12.

"Adam, for þou has left mi lare
And broken þe bode þat I bad are,
And mare wroght efter þi wife
Þan after me þat lent þe life."
MS. Harl. 4296, fol. 77, quoted by Dr Morris, *P. C.* p. 304.

"Lent time" is habitually used—at least on the Yorkshire Wolds, where this note is written—in the restricted sense of the days of our age above the "three score years and ten" of the psalmist. It will have been seen that our fore-fathers used *lent* of life and time in general; and not only so, but the same phrase is applied to all the good gifts of God, and the right use of them is enforced as being loans or trusts to be accounted for, when the Lord cometh and reckoneth with his servants (*St Matt.* xxv. 19)—a thought still borne witness to—often unconsciously, though, it may be—by the modern use of the word "talents."

Cf. "Ich hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh
Goddspelless hallȝhe lare,
Affterr þatt little witt tatt me
Min Drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd."—Orm. *Dedic.* 13-16.

"Als he þat gret and myghty es,
Es halden to defende þam þat er les;
And þe ryche þam mykel rychesus has,
To gyf þam þat here in povert gas;
And men of laghe alswa to travayle
And to counsaile þam þat askes counsayle;
And leches alswa, if þai wyse ware,
To hele þam þat er seke and sare;
And maysters of þair science to ken
Namly þam, þat er unlered men;
And prechours Goddes worde to preche,
And þe way of lyf other to teche.
Þus es ilk man halden with gude entent,
To help other of þat God has þam lent."—*P. C.* 5938-51.

See *post*, note on *læne life*, p. 62, l. 4.

P. 30, B. 344. *of þi grace.* Cf. Collect, Seventh after Trinity, "of thy great mercy," and elsewhere B. C. P.

B. 345. *sere.* Here the later C, though written by a northern scribe,

reads "many," though (C. 42, 229, 258) elsewhere it has retained it. See note, p. 12

P. 30, B. 348. Cf.

"For godes loue he þolede moche: þat deore him hadde iboȝt."
Lives of Saints, Furnivall, xvii, 77.

C. 154. *When þe preste þe preface hes doone.* No *collectio post Sanctus*, as in B. 314—327.

P. 31, E. 334. *I wel owe.* Note the change to the personal form, and so F. 135.

P. 32, B. 354. *godes.* C here reads *gude* in the singular, where we may observe the *-e* is sounded, and the reference being to the one gift of forgiveness, there can be no doubt this is the true reading. The scribe may have made the alteration from the "good gifts" of God being generally spoken of in the plural. See a passage in Hampole as to the several account which men must give, each for himself:

"Men sal alswa yhelde rekkenynges sere
Of al gudes þat God has gefen þam here,
Als of gudes of kynde and gudes of graces,
And gudes of hap þat men purchases."

And he then goes on to specify them—*P. C.* 5894, &c. See later in the *Myroure*, p. 68: Lord "that is geuer of all gooddes"; and so in the Book of Common Prayer: "Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts."

Cf. "Godes of Laverd to se leve I
In þe land of livand nou."—Ps. (27) xxvi, 13.

B. 354-5. *moo, als-soo.* Manifestly an alteration of the midland scribe from the northern rhymes, ma, alswa, as in C.

Cf. "And Thomas Alqwyn spekes alswa
Of þis mater, and of other ma."—*P. C.* 3948-9.

"Salle love God and thank him þare
Of alle gudes, both les and mare."—*P. C.* 8305-6.

B. 360-1. *Wirk, Kirk.* Here the northern forms are retained for the rhyme.

B. 361. *state of holy kirk.* Cf. "Ye shulle bydde for tham, that the stat of Holy Cherche and of this Lond well maintanid." Bidding Prayer, Diocese of Worcester, A.D. 1349. *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, H. O. C.[oxe, now Bodley Librarian], Oxford, 1840, p. 12.

B. 362. It will be observed this alone of our five MSS. omits the mention of the Pope, and in so doing, as pointed out in the Introduction, supplies a note of time, which enables us to fix the date of the translation at a time when the see of Rome was vacant for some unusually lengthened interval.

P. 32, B. 362. Cf. "Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesiæ . . . . . Ut archiepiscopum(1) nostrum et omnem congregationem sibi commissam in sancta religione conservare digneris."—*Preces*, (Ebor.) *Horæ*, f. 94 *b*.

B. 365. *wele mayntenande.* Cf. the prayer that the good Yorkshir hermit, Richard of Hampole, asks his readers to offer for him:

> "Pray for hym specially þat it dru,
> þat if he lyf, God safe hym harmles,
> And mayntene hys lyf in alle gudenes."—*P. C.* 9616-18.

And so, too, of the last Emperor of Rome:

> "þe whilk sal wele maynteyn his state,
> And þe empire, withouten debate,
> And it governe thurgh laghe and witte,
> Als lang als he sal hald itte."—*P. C.* 4091-4.

B. 366. *states.*

Cf. "that nane has power to do bot bishop allane
that has the state and the stede of Cristes apostels."
Archbishop Thoresby's *Catechism*, f. 296 *b*.

C. 183. Note that Queen is omitted. This enables us to fix the exact date of the MS.—See Introduction.

P. 34, B. 368. *Oure sib men.* In a prayer "*For all estates*" in the primer of 1555 "omnes consanguinitate ac familiaritate . . . nobis iunctos."

Wele-willandes. Cf. "omnibus benefactoribus nostris."—*Preces*, (Ebor.) *Horæ*, f. 95.

B. 369. *tenandes and seruandes.* This one of the indications of the class for whom these devotions were written, and this mention of those in a lower station shows the practically religious tone which Dan Jeremy seems everywhere to have desired to give to these devotions.

B. 371. The same remark applies to "Merchants," whom I have not found specially mentioned in other forms of devotion.

tilmen. Cf. Bidding prayer, p. 65, l. 7; p. 70, l. 1; p. 78, l. 32, where landtilland. "Bless the labourers pains and travails of all such as either till the earth, or exercise any other handicraft."—*Primer*, 1553, reprint, P.S. p. 460.

B. 374-5. *specialy*, *haly*, not altered to holy, as elsewhere in this text, on account of the rhyme.

B. 377. *sclaunder*, *myscounforth.* In the York Horæ (f. 184) is a prayer "for them that falleth in disclaunder, reprofe, or any maner of trybulatyons"; and (f. 185) another "to thanke god of delyuerance out of trybulacyon or dysclaunder, reprofe, or other dysease, and that also he is broughte by goddes helpe to moche comforth."

(1) The Sarum form is "episcopos et abbates nostros," which I mention, as it may be useful in identifying the "use" of manuscripts.

P. 34, B. 377-9. *in stryue, . . prisonde, . . exilde.* Τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς, . . ἢ ἐν δίκαις, ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις.—*Liturgy of St Mark*, Renaudot, I, 147; or Neale, *Tetralogia*, 113.

B. 378-9. *prisonde, . . . opon þe see, . . . exilde.* Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, πλεόντων, . . τῶν ἐν φυλακαῖς, . . καὶ ἐξορίαις.—*Liturgy of St James*, Trollope, p. 88, or Neale, *Tetralogia*, p. 151. Cf. the *preces* of the Ambrosian rite: "Pro navigantibus, . . in carceribus, . . in exsiliis constitutis."

B. 379. *deserit.* C. *disheryd.* To disherit, like the O.F. *déshériter*, was not only to disheir or disinherit and cut off from a future inheritance; but it was also to deprive of an actual possession.

Cf. "þat folk of Rome also
He (*Maximian*) fondede to deserie, and mony schames do,
So þat þe deserites in to þis lond come
To Constantyn, þe gode kyng, for defaute from Rome."
Robert of Gloucester, Hearne, 1810, p. 85.

"Also all thase that fals witnes beres or brynges forth rigthfull matrimon[*y*] to distrubill or any man or woman to deseryte of land or of rent, tenement or of any other catell."—*The grete cursing*, MS. Manual (Ebor), York Minster Library.

The disherited must have been a large class in times of rebellion, and other troubles so frequent in the middle ages;(1) and Dan Michel will have had ample justification for including "men and wifmen, and children deserited, and y-exiled"(2) among the miseries of war.

C. 188. *sugettes* replaces the "*tenants*" of other texts, in this which was written for a monastery, where the several members of the community had no tenants, though they had their servants and inferiors, and Rievaulx, like other abbeys, had large possessions.

The landed estates of the monks did not escape the mediæval satirists:

"Sume say no masse in all a week
Of deinties is her most food.
They have lordships and bondmen;
This is a royall religion;
Saint Benet made never none of hem
To have lordshipe of man ne toun.
. . . . . .
They ben clerkes, her courts they oversee,
Her pore tenaunce fully they slite;
The higher that a man amerced be,
The gladlier they woll it write."
Complaint of Ploughman, Wright's *Political Poems*, I, 334-5.

(1) See a case of forfeited lands being restored to disherited nobles in 1268 on the payment of a fixed sum, which the clergy helped them to pay.—*Letters from Northern Registers*, Raine, pp. 17, 20.

(2) *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Morris, p. 30.

P. 35, E. 376. *dysesud*, instead of *desheryd*, is not to be understood of mental disorder or bodily ailment.

Disease was used rather of perplexity, trouble and vexation of spirit, as in rubrics of prayers in the York Horæ: "Thys prayer followynge is for them that have labour in temptacyon, or have any other dysease with gouernaunce of the people."(1)

Cf. "Dysese or greve. *Tedium, gravamen, calamitas, angustia.*" —*P.P.* 122.

In the Lollard paraphrase of Thoresby's Catechism (*fol.* 8) we find *disease* passing into its modern use: "þan visyte þy neyȝeboris þat arn bedreden, blynde & crokyd, & in oþer dysesys, & comfort fyrst here sowlys þat þey falle not in despayre ne grucchyngge agayn þeyre godys visitacioun."

F. 170. *bi tale*, for *alle* in the other texts. Except that "to" has been inserted, this reading would have improved the rythm after *alle* had ceased to be sounded as a dissyllable, and it may very well have been suggested by the enumeration of the several classes.

P. 36, B. 383. *to þi pay.* See note, *ante*, p. 244.

Cf. "He preyed to god · his orison
Wiþ a gret · deuocion
þat hit mihte · ben him to pay
þe masse þat he scholde · synge to-day."
Man of Suffolk, Vernon MS., fol. 198.

B. 384. *Foly*, when first introduced from the French, seems to have had an ethical sense, which it no longer bears, though we may still trace it in our English Bible.(2) It was used of sin, and specially of sins of the flesh.

"purgatory,
Whar saules er clensed of alle foly."—*P.C.* 357.

"For if a prest þat synges mes
Be never swa ful of wykednes,
þe sacrament þat es swa holy,
May noght apayred be thurgh his foly."—*P.C.* 3688-91.

"þe saule salle ay hate þe body
Ffor þe body wroght þe foly."—*P.C.* 8477-8.

"O tyme as he þuder wende: he dude ane folie
þat manie to helle bringeþ: þe sinne of lecherie."
Lives of Saints, Furnivall, p. 57, l. 3-4.

"ȝyf þou euere þat þou wystest
A nouþer mannys wyfe kystest,
Or ȝaue here ȝyft for þat enchesoun
þat sum synne myghte be doun,

(1) Fol. 181. See also fol. 184, quoted before, p. 277.
(2) Gen. xxxiv, 7; Deut. xxii, 21; Ju. xix, 23, &c.

þan as yn þe, þou fallyst yn synne
ȝyf þou to foly wuldest here wynne."(1)
H. S. 2956—2961.

P. 36, B. 386. *lend.* As "*lendian*, to land." Icel. *lenda.* Hence, probably because where men, who had migrated, came ashore and were landed, they fixed their abode, it came to mean, to abide, to stay.

Cf. "Swa þatt he muȝhe lenndenn rihht
To lande wiþþ hiss wille."—*Orm.* 2141-2.

"That him in hel sa harde band,
That neuer mar sal he wend
Out of hel, bot ay thar lend."—*E. M. H.* p. 13.

B. 390-1. *þe weders . . . make gode and sesonable.* The "kindly fruits of the earth" are specified in all the Latin *preces*, but I find nothing of this in any of them except the Ambrosian, where we have, "Pro aeris temperie ac fructu et fecundate terrarum;"(2) whereas in the Greek liturgies we have an almost verbal correspondence. In that of St Mark, Τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως κατάπεμψον. κ. τ. λ.;(3) and in that of St Basil, Ἐυκράτους καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς τοὺς ἀέρας ἡμῖν χάρισαι, ὄμβρους τῇ γῇ πρὸς καρποφορίαν δώρησαι.(4)

B. 395-7. Cf. "Wharfor ilk man with hert stedfast,
Suld seke þat lyfe þat ay salle laste."—*P. C.* 8137-8.

"Til whilk ioyes þat has nan ende,
God us bring when we hethen wende."—*P. C.* 9531-2.

P. 37, F. 183. *Grace euere-lastyng.* The sense of *lend* (above, p. 275) may have become obsolete, and this may probably explain this change, which appears to have been made with some vague reference to the sound, but to the utter destruction of the force of the original.

P. 38, B. 401. *A litel belle men oyse to ryng.* The form of this rubric points to a time when the ringing of the bell at the elevation was not prescribed by any general authority, but was adopted in particular cases because some men (the indefinite *men*, ante, p. 196)

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(1) "Si vous vnqes dun donastes
A autru femme, ou beisastes,
Pur trere sun qeor a folie,
Tant cum en vous est, le auez trahie."
Le Manuel des Pechiez, 3099—3102.

(2) Cf. the Eirenica in the liturgy of St Chrysostom: Ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων. εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς, κ. τ. λ.; and the Alexandrian liturgy of St Basil, Τοὺς ἀέρας ἔγκρασον.—Renaudot, I, 87. So that of St James, Εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, ὄμβρων εἰρηνικῶν.—Trollope, 88; *Tetralogia*, 153.

(3) Renaudot, I, 148; *Tetralogia*, 115.

(4) Goar, 175.

used to do it;(1) and this very well tallies with the date I have assumed for Dan Jeremy.

When it was that the bell began to be rung must of course depend upon the date assigned to the earliest elevation of the host at the words of consecration. This has been a matter much in dispute, but the best opinion seems to be that this ceremony was first practised, in France, in the latter part of the eleventh century, consequent on the Berengarian controversy, and then spread by degrees throughout the West, and was adopted at Rome, so that by the thirteenth century, except as regards the elevation of the chalice,(2) it had become universal in the Latin Church.(3)

It must be a mistake to say, as is often said, that it was instituted by Honorius III, A.D. 1219, though very possibly he may have been the first pope to give it formal recognition. In the constitution ascribed to him in the Decretale of Gregory IX. (Lib. III, Tit. xli, c. x.) he does indeed require the priests to instruct the people to bow themselves reverently (*ut se reverenter inclinet*) when the host is elevated (*cum in celebratione missarum salutaris hostia elevatur*), but the very words prove that he was referring to an existing practice.

A still earlier episcopal recognition of the bell is to be found in a constitution of William, Bishop of Paris,(4) in the year 1199, or according to other authorities the year 1202 or 1203. In this he expressly refers to the fact that the ceremony had already been prescribed elsewhere: "*Sicut alias statutum fuit, in celebratione missarum, quando corpus Christi elevatur, in ipsa elevatione vel paulo ante, campana pulsatur.*"

Now if the origin of the elevation has been rightly placed in the eleventh century, as seems most probable, the first adoption of the subsidiary ceremony cannot be placed much later than the beginning of the twelfth; and it has been placed some forty or fifty years earlier.

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(1) The more peremptory "*men is to rynge*" of Text C, and "he wol" of Text E, both written in the fifteenth century, are adapted to the different circumstances of the case, when the ringing of the bell instead of having at most the sanction of particular ordinaries, had meantime become an established custom of more than two hundred years standing.

(2) Fornici (*Institutiones Liturgicæ*, Romæ, 1825, P. I, c. xxix) mentions that the Carthusians even now elevate the host only.

(3) Archbishop Menezes enforced this ceremony in the case of the Christians of St Thomas (Raulin, p. 317), but it has not in every case been considered necessary to union with the Church of Rome, for, as instanced by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient.*, II, 572), it was not added to the Maronite Missal, when it was revised by the Roman censors.

(4) This is the earliest quoted by Gerbert (*Disq.* I, 362), and the fact that, having the works of Bona, Mabillon, Martene, &c., before him, with his great research, and all the resources of the magnificent library of his rich Benedictine abbey, he has found no earlier, may justify us in assuming there is no earlier.

As the canon was said in silence, some signal would very soon have been found useful to call attention to the elevation, especially in the case of those of the congregation who were distant from the altar, or could not see the priest, and who might therefore have let the moment pass without observing it. If elsewhere, Normandy, the home of Lanfranc, was not likely to have been behindhand in adopting ceremonies designed to symbolize the triumph of opinions, which he had so great a share in shaping, and which marked the overthrow of the leader of the rival school of Tours—and therefore it is no violent hypothesis to assume that in the twelfth century, or rather towards the middle of it, the Jeremy of Rouen, of history —whether he was identical with the Dan Jeremy of our treatise or not—could not have been unacquainted with the ringing of the little bell,(1) and may very well have spoken of it in the terms here used, before as yet it had obtained the universal acceptance, which three centuries later enabled the revisers of his treatise, or that of his namesake, to use the more peremptory terms already pointed out (p. 281) in a foot-note.

A further circumstance points to the conclusion that the French original with this reference to the sacring bell was written before either it or the elevation had become the universal custom. The tone of lines 402—420, which the later texts omit, is altogether that of the argumentative appeal of a man who was fully persuaded in his own mind of the truth and importance of the tenet he was advocating, and yet was doubtful how far it might commend itself to the acceptance of his readers. And there is yet one other fact which points to the same conclusion as to the date of the original. There is no allusion to the inclination, which is di-

(1) For a very full account of ancient ecclesiastical hand-bells, and drawings of every variety of size, shape, and material, see Ellacombe, *History of Bells*, Ch. vi, pp. 297—387.

The ringing of the hand or sacring bell must be distinguished from the ringing of the church bells at the *Sanctus* and the elevation, which was intended for those who were unable to be present.

In the *Voyages Liturgiques* the observance of this practice at Rouen (p. 368) and Laon (p. 425) is mentioned as if it was not common at the end of the seventeenth century. However this may have been in France then, the writer well recollects that the custom has not died out in Italy or Malta; and at Malta on certain *festas*, not only were the church-bells rung, but patteraro-salutes, or salutes of petards, were fired from Forts St Elmo and St Angelo; and by a custom which had been continued from the time of the knights the castle-bell on the cavalier of St Angelo was tolled, by signal from the tower of the church at the moment of the elevation.

Attention was called to the circumstances by the courts martial on Captain Atchison and Lieutenant Dawson of the Royal Artillery, who were broke, in consequence of religious scruples as to participating in the ceremony, by giving the necessary orders. The military are now relieved from this necessity, and the Maltese clergy are allowed access to the forts, and employ their own people to fire the customary salutes and to ring the bell.

rected in C (l. 225-6) and F (l. 201-2), and which we have seen was ordained by a papal rescript in 1219.

P. 38, B. 404. Cf. "Goddes sun (*son*) and Godes sand (*messenger*) Com to les mankind of bande."—*E. M. H.* p. 6.

"To loose the bands of wickedness."—Is. lviii, 6.

"I have broken thy yoke and burst thy bands."—Jer. ii, 20.

B. 444-5. *bandes, handes.* Here the northern forms are retained, though the scribe elsewhere has changed them to *hondes*, l. 20, and *bondes*, l. 477.

B. 406-7. *behalde, salde.* Here again two northern rhymes, though ten lines below the scribe has written *þou biholde.*

B. 406. *leuacioun.* The elevation of the host after the recital of the words of consecration. See note, p. 281. It will be observed that in the York mass (*ante*, p. 106, l. 33) there is no rubric for this elevation, nor is there in any known manuscript or printed edition, except in the MS. at Sydney Sussex College (the MS. D of Dr Henderson's edition), which seems to have been a fancy revision of the York use according to that of Sarum, and was altogether disregarded when the York service-books were printed,(1) though we find prayers "At the elevation of our Lord" in the York Horæ, and, no doubt, the northern province followed the rule of the Latin Church in the adoption of this ceremony. The Sarum rubric is as follows:

"*Post hæc verba elevet eam super frontem ut possit a populo videri, et reverenter illam reponat ante calicem in modum crucis per eandem factæ.*" In many of the later editions, after *hæc verba*, there is added "*inclinat se sacerdos ad hostiam, et.*" After the reconciliation with Rome in the reign of Queen Mary there is a further addition, in the Missal, as printed in 1554,—for the first time in any service-book printed in England,—of the words "*et capite inclinato illam adoret.*"(2) I add the rubric of the Missale Romanum for comparison:

(1) The earliest printed Ebor Missal, of which there is a known copy, is the Rouen edition, Violette, 1509. A "missale pressum, 2° folio, mine" is specified in an inventory, in 1520, as being in the chapel of St Stephen in York Minster.—*York Fabric Rolls*, 301.

(2) This interpolation was not made in the Sarum Portesse, "*Londini*, 1555," now before me. The late Archdeacon Freeman pointed out (*Principles of Divine Service*, Introduction to Part II. § 8) the absence of this direction to adore the host from the uses of the English Church before the Reformation. He does not mention another peculiarity of the Anglican ritual, which continued to be prescribed by the rubrics in the time of Queen Mary, as it had before the reign of Edward VI, and that is the elevation or "heaving" of the host before the *Qui pridie* (p. 106, l. 27). After the modern elevation of the consecrated host had been fully established, this was carefully guarded against in the Roman use, and was prohibited by several provincial councils on the continent, as pointed out by Gerbert (*Disq.* I, 362-3), the reason assigned by that held at Frisingen in 1440 being lest the people "by adoring a host which

"*Prolatis verbis consecrationis, statim Hostiam consecratam genuflexus adorat: surgit, ostendit populo, reponit super corporale, iterum adorat.*"

P. 38, B. 411. *euen.* Cf. the phrase "even-handed justice."

B. 412. Cf. "After ilk ane of þam has lyfed here."—*P. C.* 8749.

B. 416. Cf. "Ande þou mayst loue hym wyþ no greythe
But þou haue of hym gode feyþe,
þat ys to seye, to beleue hyt weyl.
Alle þat ys wryte of hym euery deyl—
Stedfast beleue, of loue hyt comes;
And of beleue, loue men nomes,(1)
So ys þe toon wyþ þe touþer,
Wyþ stedfast beleue loue ys þe broþer.
To whom oghte þan oure loue be went
But to þe beleue of þys sacrament?
þys oghte to beleue euery crysten man,
And lerne þe beleue of one þat kan,
þat þe brede þat sacrede ys
At þe auter ys Goddes flesshe—
Boþe flesshe and blode þer ys leyde
þurghe þe wurdes þat þe prest haþ seyde,—
þat lyȝte wyþ ynne þe vyrgyne Marye,
And on þe rode for vs wulde deye,
And fro deþ to lyue he ros
God and man, yn myȝt and los."—*H. S.* 9938-57.

B. 419. See B. 427, and cf. "Yf yt lyke yow, ȝe may say with dew reuerence to þe blyssyd body of our Lord. In þe furst Elevatyon, þis Lytylle oryson following, that is taken of the churche, wherfore yt ys of more Auctorytie—*Salve lux mundi* . . . . And lyke wyse to þe blyssyd blood of our Lord. In the secund Elevacyon at your pleasure yow may say þis *Ave* . . . ."—Langforde's *Meditacyons* (*ante*, p. 168), fol. 13 *b*-14. Cf. also Lydgate's *Vertue of the Masse*.

"At the lifting vp of the holy sacrament
Seythe Ihesu mercy withe affeccioun,
Or say som other parfite oreysoun,
Like as ye have in custom deuoutly,
Or ellis saithe this compilacioun
Whiche here is writen in order by and by."
MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 183 *b*.

See also Myrc, *Instructions*, l. 302-3:

"Teche hem þus oþer sum oþere þinge
To say at the holy sakeryng."

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had not been consecrated (*adorando hostiam non consecratam*) should commit idolatry."

(1) *Glossed*, "taketh."

These extracts, from among the many to the same effect, which might have been produced, will serve to show that however stringently the doctrine may have been enforced, there was a certain liberty of choice as to the prayers to be said, though as time went on, it may be noticed that a more dogmatic turn was given to the devotions. We have two English forms in our texts, and those given in Lydgate (*u. s.*), and the Latin ones in Text F, which are printed, p. 287, and in addition to these and very many others in books of devotion there is a great variety put forth with authority in books of hours and primers and rubricated, "At the leuacyon of our lord"; "In elevatione corporis Christi," and so forth. I add one from the primer of 1555, both because, appearing there, it is the latest put forth by public authority in this country, and because it appears to have been very generally used, being found in the Horæ of Sarum and York, and in collections intended for the laity in France and Germany(1):

"¶ **In eleuatione corporis Christi.**

Ave verum corpus natum
de Maria Virgine
Vere passum, immolatum
in cruce pro homine.
Cujus latus perforatum
unda(2) fluxit sanguine.
Esto nobis pregustatum
mortis in examine.
O dulcis, o pie,
O Jesu, fili Marie."

The English is printed on the left half of the page of the primer.

"¶ **A prayer to be sayd at the eleucyon of the sacramente.**

HAyle very bodye incarnate of a virgin
nayled on a crosse and offered for mannes synne,

(1) Mone (*Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, I, 280) finds this prayer, in a xiv. century MS., from the Benedictine Monastery of Richenau, where it is noted that "Pope Innocent composed this salutation," and that "This prayer has three years indulgence from the lord Pope Leo." In a MS. Collection of Prayers, &c., from the Monastery at Sion (Harl. 955), to which Mr Maskell refers (*A. E. L.* 93), we find this prayer with the v. l. "*vero*," noticed in the next note, and the addition "*nobis peccatoribus quæsumus miserere, Amen*," but with a smaller amount of indulgence. It is rubricated "he that saith at the sakeryng tyme this prayere . . . . . he schall have CCC daies of pardon."—fol. 75 *b*-76.

(2) This is also the reading of the York Horæ. Some MSS. quoted by Martene and Mone read "*mero*"; others by Mone, as the Sion MS., above, read "*vero*," and he adds that three repetitions of the *Verum* is in reference to the Trinity and the three soundings of the bell at the elevation.

whose syde beeyng persed, bloude ran oute plenteouslye.
At the poynte of death, let us receiue the bodely.
O swete, O holy, O Jesu sonne of Marye."

P. 38, B. 420. *prayes.* Notice the northern *-es* of the third person plural.

C. 221. *skille* becomes *resoune* in F, and E gets rid of it altogether.

C. 225-6. This interpolation is noticed above, p. 283.

P. 39, E. 411. *feythe* replaces the *trouthe* of B.

F. 205. The change is probably due to the northern *sere* of the other texts. See note, p. 188, B 71.

B. 422. *with-outen drede*—probably with reference to the objections of those who scrupled at the doctrine of a veiled presence of the personal Christ on the altar, as contrasted with His spiritual presence in the heart of those who have duly received His body and blood. It will be seen that the former doctrine is not necessarily implied in the prayer in the present text.

P. 40, B. 424, 425. *aue,* see before, p. 183.

B. 428—435. These lines are written in the MS. as under:

Loued be þou kyng & þanked be þou kyng
& blessid be þou kyng ihesu al my ioying
of alle þi gyftes gode þat for me spilt þi blode
and dyed opon þe rode
þou gyue me grace to sing þo song of þi louing.

Mr Furnivall, with his extensive knowledge of English manuscripts, at once saw, what I had failed to notice, that these lines ought to be arranged as they are now printed in the text. He explained their appearance in this shape in the MS. by the scribe finding three half lines vacant, when he had written the first three lines, and then writing the three next in the blank space.(1) The eighth and ninth lines were written in one, as was very common, and as had already been done in this MS. in the case of lines 209-10.

The prayer, as thus arranged, is a regular nine-line stanza, lines 1, 2, 4, and 5, and lines 3, 6, and 7 rhyming together, and lines 8 and 9 also rhyming together, but not necessarily, as in this example, rhyming also with lines 1, 2, 4 and 5.

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(1) In MS. service-books, and especially when a prayer or lesson begins with an illumination, it is very common to find the first line of the text continued in what would otherwise have been a blank space at the end of the preceding rubric; or for the rubric to be continued, sometimes for three or four lines, on the right hand side of the following text.

An example of the use of a blank space in the line before an illuminated capital may be noticed in the St Chad Gospels (about A. D. 700), printed by the Palæographic Society, Plate 20.

P. 40, B. 432. *ioying.*

Cf. "Ihesu, my King and my ioiynge!
Whi ne were y to þee led?
Full weel y woot in al my ȝernynge,
In al ioie, y schulde be fed.
Ihesu! me brynge to þi woniynge,
For þe blood þat þou hast bleed."
The Love of Jesus, Hymns, *ed.* Furnivall, p. 28, l. 195—200.

P. 41, E. 421, 422. *any, on.* These readings confirm the restoration I have suggested in the corresponding lines of Text B.

F. 218. These two Latin prayers or hymns here follow in the manuscript. The first occurs in the MS. York Primer (*fol.* 27), elsewhere quoted, prefaced by the following most curious rubric, which ascribes it to our Lord Himself, as though jealous of the worship paid to the blessed Virgin:

"[*F*]**uit quida**m **cl**e**ricus** i*n* **p**a**rtib**u*s* **Burgu**n**die q**u*i* **cotidie salutau**it beatam mariam **p**e*r* **he**c **u**e*r*ba Aue. **apparuit ei xps dice**n**s, Tu salutas cotidie m**a*t*rem mea*m* **et es amicus ei. Si salutau**e*r*itis me eris **me**u*s* **amic**u*s*. **Tum cl**e*r*icus ait **D**o*mi*ne si scire[*m*], **hoc libe**n**ter dicerim. Tu**n**c dedit ei d**o*mi*n**us verba salutacionis.**" It also occurs as the five first verses of a longer prayer, in the York Horæ (*fol.* 62), next to the *Ave verum* (*ante*, p. 285).

The second, which is written as prose in the MS., is given by Mone (*Lateinishe Hymnen*, I, 271) as the first strophe in a longer hymn, in which, as here, the first half of each strophe is the salutation, and the last the prayer.

The first strophe is found by itself, as here, in a MS. of the fourteenth century at Mainz, and with the same reading "*pro redemptis.*" In the other MSS. noticed in Mone, the third line reads "*tu sacrata hostia.*"

(I.)

Aue ihe*s*u christe, verbu*m* patris, filius v*ir*ginis, agnus dei, salus mu*n*di, hostia sacra, ve*r*bu*m* caro, fons pietatis.

Aue ihesu christe,(1) laus angelor*um*, gloria *sanc*t*orum*, visio pacis, deitas integra, verus homo, flos et fructus virginis matris.

Aue ihesu christe,(1) splendor patris, p*r*inceps pacis, ianua celi, panis viuus, virginis partus, vas puritatis:(2)

Aue ihesu christe,(1) lumen celi, premiu*m*(3) mu*n*di, gaudiu*m* nostru*m*, angelor*um* panis, cordis iubilus, rex & spo*n*sus virginitatis:

Aue ihesu christe,(1) via dulcis, veritas summa, p*re*miu*m* nostru*m*, caritas vera, fons amoris, pax, dulcedo, requies nostra, vita pe*r*hennis:

(1) MS. xpē.—*Mr Skeat.* (2) deitatis.—*Ebor.* (3) precium.—*Ebor.*

(II.)

Aue caro christi(1) cara,
immolata crucis ara,
pro redemptis hostia.
Morte tua nos amara
fac redemptos luce clara
tecum frui gloria.

P. 42, B. 454. *stede.* B. 459 and 300, *place*, the *hora* of older liturgiologists. *Place* is still used in the same way in the Book of Common Prayer, as, for example, in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick: "*The Curate may end his exhortation in this place.*"

It will be observed that this place for the layman's prayer for his "friends that are dead" corresponds to the second memento of the canon, *ante*, p. 110, ll. 3—8.

Cf. "We suld pray, bathe loud and stille
For al cristen saules: þus charite wille."—*P. C.* 3782-3.

B. 461. *here.* The mistake of the scribe, who did not know "er," which, as well as "es" or "is," was the northern third person plural. The change in F is still more curious, and proves how unintelligible the northern dialect must have been in other parts of the kingdom. See the *vl.* in D, which is not improbably the original reading.

C. 242. *sprede his armes on-brade.* See the rubric in the MS. York mass (*ante*, p. 108, l. 10), directing the priest to stand with his arms cross-wise at the oblation of the consecrated bread and cup in remembrance of Christ, which immediately precedes the memento for the dead. There is no reference to this ceremony in Texts B and E, which represent the original, and this addition is made, as the other variations in the later texts, in order to adapt Dan Jeremy's treatise to the form of worship in this country. It does not appear that the celebrant at Rouen did spread his arms "on-brade," though this was done in other French dioceses in the middle ages, and also at Orleans, and by several monastic orders in the seventeenth century,(2) as noticed by the author of the *Voyages Liturgiques*, who was himself a native of Rouen.(3)

This ceremony is prescribed by the rubrics(4) of the Ambrosian

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(1) MS. xpī.—*Mr Skeat.*

(2) *Voyages Liturg.*, p. 200. Le Brun (*Explicat.* I, 242) mentions Lyons and Sens.

(3) *Ib.*, p. xii. The author's name was *Jean Baptiste le Brun des Marets*, but he published his work as *le Sieur de Moleon.*

(4) "Extensis brachiis in modum crucis."—*Rubricæ Generales* (1849), § 20. St Ambrose is described as praying in this posture at his last hour: "Ab hora undecima diei usque ad illam horam qua emisit spiritum, expansis manibus in modum crucis orabat."—Paulin. *Vit. Ambros.*, p. 12, quoted,

rite, and Fornici, Professor of Liturgy in the Seminary at Rome, mentions that it is still practised by the Carthusians,(1) Carmelites, and Dominicans. He also asserts that it was never used in the Roman Church;(2) and there does not appear to be any mention of it in any Roman Ordo.(3) It was the universal rule in the Anglican Church, at all events until the end of the fifteenth century,(4) and it was one of the ceremonies of the mass which were most vehemently denounced at the time of the Reformation. The early Christians appear to have been in the habit of praying at all times in this posture,(5) but as it was used by the priest in the mass, as here in the text, it was with special reference to the mention of "the blessed passion" of our Lord (*ante*, p. 108, l. 13), and is explained in the Micrologus, to signify "*non tam mentis devotionem, quam Christi extensionem in cruce.*"(6)

It will be seen that the same explanation is given in the Vernon MS. (*ante*, p. 144, l. 589):

"After, þe prest his armes sprede he
In tokenynge he dyed vppon þe tre
For me and al mon-kunne."

And so the "Book of Ceremonies":

"After which" (the consecration) "the priest extendeth and stretcheth abroad his arms in form of a cross, declaring thereby that according to Christ's commandment, both he and the people

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Bingham, 13, viii, 10 *n.*—Hence probably the retention of this ceremony at Milan in contrast to the use of the Church of Rome.

(1) The Carthusians merely retain the Grenoble use of the eleventh century—"*brachiis extensis extra corpus in modum crucis*"—which was followed as a matter of course when the order was founded at *La Grande Chartreuse* in that diocese.

(2) *Institutiones Liturgicæ* (1825), P. I, c. 30. So also Le Brun. I. 242.

(3) The rubric of the Roman Missal (*Rit. Celeb. Miss.* IX, i.) directs the priest to stand "*extensis manibus ante pectus,*" and prevents his making a cross of himself ("*quasi de se crucem faciens,*" as some of the French uses expressed it) by precise directions (V, i.), that in this spreading of the hands before the breast they must not be either higher or wider apart than the shoulders, "*quorum summitas humerorum altitudinem distantiamque non excedat.*"

(4) Every edition of the Sarum and Hereford uses, and all the known manuscripts of the Ebor use, contain rubrics directing the spreading of the arms *ad* or *in modum crucis*, or (Hereford) *crucifixi;* but this rubric is omitted in the printed Ebor Missal, possibly from a desire to conform to the Roman use in that spirit of deference to Rome, which was a marked characteristic of the northern province, and traceable, at all events in some degree, to a jealousy of the preponderance of the See of Canterbury.

(5) See extracts from the fathers collected by Bingham, 13, viii, 10.

(6) Cap. xvi, and so Durandus: "Sacerdos igitur hoc repræsentans, dicendo tam beatæ passionis, manus in modum crucis extendit, ut habitu corporis manuumque Christe extensionem in cruce repræsentet."—*Rationale*, 4, xliii, 3.

not only have the fresh remembrance of his passion but also of his resurrection and glorious ascension; and proceedeth to the *second memento.*"(1)

So also the *Meditacyons* (*ante*, p. 168): "Þe prest immedyaitly after Þe Sacryng spreides and splays hys armys A-broyde in maner of a crosse, sygnyfying Þe presse of the Passyon of Cryst, Þe whiche ought to be remembryd in Þe hartis of faithfulle Crysten People." —Fol. 17 *b*.

P. 42, C. 243. *sethen dres ðam in Þe ferste stede.* The *vl.* in D plainly suggests the true reading—"*in Þair ferste stede*," so that the line will mean "then straightens them (*his arms*) in their first place or position, so as to be as they were." The previous motion, as ordered by the rubric, had been to cover the chalice with the corporas, and the priest now draws back, and with his arms straight before him, as when covering the elements, makes four crosses over them. This paraphrase of the Latin rubrics enables us to make some sense of dres ðam, or Þaim (*them*), which, especially as "dresdam" in the MS., at first appeared hopeless. It will be observed that I assume "dress" here has what would seem to be its primitive sense of making straight, like *dresser* in old French. Cf. the Italian *drizzare* and *dirizzare*, and the Latin *directus*. The verb to dress is used in this sense by Wyclif: "And shrewed things shullen ben into dressid thingis." St Luke iii, 5. ("and the crooked shall be made straight." A. V.)

So also Chaucer in a passage of his description of two companies of knights, in the Knight's tale, which—in these days of volunteering for the able-bodied and the provision for military drill for boys in elementary schools under the Education code—hardly needs explanation, uses *dressing*, as it is still used in the army, of straightening bodies of troops formed in line:

"In two renges faire they hem dresse."—*C. T.* 2596.

C. 254. *sekirly.* It is not surprising to find the *serly* of the northern original changed into the equivalent *diuersli* of the southern text (F 232); but this change by a northern copyist, who retains the northern forms, when it does not even preserve the meaning, shows that in a hundred and fifty years *sere*, even in the north, had already become obsolescent. See note, p. 188, and F. 205, and cf. C. 104, where *sere* is changed into *many*. In C. 42 *sere* is retained from the necessities of the rhyme.

P. 44, B. 467, *hele.* Cf. "A covert from the tempest." Isaiah xxxii, 2.

B. 474. *alle Cristen soules hely.* It will be observed elsewhere in this text that the northern *haly* has been changed into *holy*, as *ll.* 3, 4, 213, &c., or *holi*, as *ll.* 233, 234, &c., although *haly* has been retained on account of the rhyme in lines 75, 375. Here texts

(1) Strype's *Memorials*, Appendix, p. 288.

C, D, and **F** read *haly*, *holly* and *holi*, without reference to the rhyme, unless perhaps in C. 264, *mercy* was pronounced as in French. In this place, as in lines 74 and 75, it is merely assonant.(1) *Heli* is not a usual form of *holy;* it occurred to me, as this is a prayer for the release of souls from the pains of purgatory, that *heli* in this place might have been derived from *helien*, to cover, and be used of the dwellers in the unseen world, in reference to their being(2) covered or hidden from sight, and the more so, as "holy souls" was used of the Saints in heaven,(3) and I had not found *holy* used of the souls in purgatory in any early English writers. I have, however, met with the following and other passages in the Life of Bishop Grant, who died in 1870, which show this use,—and not improbably the traditional use—of "holy," by members of the Roman Catholic communion in this country. "He wrote a pastoral regularly every year for the feast of All Souls. In one of his latest, after adducing every argument of faith to compel his flock to assist the sufferers in Purgatory by alms-deeds and masses, the bishop said, 'We could relate wonderful instances of the temporal blessings which have been showered down upon friends of the departed as the reward of masses obtained for them.' The pastoral was a powerful one, and produced a great effect on many souls. A firm of Catholic lawyers were particularly struck by the sentence we have quoted, and forthwith promised a certain number of masses to the Holy Souls, if a complicated suit in which they were engaged were successfully terminated. They gained it, and so much more happily than they could have anticipated, that the promised offering to the Holy Souls was proportionably increased."(4)

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(1) Similar assonant or vowel rhymes may be observed, C. 46 and 47, marye, haly.

"Over þi sothenesse and þi merci
For thou mikled over al þi name hali."—Ps. (138) cxxxvii, 2.

In Hampole, we have *mercy* and *mighty:*

"For all if God be ryghtwyse and mighty
He is full of gudenes and mercy."—*P. C.* 1726-7.

(2) Cf. our *hell* and the Greek *ἀιδης, Hades*, and *hele*, l. 467, above.

"A welle wel helid under a ston."—*Gen. & Ex.* 1636.

"A (*one, the same*) rof shal hile us boþe."—*Havelok*, 2082.

(3) "Þa halgan sawla, þe on heofonum wuniað, gebiddað for us þe on eorðan wuniað."—Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 99. *Sermo ad populum in Oct. Pentecost.* f. 107 (Cent XI.), quoted Soames, *Bampton Lecture*, 1830, p. 359.

(4) *Francis Grant, First Bishop of Southwark*, by G. Ramsay, 1874, p. 213. See also pp. 208-9. In a Spanish *Lay-folks Mass-book* I find a devotion to the blessed souls in Purgatory (*Devocion a las benditas animas del Purgatorio*), in which the worshipper prays, that "by their intercession (*por vuestra intercesion*), he may have grace to repent him of his sins, and after this life eternal glory."—*Oraciones para asister al santo Sacrificio de la Misa*, Mexico, 1825, p. 393.

Dr Newman also uses the same phrase—"When the saints leave this world, they are spared that torment, which the multitude of holy souls are allotted, between earth and heaven, death and allotted glory."(1)

Heli occurs in other pieces, where hali is the frequent form:

"Þat heli luue, Þat wise wil."—*Gen. and Ex.* 51.

"Þor quiles it folgede heli wil."—*id.* 204.

"For þou mekled over al þi heli name"
"*magnificasti super nos nomen sanctum tuum.*"
Egerton MS. Ps. (138) cxxxvii, 2.

P. 44, B. 477. *bondes*, but the northern *bandes* has been retained, l. 404, where it was wanted for the rhyme.

B. 482. *per omnia secula* (*ante*, p. 110, l. 24). These words being said aloud after the silence of the Canon, served, as we have seen they did at the end of the *secreta*, as a signal to the people that another part of the service was reached. Cf. rubric in the Medytacyons (*ante*, p. 168): "*When* þe *prest begynnyth* per omnia secula seculorum *afore the* pater noster," *fol.* 18.

B. 483. *vpright*, according to the ancient posture for common prayer —*ante*, p. 191, 193. This direction is omitted in the later revised texts.

P. 45, F. 234. *Socoure*, instead of *hele* (cover, defence *rather than* health), which may have become obsolete in this sense when this text was written.

F. 236. *ifere*. The scribe, in ignorance of the northern *sere* (*ante*, p. 180), speaks of prayer for (*all*) others altogether, instead of for (*some*) others severally.

F. 238. *ido*. A form unknown in the north, and inserted, apparently, to get rid of *kid*.

P. 46, B. 487. *holde þe stille*. In the Eastern Church, and according to the old Gallican and Spanish uses, the Lord's Prayer was said by priest and people; but from the time of Gregory it became the Roman use(2) for the priest alone to say the prayer, and for the people, as here directed, to answer at the words "*sed libera.*"

B. 488. *bot answere at temptacionem*. This manner of saying the Lord's Prayer was continued at the Reformation, the people answering, "But deliver us from evil," except at the beginning of

(1) *Sermons on Various Occasions*, 1870, p. 91.

(2) The custom of the Latin Church is explained in the *Myroure*, p. 330: "After the sacrynge the preste sayeth the *Pater noster*, all a lowde *that* the people may here yt. & pray the same in theyr hartes. And therfore he begynneth wyth *Oremus*, That is to say. pray we. For in this tyme ye oughte to here the preste & to pray *with* hym. Amongest the grekes the *Pater noster*, is songe there of the quier & of al the peple. But amongest vs *the* preste alone syngeth yt in the name of all."

matins and evensong, and at the beginning of the Holy Communion, when the Lord's Prayer was said by the priest alone.

In 1552, when the Lord's Prayer was inserted in the service after all had communicated, the priest was directed to say it, "*the people repeating after him every petition;*" and in 1662 the primitive practice was restored, in every place, where the Lord's Prayer occurs, a rubric directing—though to this day it is disobeyed in churches when it is said by the priest alone at the beginning of the Holy Communion—that the people shall repeat it with the priest after the Absolution at morning prayer, "and wheresoever else it is used in divine service."

P. 46, B. 490. *Ken.* This verb is not only(1) *to know*, but also(2) *to cause to know*, as here. See next note.

B. 491. *who con not þis*, who know not this. *Con, kun, can*, is said to be, like *novi* and *οἶδα*, the perfect of a verb which has lost its present. In Mœso-Gothic (Ulfilas) *kann* is the perfect of *kunnan* = *γιγνώσκειν, εἰδέναι.*

In Icelandic *kunna* has the meanings of *to know* (nosse) and *to be able* (posse); and so the A.S. *cunnan.* As remarked, Cleasby-Vigfusson, *s. v.* p. 358, in these old languages the two senses of *knowing how to do*, and *being able to do*, are expressed by the same form, as still in the Danish *kunde* and Swedish *kunna.* In later English and modern German a distinction is made: *ken* and *can; kennen* and *können.*

In Palsgrave (p. 474) we have, "I can, I maye, *Je puis*," and "I can, I knowe, I wotte, *Je scay.*"

In our present text we have this verb (B. 625) in the sense of getting off by heart, or knowing out of book. In B. 339 we find it as an auxiliary verb with *know:* "then I con know," and absolutely (= *posse*) in B. 442 and 531.

In text C (line 82) we have *kan* (*nosse*), when F reads *can* with "of:" "If þou of letter kan," a common construction, as in the Chevelere Assigne, l. 313:

"For now I kan of þe crafte · more þenne I kowthe."

Cf. "And he þat can oght, suld lere mare
To knaw alle þat hym nedeful ware."—*P. C.* 175-6.

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(1) "I sall þe say
Wharby þou sall ken þe way."
Legends of the Holy Rood, p. 66, l. 140.

(2) "And thaim the wai til heuin kenne."—*E. M. H.* p. 3.
"Godes worde,
That precheour bringes out of horde,
That kennes man the riht wai
Until that joi that lastes ai."—*E. M. H.* p. 106.
"And maysters of þair science (*es halden*, l. 5939), to ken,
Namly þam þat er unlered men."—*P. C.* 5946-7.

"Þe laws wele better mai he cun."—*Holy Rood*, p. 93, l. 216.

"Til he the firste vers couthe al by rote."—*C. T.* 14933.

The verb has survived in this sense in one place in the authorised version, which as I have not seen noticed elsewhere, I may mention, St Matt. xxvii, 65: "Go your way, make it as sure as ye can." ὡς οἴδατε. *Vulg.* "sicut scitis." *Rushworth*, "swa ge cunnun." *Lindisfarne*, "swæ gie wuton." *Wyclif*, "as ye kunnen."(1)

lewed men. This implies a reproof to those who did not answer; and would seem to point to the decay of the custom of the people's responding, which has been noticed elsewhere (p. 158, 201, &c.). When text C was written in the fifteenth century, the change had so far advanced, that it was left to their choice (C. 274) to answer "loud or still."

P. 46, B. 496. *Þat is.* It is curious to notice the persistence of dialectic forms. Though the "which art" of the Lord's Prayer has been printed in our English Bibles and the Prayer Book for more than three hundred years, there are very many cottages in the East Riding where "*Our Father, that is in heaven*," is the home-use, the "*which art*," or, too often, a meaningless "witchhard," being confined to the school and the church, the fact being, that neither word is to be found in the country-side vocabulary. Some years ago, in a class of farm-servants, I heard one of them explaining to a lad, who had asked him the meaning of *which art*, that it was "old-fashioned for '*that is*,' like a many places in the Bible." The explanation was so much to the point that I did not remark upon his incorrect philology at the moment, though it has been a hint to me ever since not to neglect the explanation myself.

B. 506. *will saye.* After the Lord's Prayer the priest said—that is, "*aperta voce*," and not *secreto* as in the canon—the *Embolismus*, or prayer inserted after the Lord's Prayer (p. 112, l. 1—5). This said, he took the paten, and touching the host,(2) kissed the paten, and crossed himself with it; and he then said or sung the prayer, *Da propitius pacem* (*ante*, p. 112, l. 6—14), after which followed the Fraction (p. 112, l. 15), and then, according to the English use—in this unlike the Roman rule—the Agnus before the Commixture (*ante*, p. 112, l. 25).

B. 508. *saies* agnus *thryse*, the quire singing it with him, "Then folowyth. *Agnus dei*, sayde of *the* preste. & songe of the quier.

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(1) We use cunning (*s.* and *adj.*), but in a bad sense. In the A. V. the word is for the most part still used in a good sense, Ex. xxvi, 1, &c.; Ps. cxxxvii. "Let my right hand forget her cunning"; but also in a bad sense: Eph. iv, 14, "by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness." We also have the p. p. in uncouth = *unknown*, and so *strange, odd.* Cf. "The tre of kunning of good and of yuel."—(Wyclif), Gen. ii, 9.

(2) "*When þe prest taketh the pattenynn* and *towcheid þe Ooste* and *kyssed þe patteyn, Saing Da pacem* &ca."—*Meditacyons* (*ante*, p. 168), fol. 19.

where oure lorde iesu criste is called the lambe of god the father."(1) Martene, quoting the *Liber Pontificalis*, tells us the Agnus was appointed by Pope Sergius I. (in the seventh century) to be sung by the clergy and people.(2)

Cf. Lydgate, *Vertue of the Masse* (*ante*, p. 163), fol. 165 :

> "Of *agnus dei* at masse · bien saide thre
> The first tweyne · besekyng of mercy
> The thrid for peas · and vnite."

p. 112, l. 22-3. It will be noticed that I have inserted the *agnus* twice within brackets. In the MS. it occurs once only, as in other early manuscripts.(3) It does not occur in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and according to the Ambrosian rite, it is said only at masses for the dead.

P. 46, B. 509. *he spekis of pese.* See p. 112, l. 24. *Dona nobis pacem.* This change from *miserere nobis* was an innovation of the tenth century. It was not at first adopted at Rome, and not at all at the Church of the Lateran.(4)

C. 278. *at.* The sign of the infinitive and a distinctive northern form, though in the phrase *at do* (whence the modern *ado*, like the French *affaire* from *à faire*), it found its way southwards. It occurs in our quotation from Thoresby's Catechism, *ante*, p. 118, l. 6, and very often in Hampole :

> "For I hungerd and yhe me fedde,
> I thrested and at drynke yhe me bedde."—*P. C.* 6151-2.

P. 47, F. 252. The older texts enjoin that the Lord's Prayer only shall be said. This merely asserts that there is none better, which points to the introduction of other devotions. See before, p. 183.

P. 48, B. 510. Cf. *Book of Ceremonies :* "The minister taketh the kiss of peace from the blessed sacrament, and sendeth it to the people, saluting each other *in osculo Sancto*, as biddeth S. Paul : admonishing thereby of the fraternal and mutual peace and concord, which they ought to have, without which peace and concord, this communion or sacrament of common union is to them nothing profitable, but much damnable."(5)

B. 514. *pax wil kis.* This is probably an adaptation by the English translator to the existing practice in this country. When Dan Jeremy wrote, the *osculum oris*, or the actual kiss between the faithful, had not been superseded by the *osculum instrumenti*, or kissing the *osculatorium*, pax, or pax-brede, made of wood, metal,

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(1) *Myroure*, p. 331. (2) *De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, I, 151.

(3) Gerbert, *Disq.*, I, 381. See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 1876, p 679. At Lyons in the eighteenth century the *Agnus Dei* was still said only once.—*Voyages Liturgiques*, 64, 65.

(4) Gerbert, *Disq.*, I, 381. (5) Strype, *Memorials*, App., p. 289.

ivory, or glass. Binterim(1) supposes that the use of the pax originated in this country in the thirteenth century. The "*Osculatorium*" is mentioned, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, in a constitution of Walter Gray (1216 × 1255), Archbishop of York, as one of the ornaments of the parish church to be provided by the parishioners; but I find in an ordination of the Dean and Chapter of York, distributing the charges in the churches within their jurisdiction between the prebendary, the vicar and the parishioners, that the pax, "*tabula pro pace*," is mentioned as being found by the vicar, which carries it back to a somewhat earlier date.(2) It continued in use in this country down to the reformation,(3) but Le Brun, writing in the last century, mentions that giving the pax had been almost everywhere given up in consequence of the quarrels for precedence to which the ceremony had given rise.(4)

The kiss of peace was originally the preliminary of the administration of the Communion, and is so explained in the earlier ritualists. And so in the *Myroure*, p. 331: "This salutacio of

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(1) *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iv, 3, 487. In this he follows Le Brun, *Explicat*, I, 296. See Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, 117, and a work on the Ivories in the South Kensington Museum, by the same author. The book of the gospels was sometimes used instead of an ordinary *pax*.—*Rites of Durham*, p. 7. In Germany a cross was also used for the purpose.—*Messbüchlein*, fol. 164 *b*.

(2) Canon Raine (*York Fabric Rolls*, 164) mentions in a note that the date is not known, but that in 1317 there was a visitation at South Cave, and similar orders were laid down.

(3) "After the *Agnus* ye kiss the *pax* . . . . . and while the boy or the parish clerk carrieth the pax about, ye yourselves alone eat up all and drink up all . . . . . Ye send them a piece of wood, or of glass, or of some metal to kiss, and in the mean season ye eat and drink up altogether."—Becon, *Displaying of the Popish Mass*, Works, III, 279.

"the peple of highe and lowe degre
Kysse the pax, a token of unite."

Lydgate, *Vertue of the Masse*, fol. 185 *b*.

Cf. the articles of visitation of Bishop Bonner in 1554, where also notice the "thre kyns loues" of our text (B 520):

"Item. Whether there be a pax in the church, not only to put people in remembrance of the peace that Christ bequeathed to his disciples, but of that peace which Christ by his death purchased for the people, and also of that peace which Christ would have between God and man, man and man, and man to himself. And the said pax in the church to be kissed of the priest, and to be carried to the parishioners at mass-time in especial remembrance of the premisses."—Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, I, 150.

See also, Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, I, 68, an injunction in 1548, as to the *Pax*, so long as the ceremony should be used.

(4) *Explicat*, I, 296(2). Mr Peacock (Myre, p. 74) quotes from Sir Thomas More: "How men fell at varyance for kissing of the pax, or goyng before in procession, or setting of their wiues pewes in the church." There is a similar allusion in Chaucer, quoted *ante*, p. 236, n. 1.

pece is sayde betwyxte *the* preste & the quier before the receyuynge of *the* sacramente. in token that yt may not worthyly be receyued. but in peace. and in charite. for his dwellynge place is in peace." In the earliest known rubrics it was directed, "*Post hæc communicat sacerdos cum ordinibus sacris, cum omni populo.*"(1) In the Lyons Missal of 1500 (*fol.* 90) the rubric is as follows: "*Hic datur pax ad recepiendum eucharistiam.*" In this country a practice had grown up of howselling the people, out of mass-time (*extra missam*), at their Easter Communion, or the rare occasions when the communion was administered, but the old custom was observed at coronations, the conferring of orders, the consecration of nuns, and other similar functions.(2)

P. 48, B. 515. *Knele þou*, until the priest "had rinsing done," B 576. There is no corresponding direction in the later texts, for the people had not stood up. See note, p. 191.

B. 520-3. These four lines are rubricated in F, and ought to be so here, as they are no part of the prayer. Like l. 536—9, and l. 546—9, they are explanatory of its three parts, corresponding to the scholastic division of the three kinds of love.

B. 520. *charite.* Cf. Lydgate, on charity from the Epistle to the Corinthians:

> "¶ Without charite · availethe non almesse,
> To clothe the naked · nor hungry folk to feede,
> Visite the sike · or prisoners in distresse,
> Herborow the poore · [*nor*] none almesdede.
> If charite faile · your *journey*(3) may nat spede,
> Nor al these vertues · ȝif charite be wele(4) sought.
> Yowre pater noster · yowre Ave · nor your crede,
> Where charite failithe · profitethe litel or nought."(5)

B. 520. *thre kyns.* Cf. the threefold division in Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn:

> "That with the world, myself, and Thee,
> I, ere I sleep, at peace may be."

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(1) Gerbert, *Monumenta*, I, 238. In the Eastern Church the kiss of peace is given before the Anaphora, which answers to the Latin Canon.

(2) See Maskell's *Monumenta*, Henderson's *Ebor Pontifical*, &c. In the Device for the Coronation of Henry VII (*Rutland Papers*, p. 22) is a detailed description of the howselling. Whilst the quire were singing the *Agnus Dei* the chief bishop was to bring the *pax* to the King and Queen, "sitting on their seiges-roiall," and when they had kissed it they were to descend and go to the high altar; and "after the Cardinal hath commoned his-self" the King and Queen were to receive the sacrament after saying their *Confiteor*, a long towel of silk being held before them.

(3) *journey*, W. de Worde; charite in the MS. See *ante*, p. 163, n. 2.

(4) wele; *query*, nat. (5) *Vertue of the Masse*, f. 185.

Lydgate, instead of the inward peace, brings in the angels:

"This trebelle peas · in Bethlem first began,
When crist was borne · of grace it did falle:
The first peas · betwene god and man,
Atwene man and aungels · and men alle."

Vertue of the Masse, f. 182.

This threefold division of the prayer for peace, if not derived from the *Eirenica* of the Greek Liturgies, or from some common source, which perhaps it would be too much to say, is at all events to be found there. Cabasilas, in a passage quoted by Goar,(1) points out the reference both to an outward peace as respects our neighbours (πρὸς ἀλλήλους) and an inward peace as respects ourselves (πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς); but it will be observed that both in the liturgy of St Chrysostom and that of St Basil a third peace (with God) is distinctly prayed for: first, the peace of God (τοῦ Κυρίου); secondly, peace from above (τῆς ἄνωθεν) and the salvation of our souls; and thirdly, peace of the whole world and the "accord" (ἑνώσεως) of all.(2)

P. 48, C. 281. [þou]. The insertion of this word was a mistake.

C. 296. *make me lowe*, make my love. Here *me* is the possessive, but in E and F *me* is the personal pronoun, the sentence having been altered. Cf. be, *prep.* for by, C 76, 339, our "because." A common Irishism uses *me* as in the text, "me father," "me mother," &c.

P. 49, E. 513. *word* = world. This is not a *lapsus*, but a dialectic form. Cf. "O worde," in the world. *Havelok*, 1349.

"Þat ys bot fantum of þis werde
Als ȝe haf oft sene and herde."

Cursor Mundi (Fairfax MS.), 91-2.

"Out of this word wen ȝe schal wynd."

Audeley, *Poems* (Halliwell), p. 81, also p. 80.

A similar form occurs in a manuscript Manual of Hereford use.(3) "Wyth this gold ryng y þe wedde. gold *and* silver ich þe ȝeue. *and* with my bodi ich þe worshep. *and* with al my wordelych catel I þe honoure."

Cf. "a man of discret witte and in wordly matters well experienced." Sir T. More, *Utopia*, Arber, p. 15, "wordely," *ante*, p. 125, l. 31. "Wordly, *mundanus*."—*P. P.* 522.

P. 50, B. 532. *prest.* The translator no doubt retained this word from his French original, and it very commonly occurs in fourteenth-century MSS., but it has not taken root in the language. To

(1) *Euchologion*, 1647, p. 123, n. 65.
(2) Goar, *ib.* 64, 159. The modern *Euchologion*, Venice, 1854, p. 16.
(3) Hereford Cathedral Library, P. iii, 4; *Fol.* 13 *b*, *col.* 2.

judge from the mistakes in C and E, and the change to *redi* in F, it had already become unusual in the fifteenth century.

P. 50, B. 532-5. Cf. the catechism: "labour truly . . . . to do my duty in that state of life to which it shall please God to call me."

B. 536-9. This, as noted above, ought to have been rubricated as in F.

B. 539. *bytwix my soule & my body.*

"to what thyng þe saule has talent
To þat þe body salle ay assent."—*P. C.* 8459-60.

"In inward pees ther is eek of the herte
Which callid is a pees of conscience.
A pees set outward, which that doth avert
To worldly tresors with too great diligence."
Lydgate, on *Prospect of Peace*, A.D. 1444; Wright's *Political Poems*, II, 210.

B. 544. Cf. Hampole:

"þe body salle hate þe saule bi skylle
Ffor þe saule here thoght ay þe ille;
þe saule salle ay hate þe body,
Ffor þe body wroght þe foly;
And for-þi þat þe saule fyrst syn thoght
And þe body it afterward wroght,
And wyld noght leve, ne stand þere ogayne,
Until þe ded þe body had slayne,
Þar-fore bath to-gydyr salle dwelle,
With-outen ende in the pyne of helle."—*P. C.* 8475-84.

Cf. also Lydgate, *Vertue of the Masse*, fol. 185:

¶ Be ware ye pristis . whan ye yowre masse syng
That love and charite . be nat ferre absent
O gostly peple . afore make goode Rekenyng
That yowre conscience . and ye be of on assent
Or ye receyve . the holy sacrament .
Envye and Rankour . that they be set aside
And parfit charite . be ay withe yow present
That grace to godward . may be youre souerayne guyde.

B. 542. *Of one acorde.* Again cf. Hampole:

"þe thred blys, als men may in boke rede,
Es veray acord and aneheade,
þat þe saules salle have in heven to-gyder
With þe bodyse, when þai com þider."—*P. C.* 8447-50.

C. 313. *oon.* A most singular form to occur in the MS. of a Yorkshire monastery, as has been already noticed, p. 251.

P. 51, E. 524. Two lines wanting in the MS.

P. 52, B. 546. The reading of the MS., in which it agrees with C, E,

and F, is shewn in the lower margin, but I have restored the text to what appears to have been the original reading, and the reading in D goes to prove that I was ustified in doing so. "Without doubt," "without dread," "without lies," were tags, with which our early English versifiers used to eke out their measure—sometimes in the most incongruous connection(1)—and a scribe might very well have thought that his author in writing "the third love is without," had unintentionally left out "doubt," especially if he himself was not familiar with the schoolmen's method of considering charity, first in respect to God; then as it was within—"interna," the "privy" of our text—as towards ourselves; and thirdly, "externa," or *without*, as regards our neighbour.(2)

P. 52, B. 561. *have ay ioy.* Cf. Hampole, *P. C.* 8609-12:

> "Ilk ane with other salle be knawen,
> And fele other mens ioy als þair awen;
> And mare ioy and blys moght never be,
> Þan ilk ane salle þere on(3) other se."

We have already seen the mistake, which the scribe has made from the ignorance of the northern *ane*, and we have here an instance of a similar mistake in his having written "haue ay ioy" (*have always joy*) instead of "have a ioy" one, the same or a common joy, as in C. Hampole uses *a* and *ane* exactly in the same way:

> "Þis acorde and anehede sall never ceese,
> But ever-mare last with rest and peese.
> And salle þai be alle ane in company,
> And als a saule and a body."—*P. C.* 8465-8.

P. 53, F. 302. *for-ȝectes.* It is a well-understood rule that in estimating the value of various readings, the one which presents some difficulty on the surface is very probably the reading of the original; and I am disposed to think that the rule applies to the hybrid compound before us. Although its meaning is obvious (= outcasts), I have not met with it in any early English work, nor do I find it in dictionary or glossary—and, what is more to the point, Mr Skeat tells me he does not know the word either—and it is easy to understand that a scribe meeting with it in the copy before him, and still more if writing from dictation in a scriptorium, would be very apt to write the "nane forget," as in C, which seemed very natural at the end of a long enumeration,

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(1) See, for example, *ante*, p. 82, l. 14.

(2) See the *Schema charitatis* as drawn out in the *Secunda Secundæ* of Aquinas, *Quæst.* 23. Cf. foot-note, p. 296.

(3) I leave out the hyphen of the printed copy (þere-on), as I understand the line to mean, that there is no greater joy than that which each one shall there (in heaven) see in others—or himself find by seeing that of others. As in our text, there shall be joy over the good of others.

rather than to write a word which was strange to him. And there is another reason which inclines me to think that in *forȝectes* we have the reading of the original. Dan Jeremy is very careful to bring their duty towards servants and tenants, neighbours and subjects (*inferiors*) before the dwellers in castles and great houses for whom his treatise was written. He was quite the man "none to forget," and still less "the desolate and oppressed," for whom we pray in our English Litany. He might not have had a precedent in the established forms of the Latin Church, but, even if the thought had not been suggested by his large-hearted charity, he would have found the words(1) ready to his hand in the liturgy of the Eastern Church, which,—as we have already seen—whether coming to him more directly, or through the medium of the old Gallican liturgy—had so markedly influenced the form and wording of his devotions in other places.

Forȝectes is a participle used substantively, precisely as we find *abjects*. Cf. Ps. xxxv, 15. "The very abjects came together."—P. B. V. "The abjects gathered themselves together."—A. V.

"We are the queen's abjects and must obey."
Shaks. *Richard III*, i, 1.

P. 54, B. 575. *rynsande*. B. 576. *rinsynge*. In these two words we have an instance of the indifference with which *i* and *y* were used, and also of the distinction in the form of the verbal substantive and the participle which was then made, but now is lost in modern English by our using the same ending for both.

In the Promptorium (p. 434) and in Palsgrave (p. 691) *rinse* is given only with a cup or vessel, but *rincer* in modern French is used also of the hands, and so we find it in the A. V., Levit. xv, 11, 12. There is therefore no difficulty in understanding the rinsing in this place, like the *resincero* of the Sarum rubric, and the *rincer* and *rincure* of French writers on ritual of the priest's rinsing his fingers after receiving the communion; and this in England from the earlier part of the thirteenth century onward involved the washing out of the chalice into which the wine was poured.

This rinsing is a different ceremony from the washing of the hands in the Vernon MS. (*ante*, p. 145, l. 605-7), though both ceremonies occur in the same part of the service, and both were conjoined in the later English uses.

There is no mention either of the rinsing of the text, or the washing of the hands in the MS. York Mass (*ante*, p. 116, l. 1), where I have inserted from the printed Sarum rubric(2) the words

(1) Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων Goar, p. 42; and the *Euchologion* (of the present Greek Church), p. 21.

(2) "*Qua dicta* (the prayer after receiving) *eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris cum calice inter manus, digitis adhuc conjunctis sicut prius:*

which refer to the rinsing in order to mark the place where it occurred.

In the printed editions of the Ebor missal there are no corresponding directions, but the prayer is rubricated, "*Post primam ablutionem,*" which implies the second ablution, and the attendant ceremony.(1)

Learned ritualists,(2) who have written on this subject, do not

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et accedat subdiaconus, et infundat in calicem vinum et aquam; (not wine by itself) *et resinceret sacerdos manus suas ne aliquæ reliquiæ corporis vel sanguinis remaneant in digitis vel calice.*

Cum vero aliquis sacerdos debet bis celebrare in uno die, tunc ad primam missam non debet percipere ablutionem ullam, sed ponere in sacrario vel in vase mundo usque ad finem alterius missæ; et tunc sumatur utraque ablutio.

Post primam ablutionem dicitur hæc oratio:

Quod ore (*ante*, p. 116, l. 3—5).

Hic lavet digitos in concavitate calicis cum vino infuso a diacono: quo hausto, sequatur oratio:

Hæc nos (*ante*, p. 116, l. 6—8).

. . . . . .

Deinde lavet manus.—Missale Sarum. Burntisland, 1861, col. 627-8.

(1) *Missale Ebor*, Henderson, 1874, p. 202.

(2) It is only fair to quote Fornici, as he takes a rather different view. His *Institutiones Liturgicæ*, both as a recent work, and from the fact of his being Professor of Liturgy in the *Seminarium Romanum*, is of considerable authority, and is the text-book in many other seminaries. He says (*Pars*, I, *c.* xxxi.), "The earlier Roman rituals, *Ordines Romani*, and their expositors, are silent as to the purification" [the name now used for the first ablution or rinsing of the chalice], "but we can hardly doubt that out of reverence to the sacrament, this rite was of old prescribed by the popes (*a summis pontificibus*), for we know that it was observed by priests in the twelfth century, and there is extant a decretal letter of Innocent III., on this subject, written to the clergy of St Peter's, Maguelonne, and recited, Chapter x., *de celeb. Missæ*," i. e. the chapter of the decretals of Gregory in the Canon Law so quoted.

I venture to think that if there was any such precept, it must have been singularly overlooked. In the tenth century the bishops enforced an altogether different rite (see *post*, p. 306), and Innocent III., in the book he wrote before he was pope, seems not to have known of it. After he was pope he did indeed sanction the rite as a rule in the document here cited (given at length, *post*, p. 305), but with an exception, which was altogether disallowed in later rubrics.

Another fact which makes against the probability of the rite having been prescribed by papal authority out of reverence for the sacrament before the twelfth century is this—that in the tenth *Ordo Romanus*, which is of that date, the pope is described as making the perfusion in the chalice and himself drinking it ("*perfusionem facit in calice et ipse sumit*"), not at every celebration, but only on a certain Friday in Lent, and at masses for the dead. —*Ordo* X, § 15. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, II, 103.

If Fornici meant only that the rite was practiced by certain priests, or at certain masses in the twelfth century, no doubt he is justified in saying so, but in that case it is somewhat singular that he did not say the eleventh century, as to which it was no less true.

In the "Customs of Cluni," collected by Udalric in the latter part of that

assign an earlier date than the twelfth century for this ceremony, but it cannot be said to have become general in the West until the thirteenth century. I therefore subjoin evidence that a ceremonial rinsing was known at Rouen at the date when I assume the treatise to have been written, which may anticipate an objection that the reference to the practice was introduced by the translator, after it has become well established, and not by Dan Jeremy in the middle, or some years before the end, of the twelfth century.

In the *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* written by John Bishop of Avranches before 1070, when he was promoted to the Archbishoprick of Rouen, dedicated by him to Maurilius, his predecessor in that see, and professedly drawn from the metropolitan source, he says(1) that when all had communicated—and the communion was still administered in both kinds—the priest gave the chalice to the deacon(2) to cleanse and consume what remained (*diacono calicem ad mundandum et sumendum quod remansit, porrigat*); and an acolyte brought another chalice to the priest to clean his fingers (*alterum calicem sacerdoti ad mundandos digitos*). Dan Jeremy must have been familiar with this custom in the next century, for curious to say, though in the mean time it had been developed into an elaborate ceremony, the "rinsing" survived at Rouen (spite of the most precise directions clothed with the authority of the papal see) (3) down to the seventeenth century very much as it had been in the eleventh, though the priest no longer gave the chalice to the deacon, but himself cleansed it, and drank the wine of the first infusion, or the purification as it was called.

In the *Voyages Liturgiques*, the author, who was himself a son of the Church of Rouen,(4) draws attention to this exceptional custom, which he tells us was, when he wrote, still the rule at Chartres and Lyons, and among the Carthusians. The deacon poured the wine into the chalice, and "a boy gave the priest water to wash in a basin as at the *Lavabo*,(5) and emptied it into

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century (Lib. I, c. xxx.), and edited by D'Achery in 1661 (*Spicileg.*, IV, 146), we have an account of the administration of the communion in both kinds, after which the priest drank what remained of the consecrated chalice, and also the wine with which he washed the chalice, when it was poured into it by the subdeacon for that purpose.

(1) Johannis Abrincensis Episc. *de Officiis Ecclesiasticis.* Rotomag. 1679, p. 24.

(2) See *post*, p. 306, the Greek rubric when there is no deacon

(3) In the Commentary on the mass, which Pope Benedict XIV. wrote before he was raised to the papacy in 1740, we find (I, § 340) it was held to be a sin in any priest to use water only contrary to the use of the Church and the Council of Trent. He also cites the direction of his predecessor Pius V. for the priest to drink the purification and (second) ablution from the same part of the chalice as he had drunk the blood.

(4) *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. xii. *L'Europe Savante*, Octobre, 1718, p. 163—200.

(5) See *ante*, p. 100, l. 7.

the piscina, so that he was not obliged to drink the rinsing of his fingers."(1) As respects Rouen, he says, that in all the missals printed in the preceding century "there was only one purification, or ablution with wine, as at Lyons and among the Carthusians. The last ablution with water and wine was not then practised, and they did not oblige the priest to drink the rinsing of his fingers."(2)

In England the custom of pouring wine into the chalice, and of its being drunk by the priest—which, like the elevation of the host, most probably originated in the Berengarian controversy and the logical consequences of the dogma then formulated—appears to have been fully established before the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. I give my authorities for this statement somewhat in detail, as I am not able to refer to any work where this has been done, because the origin of customs may be a subject of interest to some members of our society, and because in this particular case the exact time may be very nearly arrived at.

The earliest notice of the practice in this country is a canon of a provincial council at Westminster in 1200, when in the case of a second celebration being necessary, it was ordained that nothing should be poured into the chalice after the priest had received at the first celebration, and that the washing (*lotura*) of his fingers should be drunk after the second celebration, unless a deacon or other fitting minister, or some young child (*vel alius minister honestus vel innocens aliquis*), were present at the first celebration who might drink the washing with a safe conscience.(3)

A few years later the practice received papal sanction, though still with the same exception. Innocent III., in his book *de Sacro Altaris Mysterio*,(4) which was written before his elevation to the papacy in 1198, had made no allusion to this ceremony. On the contrary, he speaks of the priest washing his hands after receiving the eucharist, and lays it down that the water used for this purpose ought to be poured out in a clean place(5) with all due

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(1) *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 230. (2) *Ib.* 315.

(3) Wilkins, I, 505*. Johnson, *Canons*, II, 85. (4) Lib. VI, c. viii.

(5) "*In locum mundum.*" This is the θαλασσίδιον of the Greek liturgists, and in the West was variously called, *lavacrum*, *lavatorium*, *piscina*, *sacrarium*, *locus reliquiarum*, &c. We find it referred to in the "*Canons under King Edgar*," Can. 38 (Thorpe, A. L. II, 252), and Udalric in his *Consuetudines* (L. II, c. xxx; *Spicileg.* IV, p. 140) speaks of two such, formed in the floor; one "cavea de lateritiis tegulis facta in proximo altaris," and another like it, but a little farther from the altar, for washing the hands. Elsewhere (*u. s.* p. 143, and L. III, c. xiv, p. 198) he calls this last *piscina*. After he was made bishop of Augsburg he directs that it should be made in the vestry or near the altar. "Locus in sacrario, aut juxta altare sit, ubi aqua effundi possit, quando vasa sacra abluuntur, et ubi vas nitidum cum aqua dependeat, ibique sacerdos manus lavet post communionem."—Gerbert, *Disq.*, I, 397-8. *Concilia*, Ed. Ven. XI, 1075.

There are still piscinas in the floor of two chapels in Lincoln Cathedral, and

honour (*debet in locum mundum diffundi honeste*), for greater reverence to so high a mystery. But in 1212 or 1213, in answer to the clergy of St Peter's, Maguelonne, which was then the see of a bishop, afterwards transferred to the neighbouring town of Montpellier, he wrote, "that the priest ought always to pour wine into the chalice, after he had taken the whole of the sacrament, except when he had to celebrate mass the same day, lest if in that case it chanced that he took the wine, it might be an impediment to the other celebration."(1)

Nine or ten years later, at the provincial council held at Oxford in 1222, a canon was passed, not forbidding, as hitherto, the rinsing of the chalice at a first celebration, but decreeing that the priest should not dare to drink of the wine which was poured into the chalice,(2) or poured over his fingers.(3)

The rubrics of the English uses carry out the provisions of this canon ;(4) but there does not appear to have been any definite rule

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in some few churches in this country. Within the last few days (May 1877) I have had an opportunity of examining a so-called well, which has lately been uncovered in Beverley Minster, in the course of repairing the floor near the altar. It is circular, about two feet six in diameter, lined with ashlar, ten or twelve feet deep, and being "*ad dextrum* (south) *cornu*," probably served to drain off what was poured into a piscina in the floor.(*) From the remains found on clearing it out, it appears to have been filled with refuse and rubbish during the civil wars. Except during some time of desecration, it can hardly have been commonly used to draw water from, after the altar was in its present place ; but as it is supposed there may have been, as at York Minster, an earlier and smaller church, not extending so far to the East, the well may in that case have been either in a vestry—a not uncommon place for a draw-well—or altogether outside the church.

Double piscinas are not very uncommon, and there are examples of three. Viollet-le-duc (*Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, VII, 189) considers that in France there were no piscinas (Qu. *in the wall?*) before the twelfth century, and that they never formed part of the original design—*en vue de concourir a l'ensemble de la structure*—before the thirteenth century. Mr Parker (*Glossary*, s. v.) is of opinion that there were no piscinas in this country earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

(1) *Decret. Greg.*, Lib. III, Tit. XLI, c. v.

(2) "*Iterato calici vinum infusum.*" It was held that the wine which was poured into the chalice the second time broke the fast necessary for a celebrant, because it retained its natural substance, which that which had been consecrated did not.

(3) Lyndwood, 226 ; *id.* App. 2 ; Johnson, II, 105.

(4) The only rubric in the York printed Missals is quoted above, p. 302. The rubric from the printed Sarum Missal is given, *ante*, p. 302. A third ablution with water is directed in the Hereford Missal (Henderson, p. 134, or Maskell, A. E. L., p. 131, 133), in the Arbuthnott [MS. sæc. XVI†]

(*) A similar drain or well, about 3 feet deep, and 18 inches across, but lined with rubble walling, was found in the parish where this is written, when we were building the new church, and had to take down the font in the old one.

† It was written by James Sibbald, Vicar of Arbuthnot, in the diocese of St Andrew's. He died in 1507.

in France and Germany until nearly the end of the century ;(1) and about the middle of it Durandus still speaks(2) of the pouring the washings (*aqua perfusionis*) into a clean place in the same terms as Pope Honorius in his treatise, though he also alludes to their being drunk (*sumptio perfusionis*) by the priest.(3)

The other ceremony, of the priest's washing his hands "when he hath used," was of much earlier date. The sixth *Ordo Romanus*, which relates to an episcopal mass and is assigned to the tenth century, is generally referred to : "When all had communicated, the bishop being seated, three acolytes minister water for him to wash his hands."(4) This may have applied only in the case where a bishop was the celebrant, but there is strong evidence that the practice was general in the tenth century, in the fact that one of the articles of enquiry by the bishop in all the parishes of his diocese, as given by Regino in his collection, is this : "Whether there was a place(5) in the vestry, or near the altar, to pour the water when the chalice and paten were washed, and whether there was a vessel hanging there for the priest to wash his hands after receiving the body and blood of the Lord."(6) It is not said that this washing took place, as that described in the *Ordo Romanus*, in the course of the service, and before mass was ended : but it is probable that it did, both because the rinsing in aftertimes occurred in that place, and because in another of these articles of enquiry it was asked, "Whether, mass being ended, the priest himself consumes that which remained over of the body and blood of the Lord ; and if he has no deacon or subdeacon, whether with his own hand he washes and wipes the chalice and paten."(7)

Missal (Burntisland, 1864, p. 163), and in the Sarum Manual of 1554 (quoted *Miss. Sar.* 1861, col. 627). In the Hereford MS. Missal (Henderson *u. s.*) is a singular rubric after the priest has received and before he makes the infusion, "*signat se sanguine.*" In all of these, as in the Sarum, the priest washes his hands after the ablutions (*see* p. 306).

All the rubrics on this point are late, and so far as has come under my notice, none of those in a longer form are earlier than the fifteenth century.

In the Sherburne MS., p. 392 (*ante*, p. 257), which is of the latter part of the fourteenth century, the rubrics are as follows : "*Post perceptionem corporis et sanguinis Domini et post primam infusionem*, Quod ore," &c. "*Post digitorum lavationem infra calicem dic*, Hæc nos communio," &c. Cf. *ante*, p. 116.

(1) Romsée, IV, 375. (2) *Rationale*, 4 ; lv, 1. (3) *Ib.* liv, 12.

(4) Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, II, 76. (5) *Ante*, p. 304.

(6) *Inquisitio*, c. 8, *ap.* Reginonem. *Ed.* Baluzius, Paris, 1671, p. 22.

(7) *Ib.*, c. 65, p. 27. It is curious to note the close agreement of the terms of this inquiry with those of a rubric at the end of the liturgy of St Chrysostom, which we find in Goar, p. 86 : "The priest comes within the prothesis and consumes that which was left in the holy cup with attention and devotion, and washes the holy cup thrice . . . . But if there is a deacon, he does this." In that case the rubric adds that the priest goes into the vestry, and there takes off the vestments.

It may be remarked in passing that the inquiries here quoted from Regino

It has been already mentioned that this washing of the hands was retained in English uses after the rinsing of the chalice and the priest's fingers had been established. The celebrant either went to the lavatory or *piscina*, or else water was "ministered" to him for the purpose. It was not retained in the Roman rite except when high mass was celebrated by a bishop, and then with the addition of precautions against poison(1) in the same form(2) as that prescribed at the washing of hands by the bishop whilst vesting before mass.(3)

P. 54, B. 579. The people had been directed to kneel (B 515) when the pax was given and whilst the priest was "using," and they are now to stand during the communion or anthem for the day (*ante*, p. 116, l. 9), so called from having originally been sung whilst the people were communicating.(4) They were to kneel again during the post-common, as was the English name for the prayer after the communion, and then to remain on their knees till mass was done.

As has been remarked in other places, there is no corresponding direction in the later texts, for when they were written, the congregation knelt throughout.

B. 578-9. The priest had flitted it to the north altar-nook at the gospel, B 155-6, note, p. 205; but after the reception of the sacra-

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go very far to prove that the drinking of a first ablution by the celebrant was as unknown in the tenth century in the Latin rite as it always has been in the Greek.

(1) The "assay" must not be supposed to be exclusively directed against "Italian art." It was rather an evidence of state and ceremony. In this country it belonged to none under an earl. See Mr Furnivall's *Babees Book*, p. 196. I extract the detailed account of the assay of the water to wash the lord's hands, there given in the *Boke of Curtasye*, p. 322-3:

> "Þo euwere thurgh towelle syles(*) clene,
> His water into þo bassynge shene.
> A qwyte cuppe of tre þer-by schalle be,
> Þer-with þo water assay schalle he;
> . . . . . .
> Þo cuppe he tase in honde also,
> Þo keruer powres water þe cup into;
> The knyȝt to þo keruer haldes anon,
> He says (*assays*) it, ar he more schalle don."

(2) "Ordine superius dicto." — *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* Innocentii Papæ X *auctoritate recognitum*, Romæ, 1651, Lib. II, c. viii. (p. 243).

(3) "Cum fuerint ante Episcopum genuflexi, infundunt pauculum aquæ super labio ipsius lancis, eamque præsente Episcopo degustant, tum aquam supposita lance super manus Episcopi infundunt."—*Ib.* p. 212.

(4) See Hefele, *Beiträge zur Liturgik*, II, 281.

(*) There is a query as to this word, and the Dutch *zijgen* is instanced in the note as meaning to strain. My acquaintance with East Riding Yorkshire will not prove what the meaning may have been in olden days; but I feel sure that there are very few dairies in this part of the country where any other word is used for straining; and not a few where strain in this sense would have to be explained.

ment, the remainder of the office was said at the south part of the altar where it had begun. At high mass the book in this place was flitted by the subdeacon, but here(1)—as the presence of a deacon only is contemplated at most—by the clerk. According to the Roman rubric, the book at high mass is removed by the deacon, but ordinarily "*per ministrum.*"

P. 54, B. 581. *office.* We have seen that the anthem at the beginning of mass was so called, *ante*, p. 190, but it is here used of the whole mass. The Gallican Liturgy is spoken of by Gregory of Tours(2) at the "*dominicum officium;*" in the old Anglican rubrics "*executor officii*" is used of the principal minister, where *celebrant* would be the modern phrase; and this name was applied to the mass in the Church of Rouen, by John of Avranches: "Ite, Missa . . . . . *officium finiat.*"(3)

B. 581. *saies forth more.* The prayers whilst communicating and at the rinsing had been said by the priest *secreto.* He now says forth, as here, or on high, as C 344, the Communion-anthem, the Post-common (*ante*, p. 116, l. 10—18), and, though not specified in the York MS., he turned to the people, and said, "*Dominus vobiscum.*"(4)

Cf. Lydgate, *Vertue of the Masse* (*ante*, p. 163), f. 185 *b*:

"At the postcomvne(5) · the prist dothe hym remewe
On the Right side · seythe d*omin*us vobiscum."

C. 344. This text has been altered, as already remarked, *ante*, p. 307, in order to omit the direction to stand. By comparing this with text F, we may notice that when it was written in a monastery, the alteration shows a more exact adaptation to the service, being made by monks, who in many cases were priests, and, when not, were constantly present at the mass.

P. 55, E. 569. *receyuande.* This is not improbably the original reading.

B. 597. *housel-brede.* When Dan Jeremy's treatise was translated into English, the doctrine of transubstantiation had been long declared by authority, and our author (*ante*, p. 225) not only accepted it, but that of concomitance also, though the name "transubstantiation" was hardly in use in his day, and "concomitance" most certainly not until long afterwards. To speak of bread after consecration was, however, not forbidden, as, for example, in the still unaltered canon of the mass (*ante*, p. 108, l. 18), where we find the consecrated bread and the consecrated cup specified as the constituent elements of the sacrifice.

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(1) "*Ad dextrum cornu altaris subdiaconus librum portet.*"—*Miss. Sar.* col. 628, note.

(2) *Hist. Franc.* II, 23, quoted, Mone, *Messen*, 4.

(3) Io. Abrinc. *De Off. Eccles.* p. 26.

(4) *Miss. Sar.* 629. *Miss. Herford*, 135.

(5) *Ed.* W. de Worde—"Post comyn."

P. 56, B. 596-8. Cf. Vernon, *ante*, p. 131, l. 116-18, and the extracts in the notes there.

B. 600. *knele doun sone.* Cf. Vernon, *ante*, p. 145, l. 614-16.

B. 602-3. In the time of Dan Jeremy, the "Ite, missa est," was the end of the mass—the office was finished, and the people had licence to depart,(1) after receiving the blessing; and this was laid down in the old Rouen rubric—"*Et benedictione recepta, recedatur.*"(2) It was remarked that at Rouen the old use prevailed down to the eighteenth century,(3) but in this country, at least in the southern province, it became the custom to add the "In principio," and the people were exhorted to "abide the end" of it. See Vernon, *ante*, p. 146, l. 645, and the note there.

B. 604-5. *ite—hit be.* If this was intended as a rhyme to the ear, as well as to the eye, it would seem that our forefathers adopted the same insular pronunciation of the vowels in Latin as ourselves, or at least as we older men were taught when we were young.

B. 605. *or benedicamus.* Cf. *Myroure*, p. 332: "But before this blyssynge *the* deken sayeth. *Ite missa est*, that is. Go ye. masse ys done. Or else go ye. *the* hoste of the holy sacramente. is offerde & sente for you. & for al mankynde to *the* father of heuen. And therfore *the* quier thanketh god saynge. *Deo gracias*, And som tyme the masse is ended all *with* thankynges. that is *with*. *Benedicamus domino*, Blysse we *the* lorde. *Deo gracias*, Do we thankynges to god. But *Ite missa est*, was ordeyned to be saide to let the people knowe *that* masse was ended. & so to gyue them leue to go. by cause the lawe chargyth *that* they go not oute of *the* chyrche tyl masse be done. For when. *Ite missa est*, is sayde. and the preste hathe blyssed. then they may go."

B. 606. *messe al done.* I quote the phrase from a will printed by Canon Raine, nearly a century later than the date of our translation, not that it is uncommon, but because it may be interesting to the early English student to have his attention called to the will, as being the earliest will in English, that is extant in the registry at York, those of an older date in the case of the greater nobles being in French, and those of smaller people in Latin.

"In Dei nomine, Amen. vij day of marce in the yher of our lord MCCCLXXXIII, I Ion of Croxton of Yhorke, chaundeler, ordans & makes my testament(4) in this maner. First, I wyte and I com-

(1) "Cum ad celebrandas missas in Dei nomine convenit, populus non antea discedat ab ecclesia quam missa finiatur, et diaconus dicit: *Ite missa est.*" Theodori Arch. Cant. *Liber Pœnitentialis*, c. xlviii, 18.

(2) De Vert, I, 143. *Voyages Liturgiques*, 315.

(3) *Voy. Litur.*, 315, 370.

(4) In the latter part of his will, where he evidently uses his own words, he calls it by the more English name of "wytword," which, with the ī long, is not yet quite obsolete in the East Riding.

mend my saule to all myghty God & to our lady synte Mary & to saynt Michaell Archangell & to all the halouse in heven, and my body to my grauen in the mynster Garth be for the butres at the charnell, by syde my childer." He bequeaths *inter alia* serges and torches with all the particularity of his calling, and continues, "Also I will that on the day of my byrying that ilk a pur man that es at the kyrk dor present haue ane ob' when the messe es done."(1)

P. 56, C. 348. *answerynge.* The answer to the priest's "Dominus vobiscum" was, "Et cum spiritu tuo," and though in an ordinary congregation when this text was written their ceasing to answer was by this time almost taken for granted, as we may see by the alterations in the later texts, yet in a conventual church there must have been many who were able to do so.

C. 351. *þou has saide Ite.* Here again is a variation which is due to the MS. having been written in a monastery where there were many deacons and priests, who from time to time took the deacon's part. Text F reads "the prest," the priest saying the *Ite* when there was no deacon.

P. 57, E. 582-3. *are—kare*, to avoid the northern *ere—were.*

P. 58, B. 610—613. *God be thonked of alle his workes.* This expansion of the *Deo gratias*—the answer to the *Ite* of the deacon—may very well have been suggested by the *Benedicite*, or Song of the Three Children, which, according to the use of Rouen, Sarum, and York (*not* Hereford), and the rubrics of other missals, including the modern Roman, was said by the priest after mass.—*Ante*, p. 117.

B. 518-19. *blesse—hesse.* In the northern original this rhyme was very possibly *blis, his.*

Cf. "in werld isse—ai fulle of blisse."—Ps. (90) lxxxix, 2.

B. 518. *In mynde of god*, that is, of our Lord. Cf. *Myroure*, p. 330, "make the token of the crosse vpon you in mynde of oure lordes passyon."

"Sen God was for us boght and sold."—*P. C.* 2725.

"The offeryng of Goddis body."—*P. C.* 3700.

So also the Grace before meat, *ante*, p. 69, and the Bidding prayer, *ante*, p. 58, l. 12, "þe haly crose, þat god was done opon;" and the prayer to Christ, Vernon, *ante*, p. 147, l. 677: "God þat dyȝed vppon þe Roode." Any number of similar quotations might easily be produced.

This manner of speaking may have served to familiarize our forefathers with the fact of the Divinity of "the man Jesus Christ," —"very God and very man, but one Christ,"—but it did not preserve them from the most gross irreverence:

(1) *Test. Ebor.* I, 184-6, and note, p. 186.

"Whan þei sittyn at þe ale,
And tellen many a fals tale,
þei sweryn falsch as þei were wode
be godis fleisch and his blode."(1)

These blasphemies may have survived in the modern 'sdeath, and 'sblood, though I suspect they are used in fiction rather than in real life, and very possibly, when used, are not understood.

This would unquestionably be true in the case of "bairn," a very common interjection among the older—already almost the past—generation of cottagers in the East Riding, which I have often thought may have originally referred to "the holy Child Jesus," though used by them in utter unconsciousness of any meaning, and most certainly without any thought of irreverence, for otherwise, as the parish priest, I should not have heard it as often as I have in the mouths of God-fearing and devout old Christian men and women.

P. 58, B. 618. *I me blesse*, that is, seek for a blessing on himself from him whom he calls upon. This older use of *bless* as a reflexive verb is unusual, if not obsolete in the present day, but there is an example in the Authorized Version, Isaiah lxv. 16: "He who blesseth himself in the earth, shall bless himself in the God of truth."

To bless, however, came to be used absolutely for making the sign of the cross:(2)

"Blesce þe al-abuten mid te eadie (*blessed*) rode tocne."
Ancren Riwle, 290.

"He wolde him blesci wiþ(3) þe deuel: his riȝt hond he gan forþ drawe
þe deuel him nom þerbi anon: he ne miȝte him noȝt wawe."
St Edmund the Confessor, Furnivall, l. 284-5.

"blissed with ryght hand."—*Romans of Partenay*, 3417.

"Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,
And blysse þi brest & thi forhede."
Babees Book, p. 17, l. 11, 12.

The rubrics of the canon of the mass in the San-Blas MS., of the ninth century, and the first, or one of the first, with ritual directions, or rubrics, as we now call them, furnish an early example of *benedico* being used for signing with the cross. "Hic solam oblationem benedicit." "Hic ambos signat, id est, oblationem et calicem."(4) "Hic ambos signat, id est, oblationes et calicem tribus vicibus singulis singulas faciens cruces."(5)

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(1) MS. York Minster Library, XVI, L. 12, f. 65.
(2) See *ante*, p. 208, note 2.
(3) Wiþ, *against*. See *ante*, p. 63, l. 5, and note, p. 323.
(4) Gerbert, *Monumenta*, I, 234. (5) *Ib.* 236.

Another illustration of this is afforded by a mistake in the gloss of the Lindisfarne Gospels (St John viii. 48), where the Jews answer, "Nonne bene dicimus nos, quia Samaritanus es," the translator has understood *benedicimus* as one word, and has glossed it, "bloedsade ue usic *and* sægnade."

So closely connected were these ideas of blessing, and signing with the cross, that conversely *segnian* and *senian*, like the German *segnen*, were used of blessing. Thus Cædmon of our Creator:

"þà segnade selfa drihten,
scyppend ússer."—*Ed.* Bouterwek, 1385-6.

And Venerable Bede, quoted by Bosworth: "Nam hlaf and senode, *took bread and blessed.*"

P. 58, B. 619. *With my blessyng god sende me hesse.* "After Ite missa est. þe *prest* stondeith in þe mydes of þe Awter. *and* blyssyd þe people."—Langforde's *Meditacyons*, f. 25.

I have drawn attention to points of resemblance between this mass-book and the Eastern liturgy. Here at the end is another, which at the least is a very curious coincidence, as the Greek occurs precisely in the same place at the end of the liturgy, in the Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος, in the Liturgy of St Chrysostom, or the prayer which was said by the priest behind(1) the ambo, or, as explained by Goar, in the midst of the people, which begins—Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοὺς εὐλογοῦντας σε, Κύριε, κ. τ. λ. (*O Lord, who blessest those that bless thee*).(2)

B. 622—629. It will be observed that E does not add anything in the way of *envoy*, as in these lines. MS. D also ends in the same place.

B. 625. *to con*, or *cun*, as in C, and as used to be the traditional pronunciation at Winchester, that is, to learn by heart, or *record*, as in F. So "Al . . . . . coulde it by heart."—Becon, *Reliques*, f. 128 *b*. See *ante*, p. 293, and "to can" in quotation from the Myroure, p. 222.

C. 356. *lyve to paye. Lyve* in this place is the same verb we have, B 243, in the form *leeue*, and is employed as there in the sense of *remaining*, and not leaving the place where the worshipper was engaged in his devotions.

It will be observed that this, the Cistercian copy, here varies from the other texts, which allow the layman to "wend his way," or "go home his way," after a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing himself at the end of mass. The alteration may perhaps be accounted for by this text having been written after it had become

(1) This name bears witness to the so-called basilican arrangement of churches, according to which before the altar meant to the east of it.

(2) Goar, 85. This prayer is also in the Liturgy of St Basil, Goar, 179. There is a similar one in that of St James, beginning Εὐλόγητος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῶν.—Trollope, 117; *Tetralogia*, 211.

the custom to "abide the *In-principio.*" More probably it was made, as we have seen in other places, to adapt the treatise to the use of the monks, who were not engaged about the altar, and heard mass in their places in the quire, for, unlike the layman, it was of obligation to them to remain for the office, which was said immediately after the conventual mass.

Grancolas, remarking upon the non-introduction of the last gospel at Lyons and among the Carthusians in the beginning of the last century, says that in those churches where it was said by the officiating priest the choir did not heed it (*n'y a point d'égard*), and often sung sext the while.(1)

In the Carthusian order the priest who had said mass himself began the office for the following hour after the *Ite, missa est.* This was merely the survival of the older use in a community which was especially tenacious of ancient forms.

In contrast to the requirement of the original, we may notice that the not remaining was already looked upon as a neglect in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Sloth in Piers the Plowman, Pass. v. l. 417-18,(2) first lies a-bed in Lent,

"Tyl matynes and masse be do."

He then goes "to the freres,"(3) and owns that,

"Come I to *ite, missa est* · I holde me yserved."

P. 59, F. 345. *ribrusch.* Compared with B and E, this looks a very strange form, but in Palsgrave (p. 263) we have "Robrisshe of a boke—rubriche."

F. 346. *record.* Cf. Rules of Syon Monastery. "*Of the offices of the*

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(1) *La Liturgie Ancienne et Moderne*, 183. Cf. *Miss. Sar.* 629. "Statim post *Deo gratias* incipiatur in choro hora nona quando post missam dicitur. Sacerdos vero in redeundo dicat Evangelium, *In principio.*"

(2) *Piers the Plowman*, Skeat, B Text, E. E. T. S., p. 79. Clarendon Press Series, p. 58.

(3) The parish mass was said before noon, but in Lent no regulars in religious houses, whether of monks or friars, were allowed to break their fast before vespers. The hour of mass was deferred until then, and Sloth takes advantage of the "evening mass,"(*) and goes to the Friars.

Cf. The Capitular of Theodulph, quoted above, p. 235, and in its English form printed by Thorpe, as the *Ecclesiastical Institutes:* "xxxix. *Ut Jejunium non solvatur ante Vesperas* . . . . . þat is riht þate æfter nonsange mon mæssan ȝehyre . and æfter þære mæssan his æfen-sang on þa tid." "It is right that after none-song mass be heard, and after the mass, even song at the time," that is, at the same time. for in Lent mass and vespers were said as a continuous service, "*sine campanarum pulsatione,*" that is, without a fresh call to church. See *Ancient Laws*, II, 436, 437. Cf. Martene, I, 108. *Voyages Liturgiques*, 203, 216, 292. *Miss. Sar.* 356. *Miss. Ebor.* 125. Grancolas, *Liturgie*, 177.

(*) "Are you at leisure, holy father, now,
Or shall I come to you at evening mass?"
Romeo and Juliet, IV, 1.

Prechours. Eche of the prechours schal, be-syde the sermon day, haue thre hole days at lest oute of the quyer to recorde hys sermon."—Aungier, *History of Syon Monastery*, p. 391.

P. 60, B. 626. *skille.* It is somewhat unaccountable to find this word, which appears to have been in such common use as in the sense of reason, miswritten *swilk* and *suche*, as it is in C and F, to the utter destruction of the sense. The mistake must have been made by a copyist before the recensions represented by C and F were made, the *suche* being probably a southern gloss of a northern blunder.

Cf. "and þat is skille."—Vernon, *ante*, p. 139, l. 405.

"Me thynk þan þat it es skille and right."—*P. C.* 2052.

"Alle thyng he ordaynd aftir is wille,
In sere kyndes, for certayn skylle;
Whar-for þe creatours þat er dom,
And na witt ne skille has, er bughsom."—*P. C.* 47-50.

"For to do gile ne wrang unto na man
Bot to do that skill is unto ilk man."
Thoresby's *Catechism*, f. 297.

B. 628-9. The author has ended his treatise, and he repeats the two first lines much as the Q. E. D. of a theorem echoes the beginning. See another instance in Robert of Gloucester. He begins the prologue (page 1, line 1):

"Engelond ys a wel god land, ich wene of eche lond best,"

and p. 8, end of prologue,

"war þorw me(1) may wyte
þat Engelond ys lond best, as yt is y-write."

þen was used with the force of wherefore, or therefore, in the statement of a conclusion, as, for example, Hampole, after telling how to help soules in purgatory, paradise, and hell, winds up:

"þan availles almus, messe, and bedes,
To þe saules þat er in alle þre stedes."—*P. C.* 2723-4.

F. 354, 356. *sey* = *say*, written as pronounced, a southern form in strong contrast with the north. In the southern pieces here printed we have the forms, *seiz*, *seþ*, *seyinge*, *seid* (*Glossary*), and Chaucer uses *seye* (C. T. 7209), *seith* (C. T. 177), *seyn* (C. T. 180), *seide* (C. T. 182). I have elsewhere (p. 197) quoted a remark of Dr Morris as to the southern orthography being retained with the northern pronunciation; and we have an example of the reverse in the "*sez he*" of the illiterate, and the equally incorrect *seth*, which is very often to be heard in our churches, instead of *says*

(1) *Me*, men, indefinite.

and *saith* being sounded, as written and as of old, to rhyme with *pays*(1) and *faith*.(2)

P. 60, Grace, l. 4—*ayl.* "ayl" and "schal" are not a very good rhyme to the eye; but in the East Riding up to the present day *ale* (*pr.* yăl) and *shall* (*pr.* sal) are sounded exactly alike.

The Ancren Riwle, p. 44, provides "graces" before and after meat, and also before and after drink:—"Bitweone mete, hwo so drinken wule, sigge benedicite: 'Potum nostrum Filius Dei benedicat. In nomine Patris *et* Filii *et* Spiritus Sancte, Amen.' And blesceð (*sign the sign of the cross*), *and* a last siggeð, 'Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit celum *et* terram. Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex nunc et in secula. Benedicamus Domino. Deo gracias.'"

THE BIDDING PRAYERS.

The bidding prayers, according to the use of York, in all essential points were alike in their use and structure to those which were used in the southern province, though the earliest of those here given (p. 62) is some centuries earlier than any others which have hitherto been printed.

The bidding prayers (as suggested by the name) are not so much a form of prayer, as a bidding of the bedes or prayers of the people, calling aloud upon them to pray, and directing them what to pray for, or, as in after times, calling upon them to use certain specified devotions, with a required intention—Paternosters, and afterwards Paternosters and Aves, or Aves only.

They were used not only in this country, but in Western Germany and in France, where they held their ground as a part of the *prône* without interruption until the old Gallican Church was overthrown at the Revolution—the primitive custom of the priest speaking in the mother tongue being everywhere retained. As they were unknown at Rome, there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the received opinion that they are one of those customs which the Gallican Church received from the East—and very possibly one of those which our own Augustine adopted from the Church in Gaul when he gathered the English Use from those of Rome and Gaul in accordance with the

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(1) "For þe life of þe saule mare him pays
þan þe dede (*death*), for þus himself says."—*P. C.* 1734-5.

(2) "For I nought hold him in good faith
Curteis, that foule wordes saith."—*Romaunt of Rose.*

"The gospel redde, a Cred after he saythe
Of xii articles, that longithe to our faithe."
Lydgate, quoted, *ante*, p. 222.

advice of Pope Gregory the Great. At all events, as the first of the forms here given is alone sufficient to prove, bidding the prayers of the people was practised in this country before the conquest.

This custom of bidding prayer was of high antiquity. We find an example in the so-called Apostolical Constitutions (VIII, 9), and the nineteenth canon of the Laodicæan Synod in the fourth century directs the use of prayer by the bidding of the deacon—διὰ προσφωνήσεως. But there is no occasion to enter upon the minute archæology of the bidding prayer, as it has been so fully treated by learned writers on the subject.(1) Certain resemblances to earlier forms will from time to time be pointed out in the notes; and it may be sufficient in this place to notice one marked variation from the earlier practice, which became the rule both in France and this country. As appears from the rubric in the liturgy of St James,(2) whatever may be its date; in the Apostolical Constitutions, which in the main may be taken as representing the practice of the primitive Church; in the homily of St Chrysostom, where he so vividly describes this portion of the Eucharistic office;(3) and in many(4) of the early documents of the Gallican Church, not only is the bidding prayer—the προσφώνησις, or κέλευσμα of the Greeks, the *admonitio* of the Council of Orleans—associated with the homiletic teaching of the people, but it always followed it. In the mediæval churches of the West the bidding prayers preceded the sermon or pastoral instruction, when there was any, and at other times was used by itself, though, when in mass time, always in that part of it where the sermon, if any, used to be preached.

The French ritualists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are very full in their account of the *prône*, and the several forms are

(1) See *Forms of Bidding Prayer with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford, 1840. The initials appended to the preface will be recognized as those of the present most popular Bodley's Librarian, the Revd. H. O. Coxe, whose unvarying kindness in helping them in their researches on all sorts of subjects will have made him well known to successive generations of readers at the Bodleian. See also Bingham, Book xv, ch. 1, § 2 and 3; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 299—308.

(2) Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναγνῶσαι καὶ διδάξαι.—Trollope, 41; *Tetralogia*, 41.

(3) Hom. II, *de Obscur. Prophet.*, Ed. Ben., VI, 188.

(4) Perhaps the reference to the Bidding Prayer by Florus Magister may be an exception. He was a deacon or subdeacon in the Church of Lyons, and about A.D. 840 wrote *De Expositione Missæ*. In ch. xi, on the sequence that is to be observed in the several parts of the liturgy, he says: "præcedente lectione apostolorum (i. e. *the epistle*) et evangeliorum, præcedente etiam nonnunquam sermone et allocutione magistrorum." Here he certainly makes a distinction between the *sermo* and the *allocutio*, and it does not seem unlikely that the *allocutio magistrorum* may be what we should now call the sermon, and *sermo*, the προσφώνησις, or bidding of prayer preceding it. In the Paris ritual, corresponding to the manual of the old English uses, and quoted by Grancolas (*Liturgie Ancienne et Moderne*, 57), the *prône*, which included both bidding prayer and sermon, is described as the "*sermo*, quem parochus inter missarum solemnia habet ad populum."

given in rituals of different dioceses. Nor is there any difficulty in ascertaining what was the rule in this country before the reformation; though it so happens that owing to a misconception as to the place of the sermon in the mediæval Church of England—and the connection between the sermon and the bidding prayer has been already mentioned—the evidence of our authorities on this point has been overlooked.

According to the sixth *Ordo Romanus*,(1) and a modern rubric of the Roman missal,(2) the sermon is preached after the gospel and before the creed, when the creed is said. Hence several writers on this subject,(3) who in this, as in other instances, may perhaps have accepted the existing Roman rule as founded on the unchanged custom of the Church, have supposed that the rule applied to the Church of England before the reformation. As a matter of fact, our present rubric, according to which the sermon follows the gospel and creed,(4) is much nearer the Roman practice than that of our forefathers. According to a rubric in the Sarum manual, which in the absence of an Ebor rubric we may assume to represent the practice of the Anglican Church, the bidding prayers, which were rubricated "the bedes on the Sunday," "*preces dominicales*," "*preces pro*," or "*in diebus dominicis*," were to be said on Sundays in the procession(5) before mass in cathedral and collegiate churches; and in parish churches not in the procession, but after the gospel and offertory, before some altar in the church, or a pulpit for the purpose (*ad hoc constituto*).(6) The connection between the place of the sermon and the bidding prayer is recognised in the constitutions of Archbishop Arundel against Lollards, put forth in a provincial synod at Oxford in 1408, where it is directed that the preaching, as there allowed, should be at the time of the accustomed prayers (*una cum precibus consuetis*), which Lyndwood glosses,

(1) Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* II, 73.

(2) *Rit. celeb. Missam*, VI, 6. This rubric was added at the revision of the missal by Clement VIII in 1604.

(3) "In parochial service after the gospel, the bidding prayer was said, and the sermon preached."—Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, IV, 192.

Maskell, A. E. L., 48; &c.

(4) Durandus tells us that after the gospel and the creed "*post illa*" followed the preaching to the people.—*Rationale*, 4, xxvi, 1.

(5) At Rouen the Archbishop preached in the procession before mass on Ash-Wednesday and five Sundays in the year. *Voyages Liturgiques*, 354. I cannot refer to any notice of the time when the sermon was preached in our English cathedrals, though it is not unlikely that, as in parish churches, it may have been in connection with the bidding prayer, and consequently, as at Rouen, in the procession before mass. In many, if not all, the cathedrals of the old foundation the *rota* of the preaching turns of the bishop, dignitaries, and canons dates back long before the Reformation. At York, probably from the circumstance that he was generally absent from the city, the Archbishop was set down once only, viz. on Good Friday.

(6) *Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis*. London, 1554, fol. 56. The whole rubric has now been printed by Dr Henderson in the York Manual for the Surtees Society, pp. 133-6.

"Those which are used to be made on Sundays after the offertory to the people."(1)

By "After the Offertory" we must not understand immediately after the anthem so called (page 98, line 22). The name, as already remarked (page 228), was not confined to the anthem, but extended to the whole of the oblatory action. The precise point where the bidding prayers and sermon were introduced in the parish mass on the Sundays was most probably at the place where the priest ordinarily asked the prayers of the people (page 100, line 19), or rather after having done so. This at least was the place where the *prône*, which included the bidding prayer and the sermon, continued to be said by some of the French clergy, as by others after the *secreta*, and before the preface, so late as the eighteenth century, the Roman rubric to the contrary notwithstanding.(2) This suggestion entirely tallies with the extracts as to the place of the sermon in this country, which I here insert, as I have ventured to differ as to the matter of fact from men whose research and candour give them every right to speak with authority on these subjects.

In a Sarum Pontifical, A.D. 1315 and 1329, in the office at the consecration of nuns after the gospel, creed, and offertory, and before the preface, occurs the rubric, "*Hic si placet, fiat sermo.*"(3)

In the order for the consecration of nuns, given by Bishop Fox to the nuns of St Mary, Winchester, and "probably written soon after 1500,"(4) there is an English rubric, after the postulants have made their offering (*ante*, p. 237) they stood in a row on the north side "to thofferyng of other forlkys be doon; whych offeryng ended, the sermone shal be sayde by the bishop, or such a clerc as he shall appoynt . . . . And the bisshop shall after thofferyng and sermone prosequute the masse unto *Pax Domini*, before the *Agnus Dei*."(5)

(1) *Provinciale.* Lib. V, Tit. v, (o) p. 291, *ad populum*, for the priest did not so much pray, as pray (*bid*) the people to pray.

(2) De Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, 1709, I, 18, 19. The author strongly animadverts upon this custom, but he adds that it is not always the fault of the parish priests, but often that of their Rituals, which placed the *prône* after the offering instead of after the gospel, where the Roman missal places the sermon. Bauldry (*Manuale Sacrarum Cæremoniarum*, P. 1, c. x, § 1) in the previous century had drawn attention to the disregard of the then recent Roman rubric, in placing the sermon after the offerings (*post oblata*), which is a clear proof of the prevalence of the custom. In fact, not only was it enjoined in diocesan rituals, as mentioned by De Vert, but the "*prône* after the offertory" seems to be mentioned as a matter of course in the constitutions of a provincial council at Tours in 1583 (Grancolas, *L'Ancien Sacramentaire*, II, P. 1, 781).

The modern rubrics of the Ambrosian rite require the sermon to follow the gospel (§ 17). The creed is not said in this place, but (§ 18) after the offering, and before the prayer *super oblata* (*ante*, p. 267). *Query*—Whether, as in other cases, there may not have been an adaptation to the Roman rite.

(3) *The York Pontifical*, Henderson, *Appendix*, p. 208.

(4) Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, II, 307.

(5) *Ibid.* II, 327.

The same order was observed at funerals, as appears by an extract from the Book of Precedence, which I have already quoted, *ante*, p. 242 : "The offering don, the sermon to begin." That this was the custom also appears from the directions for the Venus soul-mass in the *Testament of Sqvyer Meldrum :*

> "Efter the Euangell and the Offertour,
> Throw all the Tempill gar proclame silence ;
> Than to the Pulpet gar ane Oratour
> Pas vp, and schaw, in oppin audience
> Solempnitlie, with ornate eloquence,
> At greit laser, the legend of my life,
> How I have stand in monie stalwart strife."(1)

Other examples might have been produced as to the place of the sermon in the mass at particular functions ; but Thomas of Walden in his *Doctrinale* clearly speaks as if the same rule were of universal application. After the prayer in the offertory, *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas* (*ante*, p. 98, l. 29), he goes on to speak of the sermon, adding that the subject was preferably taken from those parts of the scriptures which were appointed for the preceding lessons (epistle, gospel, &c.) : "¶ Acceditur demum ad prædicandum apertius populo dignam congruamque conversationem celebrationi futuræ ; et e divinis libris tractatus assumitur, his præcipue quos primæ lectiones habebant."(2)

There is a marked absence of rubrics in the York forms,(3) but we find from other rubrics that the priest turned to the people whilst bidding their prayers, and to the east at the psalms and prayers.(4) In respect to the attitude of the people, a change appears to have gone on similar to that which has already been noticed as having grown up at mass,(5) namely, from the earlier(6) attitude of standing to that of

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(1) Sir David Lyndesay's *Works*, Ed. Fitzedward Hall, Part III, p. 371, l. 162-8. With this curious travesty of a Christian service, cf. *post*, the Venus-mass of Lydgate, himself a Benedictine monk.

(2) Tom. I, Tit. IV, Cap. xxxiii, Fo. lxxxi. (3) See a rubric, p. 70, l. 18.

(4) Coxe, *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, 18, 20, 22, &c. Becon, *Reliques of Rome*, fol. 234, quotes from the Festival—not the edition of Caxton, 1483, nor that of de Worde, 1515, and most probably from a MS.—a form of bidding the bedes on Sunday in parish churches, the following rubric : "*While the Priest is saying the aforesaid Orysons* [ante, p. 70-1] *he shall stand with his face eastward, and looke vnto the high altare. When he hath once done. he shal turne hym againe to the people, and speake vnto them on this manner.* Furthermore ye shal pray for al Christen soules," &c.

(5) Bearing in mind the custom of the early Church as to praying standing on Sundays and the canon (xx) of the First Council of Nice, it may be a question how far we may accept the so-called Clementine Liturgy as representing the practice of the primitive Church as to kneeling. In it after the expulsion of the penitents, and before bidding the prayers of the faithful, the deacon adds ὅσοι πιστοὶ κλινώμεν γόνυ (all we of the faithful let us bend the knee).—*Cons. Apost.*, VIII, ix.

(6) *Ante*, p. 191, 193, 201, 224, 270, 292, &c.

kneeling throughout the whole service. Perhaps, however, the later directions are to be understood merely as directing the people to kneel, when they came to the actual prayers, and this is the more likely to be the case if, as is most probable, the practice in our cathedrals and other churches, of the people standing until the Lord's Prayer, has been handed down from before the Reformation.

It will be seen that there are no directions as to this point in any of the York MS. forms; but in that from the printed manual (*ante*, p. 78, l. 14) the people are bidden to "kneel down devoutly on their knees and make a special prayer." The Worcester form (A.D. 1349) begins, "Ye shulle stonde up and bydde your bedys,"(1) and then towards the end, after prayers in Latin, the priest proceeds: "Ye shulle kneelen doun and bydde for your fader sowl," &c.(2) The form in the Sarum Missal (circa A.D. 1400), printed by Dr Henderson,(3) is to the same effect, and so is that given by Wharton from an old written copy;(4) but in the forms in the printed Festival (Caxton, 1483; W. de Worde, 1515), in the form given by Hearne, as used in the reign of Henry VII,(5) and in another in the time of Henry VIII,(6) and in a form for the Diocese of London, printed by Dr Henderson,(7) a direction to the people to kneel down on their knees is given at the beginning, and the direction is not repeated at the end, where it was at first inserted, and then partially, in the fourteenth century.

The priest turned to the people, when speaking to them: he then turned to the altar during the Latin devotions; and afterwards to the people, when he again spoke to them in the mother tongue.(8)

As forms from the conquest to the reformation are given in the text, it may be acceptable to some of my readers if I here add the form of bidding prayer which, more than a thousand years after the date of the earliest in the series, we still continue to use in York Minster before the sermon:

"YE SHALL PRAY

"For Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole con-
"gregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world, especi-
"ally for the Church of England and herein for our Most Gracious
"Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, the Princess of

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(1) Coxe, 11.

(2) *Ib.* 22. This is preceded by the rubric "*In lingua materna conversus ad populum dicat.*"

(3) *York Manual*, Appendix, p. 220*.

(4) *Errors and Defects in* Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, by Anthony Harmer, 1693, p. 68, 166.

(5) *Robert of Gloucester*, 1810, p. 682. (6) Coxe, 51.

(7) *York Manual*, Appendix, 223*. "ȝe shall knell down on your kneis and pray devoutle and mekle to the Fader, the Son, and the Holi Gost, thre persons and o Gode."

(8) Sarum rubrics. Henderson, *York Manual*, p. 134-5. Worcester rubrics (1349), Coxe, p. 22.

"Wales, and all the Royal Family, for the Ministers of God's Holy "Word and Sacraments, particularly for William, Archbishop of this "Province, The Dean and Chapter, and the other Members of this "Metropolitical Church.

"For the Queen's most Honourable Privy Council [for the great "Council of the Nation now assembled in Parliament] and for all the "Nobility [the Judges of this Assize] and Magistrates of this Realm, "particularly for the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen, and all "that bear office in this ancient City. That all these in their respective "stations may serve truly and painfully to the Glory of God, and the "edifying and well-governing of His people, remembering the account "which they must one day give.

"And that we may never want a supply of fit and able men duly "qualified to serve God in Church and State, let us beg a blessing upon "all schools of sound learning and religious education, more especially "on the Universities of the United Kingdom.

"Also, ye shall pray for the Commons of the Realm, that they may "live in the fear of God, in humble obedience to the Queen, and in "brotherly charity one towards another.

"Finally, let us praise God for all those who are departed out of "this life, in the faith of Christ, humbly beseeching Him to give us "Grace, so to follow their good examples, that this life ended we may "be with them received into his everlasting kingdom, through our "Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Our Father."

P. 62. *Bidding Prayer I.* This is the earliest of our York bidding prayers, and it is believed to be the earliest example of the bidding prayers in the Church of England which is known to have come down to us. It is written at the end of the York Gospels,(1) but by another and a later hand. I took advantage of a visit from Mr Maunde Thompson to obtain his opinion, and he puts it at early XI century, which quite agrees with the

(1) This is supposed to be "the very copy of the Evangelists upon which every new officer of the Church took his oath from the year 900 downwards" (Raine, *York Fabric Rolls*, 143). In the inventory of the jewels, &c., belonging to York Minster in 1510, it is described under the "Textus Evangelici. Unus textus ornatus cum argento non bene deaurato, super quem juramenta Decani et aliarum dignitatum ac canonicorum in principio inseruntur" (*ib.* 323). It was lost for some time, "but soon after the Restoration, according to an entry in the chapter books, it was restored" (*ib.* 357), at which time it was most probably rebound in the present rough calf. Mr Thompson puts the form of oath, mentioned in the inventory as above, at XIV century.

The text itself begins with St Jerome's preface and the Eusebian canons. Before each gospel, except that of St John, is a full-page figure of the evangelist without any of the evangelistic symbols. At the end, with other documents and memoranda, are the Sherburn Inventory, elsewhere referred to, and the Bidding Prayer here given.

internal evidence; and the Gospels at X century, but hardly at the beginning of the century, which is the date traditionally assigned to them.

Until after the text was printed off I was not aware, or rather, not having the book to refer to, I had forgotten, that Dr Rock had printed the bidding prayer in the *Church of our Fathers.* The transcript which he used was not altogether correct; but the one here given has had the advantage of being compared by Mr Thompson, who read line 22 for me, and suggested the manner in which I have filled up the hiatus, where there is a hole in the vellum, and therefore the members of the E. E. T. Society will not be displeased to find it here, even if it were not required for the completion of our series.

P. 62, l. 4. *On þyssan lænan life.* I have drawn attention, *page* 275, to the manner in which the verb *lene* was used some centuries later;(1) and in this place there seems to be a similar ethical subaudition in the use of the adjective *læne.* This is suggested by the then customary tenure of limited estates in land, *læna* that is, or loans lent or granted by a superior, subject to certain services, for a term or during pleasure, and revocable in case of default, the absolute property remaining to the granter, the conditional and precarious usufruct to the grantee.

Lán in Icelandic has also the meanings of *loan* and *fief;* and the phrase Guðs lán, *a loan from God,* also occurs.—See Cleasby-Vigfusson, *s. v.*

ll. 3—4. Cf. a prayer in MS. Cotton. Jul. A. II:

> " þæt ðu gemilsige me
> mihtig Drihten,
> heofena heah-kyning,
> and se halga Gast;
> and gefylste me,
> Fæder ælmihtig,
> þæt ic þinne willan
> gewyrcean mæge,
> ær ic of ðysum hlænan
> lyfe gehweorfe."(2)

(1) Cf. Bidding Prayer II, p. 64, l. 13: " that god len thaim grace."

(2) "That thou have mercy on me, mighty Lord, high King of heavens, and the Holy Ghost; and assist me, Father almighty, that I thy will may perform, ere I from this meagre life depart."—*Select Monuments of the Catholic Church in England before the Norman Conquest,* by Ebenezer Thomson, 1849, p. 224-5.

For the reasons given above I should have been inclined to render *hlænan* transitory or precarious, which last would suggest the holding of an estate at will to those who are familiar with feudal tenures.

Cf. Heb. xiii, 14: " For here have we no continuing city."

P. 62, l. 5. *gehealdan . . . wiþ.*

Cf. "Heald me here-wæpnum
wiþ unholdum."
"*Guard me with war weapons
against the unfavourable.*"
Thomson, *u. s.* p. 160, 161.

gescyldan wiþ, &c. Cf. York *Horæ*, quoted above, p. 248, "shelde . . . ayent all myn enemyes bodely & ghostly."

"To shildenn þe wiþþ all hiss(1) laþ."—*Orm.* 11887.

—*wiþ*, *against*. It may seem at first sight as if *with* was used in old English in a sense different from the English of the present day; but if I do not mistake, the seemingly contrary senses are reducible to that of *contact* or *nearness*, the precise character being inferred from the context. As, for example, we fought with (*contended with*) the French at Waterloo, and we also fought with (*confederate with*) them in the Crimea,—in the one case we were at war *with* them, in the other we had made an alliance *with* them.

Cf. "Warniaþ wiþ ælce gytsunge."
(*Cavete ab omni avaritia.*) St Luke xii, 25.

"He faught with Arcite."—C. T. 2641.

"Go out, I pray thee, and fight with them."
Judges ix, 38.

"That angel should with angel war."
Milton, P. L. VI, 92.

l. 7. *urne papan*, our pope. In later forms, the pope.

l. 8. *ealdorman*, from *ealdor*, elder, but with no more reference to age than the feudal *Seigneur* from *senior*.

This title, which in later times was confined to the holders of office in municipal corporations—either several under a mayor, or one, himself the chief officer, as at Grantham—was given not only to the high officer of state, next in authority to the king, but also, as we shall see, to the head of a religious house or brotherhood.(2)

At the date of our MS. the Danish earl had taken the place, at least in the North, of the Anglian alderman, which makes it less likely that we are to understand ealdorman of the secular dignitary, though it is possible that the older name might have

(1) *Against all his enmity.*

(2) This title was also given in 1494, and may have been given earlier, to the master—as the head of a gild was afterwards called—of the gild of St Katherine at Stamford (*English Gilds*, Smith, E. E. T. S., 1870, p. 188); and this was very probably the title of the masters of the gilds of St Helena and St Mary, as Englished by Mr Toulmin Smith from the Latin of the Ordinances of the fourteenth century.—*Ib.* 148, 149.

maintained its ground in the language of the church. It seems, however, more natural to understand it, as I suggest in the margin, of the senior of the minster clergy, more especially as it occurs between the mention of the archbishop and those who owed frith and friendship to the minster. The office of dean, it must be remembered, had not as yet been founded at York; and the following evidence appears to be sufficient that ealdorman might have been used in this sense.

After the flight of Paulinus, St Aidan was sent from Iona,(1) and from that time the discipline of the Scottish Culdees spread through the whole of Northumbria; and though no Culdee(2) was raised to the See of York after St Chad resigned it in 669, the brethren of York Minster "retained the name Colidæi or Culdees until the time of Henry I."(3)

In the Irish rule of St Columba the head of the community is styled *senóra*,(4) which is evidently derived from *senior* (alderman); and so also in the ecclesiastical laws of Wihtred, King of Kent, made at a wittenagemot at Berghamstede (Bersted, near Maidstone) in 696:

"XVII. Mynstres aldor hine cænne in preostes canne."(5) *Let the senior of a minster clear himself with a priest's clearance.*(6)

Centuries later we find the use of this name for the superior of a monastery in this country. Orm, speaking of the life of a monk, says he must be

"buhsum till hiss alderrmann
þatt hafeþþ himm to gætenn."(7)

And so on the continent, at the offertory in the mass of a

(1) Bede. H. E. III, 3. Ed. Smith, p. 105-6.

(2) *Gille de*, or *Cele de*, servant or child of God, Latinized *Culdæi*, *Colidæi*, and *Kelidei*.

(3) Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, I, 21. The common property was not apportioned in separate prebends until the time of Archbishop Thomas I, in 1090. The brethren were thenceforward called canons. "Tunc . . . statuit decanum, thesaurarium, cantorem."—Stubbs, *X Script.*, 1709.

(4) Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, II, 119. Mr Haddan (p. 121) is of opinion that this was not written by St Columba himself, but the later production of some Columbite monk. In either case it proves the use of the name for the superior.

(5) Thorpe, A. L. I, 40. H. & S. *u. s.* III, 236.

(6) The *canne*, or solemn averment, was the form of defence observed by all defendants. That of the priest is laid down in the next clause. "XVIII. Preost hine clænsie, sylfæs soðe, in his halgum hrægle, ætforan wiofode, þus cweðende: Ueritatem dico in Xpo non mentior. Swylce diacon hine clænsie. *Let a priest clear himself by his own sooth, in his holy garment before the altar, thus saying*, Veritatem dico in Christo, non mentior. *In like manner let a deacon clear himself.*"—H. & S. and Thorpe, *u. s.*

(7) *Ormulum*, 6304-5.

Benedictine house (*Hornbach*), a prayer was offered, "pro seniore nostro et cuncta congregatione sancti Petri."(1)

P. 62, l. 9. *friδ* and *freondscype*, most probably with reference to the system of frith-borh or frank-pledge, by which every one, laic or(2) cleric, within or without a borough was held to be "under borge"—the members of the same frith gild (gyldan, gegyldan or *congildones*) being mutually responsible in all breaches of the law.

The clergy of the Minster, with their tenants and dependents, would have very early formed such an association. They claimed many special privileges by charter from King Edward the Confessor and Archbishop Alfred, in respect to themselves and their lands wherever situate. Until within the last fifty years the liberty of St Peter was a separate jurisdiction, with its "Peter-prison," in the Minster yard, the dean being *custos rotulorum*. The justices of the peace were appointed by the crown to "hold sessions and act in a judicial manner for the towns and districts within the Liberty, as fully as the same are administered by the justices for the several ridings in Yorkshire."(3)

l. 10. *on feower healfe*, on the four parts or sides. We speak of "people coming from all quarters," without reference to any definite fourfold division; and our forefathers appear to have used *healf* in much the same sort of way, that is, if we assume the radical meaning(4) to have been half, and not side or part.

Cf. "On the foure halves of the hous about."—C. T. 3481.

"Sire Edward oure kyng, that ful ys of piete,
The Waleis(5) quarters send to is oune countre

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(1) Martene, I, 184. In the so-called *Missa Illyrica*, ante, p. 263.

(2) In the "Canons enacted under King Edgar" it is assumed that priests are connected with gilds as universally as with a church, or ecclesiastical district (*scrift-scire*), in which they were the appointed confessors: "IX. And we enjoin that no priest deprive another of any of those things which appertain to him, neither in his minster, nor in his schrift-district, nor in his gildship (*gildscipe*), nor in any of the things appertaining to him."—Thorpe, A. L. II, 247.

The "Laws of King Ethelred" (lxii) admonish men "that they everywhere willingly maintain the 'grith' and 'frith' of God's churches."—Thorpe, A. L. I, 327.

(3) *Church of St Peter, York*, York, 1770, II, 247.

(4) Ulfilas renders *μέρος* by halba, 2 Cor. iii, 10; ix, 3, *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει*, "in thizai halbai," cf. our "behalf."

Our early versions render Matt. xx, 21, "ad dexteram," "on þine swiðran healfe."—*St Matthew, synoptically arranged* (Kemble and Hardwick), Cambridge, 1858; and Wyclif here, "riȝthalf" and "lefthalfe," and so the Heliand (Heine), 5563-4:

"an twa halba
Kristes an Kruci."

(5) Wallace was executed on Tower Hill, and his quarters were sent to Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen.

Oꝛ four half to honge, huere myrour to be,
Theropon to thenche, that monie myghten se ant drede."
Political Songs, Wright, C. S., 1839, p. 213.

"Þe vour gospelles þet holdeð al Cristendom up a uour halues."
Ancren Riwle, p. 30.

"Fat bules um-sete me on al halves."—Ps. (22) xxi, 13.

P. 62, l. 10. *stowe.* In later forms "house." Cf. page 71, l. 12, and the "Αγιος οἶκος of the Greek Liturgies.

ll. 11, 12. This may perhaps be best explained by the practice of religious houses in this and foreign countries entering into agreements for certain stipulated privileges as to prayer and masses during life and after death, on behalf of the members of each other's communities. We find from the Revd. James Raine, D.D., the learned Durham antiquary, in his preface and notes to the Surtees Society's edition of the Liber Vitæ, that the monks of the cathedral church of Durham made agreements of this nature with their brethren at Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, Coventry, Westminster, Angers, Caen, Evreux, Fécamp, and other places; and he gives copies of conventions of this character in an appendix.(1) His son, Canon Raine of York, who is no less an authority in all that concerns the history of his own cathedral, is not aware of any documentary proof that York Minster ever issued letters of confraternity. It is, however, very possible that they may not have come down to us, and at all events we can easily conceive that mutual prayers of this character might have been offered without any formal agreement.

Cf. prayers at the offertory in the *Missa Illyrici:* "pro eleemosynariis nostris et pro his qui nostri memoriam in suis continuis orationibus habent." "Pro omnibus eleemosynas nobis facientibus, et pro his etiam qui se commendauerunt in nostras orationes, et qui nostram memoriam in suis orationibus habent."—Martene, I, 183.

l. 13. "There is ghostly kynrede thrughe fongynge of chyldren at the fonte stone."—*Festivale*, f. 167 *b*.

l. 14. *for ure gildan* and *gildsweostran.* From this it might seem that membership of a gild was referred to, simply because it was as general as the spiritual relationship contracted at the font, and that in this sense the words were equally applicable both to the clergy and the other worshippers who were present. It is, however, more probable that the reference is to some gild or gilds specially connected with the minster, other than the religious corporation of the *fraternitas*(2) *Kelideorum*, which was after-

(1) *Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society, 1841, p. xv, xvi, 135-7.

(2) Alcuin, the most illustrious of the non-residentiaries of the cathedral

wards superseded by that of the dean and chapter. The system of frith-bohr or frank-pledge, as mentioned above (p. 325), extended to the clergy of the minster and their tenants; and in this sense they were members of a frith-gild, but this separate mention of gilds seems rather to suggest the voluntary associations of a religious and social character which were contemporary with the old municipal organization, and continued to flourish long after it had fallen into decay.(1)

We have no evidence that there were any such gilds in York Minster at the date of the bidding prayer,(2) but on the parchment fly-leaves of the *Codex Exoniensis* in the custody of the dean and chapter of Exeter, and given by Bishop Leofric, who transferred his see from Crediton to that city in 1050, there are entries of several gilds in the county of Devon connected with the cathedral. There are given in Hickes' *Dissertatio Epistolaris* (pp. 18, 19), and though from seventy to a hundred years later than the present bidding prayer—Bishop Osbern there mentioned having held the see from 1073 to 1103—they enable us to form an opinion as to the character of the gilds here referred to. I am indebted to Archdeacon Woollcombe for copies of all the entries and for much valuable information on the subject, and by his kindness I am enabled to give a more correct copy of the first entry, which may serve as a sample of the whole:

"On cristes naman. *and sanctus* petrus a*postolus* an gildscipe is gegaderod on wudiberig-lande. *and* se *bisceop* Osb*ern*. *and* þa canonicas ealle innan *sanctus* petrus minstre on excestre habbaþ underfangen þone ilcan geferscipe on broþervæddene gemænelice forþ mid oþr*um* gebroþr*um*. nu doþ hig æt ælc*um* heorðe to gecnawnisse þam canonicon anne penig to eastron ælce geare. *and* ealswa æt ælc*um* forðfaren*um* gildan æt ælcum heorðe ænne penig to sawul-sceote. si hit bonda. si hit wif þe on *þam* gildscipe sindon. *and þat* sawul-gesceot sceulon þa canonicas habban. *and* swilce þenisce don for hig swilce hig agon to donne.

and Ðis sindon heora name þe beoþ on *þam* gildscipe. Brihti. Wlnod. Ealdwine." &c.(3)

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church of York, writing from the Frankish court to excuse his absence from the election of an archbishop, speaks of the minster clergy as "familia nostra." —*Opera*, Migne, I, 221.

(1) See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I, 238-9, 251; and *English Gilds*, by the late Toulmin Smith, Esq., issued by this Society in 1870, and the valuable introduction by the loving hand of his daughter.

(2) The Gild of the Lord's Prayer in York, the ordinances of which were returned in obedience to the king's writ in the year 1388-9, found a chandelier with seven lights, in token of the seven supplications in the Lord's Prayer, which was hung in the Cathedral Church of York, and lighted on Sundays and Feast-days in honour of God Almighty, the maker of that prayer, of St Peter the glorious confessor, of St William, and all Saints.—*English Gilds*, 138.

(3) In the name of Christ and Saint Peter the Apostle, a gild is gathered

See p. 71, l. 11, "þe brether and sistirs of our moder Kerke, saynt Petyr house of ȝorké."

P. 62, l. 15. They are to pray for others, not only generally, but also to speed their prayers. Cf. a prayer for all conditions of men in the Liturgy of St Mark:

Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς αὐτῶν . . . . πρόσδεξαι—Renaudot, I, 134.

l. 16. *secéð*, used in the sense of *coming to, visiting.*(1) This is retained in our authorized version, 2 Chron. i, 5, "And Solomon and all the congregation sought unto it" (sc. the brazen altar). Cf. Canons enacted under King Edgar: "XLV. And we lærað þat man on rihtne timan tide singe. *and* preosta gehwile þonne his tid-sang on circan gesece." "*attend his canonical hours in the church.*"—Thorpe, A. L. II, 254. And so in Chaucer:

"go seken halwes."—C. T. 6238 (go on pilgrimage).

"Seke us in þi hele" (*Visita nos in salutari tuo*).—Ps. (106) cv, 4.

We find this prayer for those who worship in the particular church in the Eastern Liturgies, but without the constant reference in it to their alms, which is a very prominent feature in the mediæval formularies.(2) Cf. the bidding prayers in that of St Chrysostom:

"For this holy house (Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου), and for those who seek unto it (εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ), with faith, and devotion, and the fear of God."—Goar, 74, 164.

l. 17. *during and after life*, giving and bequeathing. Cf. the later forms, "þat gifes, or sends, or in testment wytes."—p. 71, l. 23.

l. 19-21. These blank lines are left for the insertion of names, or to suggest their recital to the priest who was bidding the prayers. There is no similar provision in the later forms, but there can be no doubt that those who had sought the prayers of the Church continued to be mentioned by name in the bidding

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in Woodbury, and the Bishop Osbern, and the canons all, in Saint Peter's minster at Exeter, have received that same society into brotherhood, in common henceforth with other brethren. Wherefore do (*pay*) they for every hearth in acknowledgment to the canons, one penny at Easter each year, and also for every deceased member at every hearth one penny for soul-scot, be it husband, be it wife, who in the gild may be, and the soul-scot shall the canons have, and such services do for them, as they ought to do. These are their names who are in the gild. *Here follow eighteen names.*

(1) Cf. the "Canons enacted under King Edgar," Can. xv, "sece mid his ælmessan circan gelome, *and* halige stowa mid his leohte gegreta," "frequently visit churches with his alms, and greet holy places with his light."—Thorpe, A. L. II, 282, 283.

The "Laws of King Ethelred" enjoin that men "frequently greet God's churches with light and with offerings" (*lacum*).—*Ib.* I, 326.

(2) Cf. p. 65, l. 3-6; p. 71, l. 18-27; p. 76, l. 10-21.

prayer. So late as in 1514 we find a payment to the curate of a parish church in the city of York for praying for the soules of a man and his wife "upon Sondays by hys bederolle in the pulpit,"(1) which very plainly points to the bidding prayer, or "preces pro diebus dominicis,"(2) which, as already mentioned, were said on Sundays and in parish churches in the pulpit.(3)

The bede-roll, like the older diptychs, contained the names of those who were to be prayed for. The *Liber Vitæ* of the Church of Durham, referred to above, p. 326, which was laid on the high altar(4) of that cathedral, down to the time of the Reformation, in order that the names might be recited from time to time, shows the manner in which benefactors to that church were commemorated. There can be no doubt that benefactors to the church of York received some such stated recognition. The mention of Therferth and the blank before us afford an example; and though I cannot refer to any similar record as to the church of York, we find an earlier instance in the case of the sister metropolitical church of Canterbury. In the ninth century Osuulf, Alderman, and Beornthryth his wife gave land with a prayer to be admitted to the fellowship of God's servants there, and those men who had given their lands to that church.(5)

P. 62, l. 22. *þor[fe]rþes.* I have already mentioned that I have to thank Mr Thompson for the way I have filled up this hole in the vellum. There is room for only two letters, and he showed me, what I had not noticed, that there was still the lower part of a long letter, which might have been "f," and that the remnant of a letter on the right hand side might very well have been an e, and that so the name might have been Thorferth.(6) He arrived at his conclusion in far less time than I have taken to tell it, though he was kind enough to point out to me the process; and I venture to mention it, as the lesson may be as useful to any of my readers, who may amuse themselves in making out mutilated manuscripts, as I have found it myself.

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(1) *English Gilds*, p. 145.

(2) *Ante*, p. 75, l. 1. Cf. p. 64, 68.

(3) Lyndwood V, 5 (o), quoted *ante*, p. 318.

(4) In the "Rede Boke of Darbye," a MS. written about 1061, there is an addition to the first memento of the canon of the mass (*ante*, p. 104, l. 28), "omniumque . . . . quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta habentur."—Dr Henderson's *Preface*, *York Manual*, p. xxi, and see authorities there quoted.

(5) Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.* I, 292 (ccxxvi.).

(6) I have been at the pains to look through the names in the Liber Vitæ and other lists of about the date of our text; and I find, Thorthuarth, Thorberth, Thorbern, Thorth, and Theruerth, but no name except Thorferth that will answer the conditions of what was an unsolved riddle till Mr Thompson found the *mot de l'énigme*. Dr Rock (C. F. II, 358) prints "For for . . . erþer (forþfaeþer?) saule."

Who this Thorferth was I cannot pretend to say. I cannot find the mention of any such name in connection with the Minster. In the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 911, we read of the army of the Northumbrians breaking the peace and overrunning Mercia. On their way homewards, among the thousands slain were "Ecwils cing and Healfden cing . . . . . and Ðurferð hold." Under A.D. 921 there is mention of a "Thurferth eorl." Florence of Worcester refers the transactions there mentioned to the year 918, and also mentions "Danicus comes Thurferthus," but there is nothing to connect him with the north of Humber.

P. 62, l. 23. *fulluht underfengen.* The verb long continued to be used in this sense.

> "Cristendom his that sacrement
> That men her ferst fongeth."
> *Poems of William de Shoreham*, Wright, p. 8.

Fulluht in Myrc becomes "folowynge," and the verb "folowe." —*Instructions*, p. 6.

> Cf. "Pray fore men and women mo and lees,
> That Crystyndam han tane."—*Audelay*, p. 80.

l. 24. *fram adames dæge.* Prayer for all souls from the beginning of the world occurs in several of the eastern liturgies. In the *Oratio generalis* of the Syro-Jacobite *ordo*, translated by Renaudot, there is a similar mention of Adam: "Memoriam agimus . . . . . eorum qui nobiscum adstant et orant; cum omnibus qui a sæculo tibi placuerunt ab Adamo ad hanc usque diem."—*Liturg. Orient.* II, 16-17.

P. 64. *York Bidding Prayer II.* This form is printed without alteration in the original punctuation or otherwise from Dr Henderson's transcript from Sir John Lawson's MS., which he had made for his edition of the York Manual, and most liberally placed at my disposal before his own work was published.

l. 5-6. Cf. the Liturgy of St Chrysostom: Ὑπὲρ εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν.—Goar, p. 64. The *al* seems to point to churches having been in the plural, as in the Greek. Stabilness is perhaps a better equivalent for εὐσταθεία than the stability of later forms.

l. 6. *pape.* The Latin form retained, as C 181 (the Rievaulx text), perhaps from the tendency of the northern dialect to retain or adopt the "*a*." But see *person*, three lines lower down, and the corresponding place in the later forms, where the Latin form is equally retained,(1) contrary to what has long been the common spelling and pronunciation, possibly from some confused notion of a false analogy to *parishen* (parish, belonging to parish, parishioner, or parish priest), *par'shen* (which is still heard), *parson*.

(1) Cf. popil (*populus*), l. 13.

P. 64, l. 6. *of Rome.* We may sometimes see the same thing when there was no question of a pope elsewhere, and therefore there may be no significance in this naming of Rome, though there certainly is in the mention of the *true* cardinals in the next form (p. 68, l. 11), but this was written during the schism, when the English in common with the Germans and other northern peoples adhered to the pope *at* Rome, whilst the Anti-pope at Avignon was acknowledged in France, Scotland, Spain, Sicily, &c. From 1400 to 1406 Boniface IX. and Innocent VII. were successively popes at Rome, and Benedict XIII. was pope at Avignon; and this manuscript, as pointed out by Dr Henderson (*York Manual*, Preface, p. xv.), was most probably written in 1403, as it contains a Paschal table, beginning with that year.

l. 9. *of religion.* In any regular order. See note, p. 168.

—*person.* Hence the MS. was for use in a parish church. The bidding prayer for the diocese of London, printed by Dr Henderson in the Appendix to the York Manual (p. 223), here reads: "for the patron and the parson of this chirche."

l. 13. *len*, grant, lend. See note, p. 322. Cf. Chaucer's *Boethius* (Morris), p. 139: "He (*God*) knoweþ what is couenable to euery wyȝt, and leneþ þat he wot is couenable to hem."

l. 14. *to tak or schew.* This is not a prayer that the prelates should first take example themselves(1) and then show it to the people, which would have required *and*, not *or*. It is rather an instance of those alternative or re-duplicated expressions—either English and French, or an obsolete or obsolescent word and one marked with the current stamp—which were often introduced in forms for the people, when a word was likely to have been misunderstood, both before and after the Reformation. For example, within a few lines we have "lely and trwly," "bigged and edefied"; and in later bidding prayers, "maintened or uphalden," "honorde or wirchipt," "charge or cure," and so forth.

The prayer is to the same effect as that at the ordination of deacons, if it was not suggested by it, that they may have the grace, "bene vivendi aliis exemplum præbere." We find this in the eighth century in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York.(2) The laying of one(3) hand of the bishop on the heads of the

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(1) "Forthi bird yong men prid forsake
And of child Jesus bisen (*example*) take."—*E. M. H.* 110.
"Of me takeþ ensaumple alle:
Bicom noman þe deoueles thralle."
Legend of Pope Celestin, 586-7.
Cf. "Take, my brethren, the prophets . . . . for an example." — St James v, 10.

(2) *Ed.* Greenwell, p. 19. Cf. Collect *Pro Antistite, Miss. Ebor.* II, 174.

(3) "Solus episcopus qui eis benedicit manum super capita singulorum ponat."—*York Pontifical*, Henderson, p. 27; so also the form in Maskell,

deacons was substituted in later English uses for the older rite of the laying on of the bishop's hands,(1) but the prayer itself is found in every Latin ordinal, and is retained in the form for the ordering of priests in the book of Common Prayer.(2)

Tak would therefore seem to be the older *tæcan*, *monstrare*, *præbere*.(3) In the middle of the fifteenth century we find a Lollard complaining that the gospels drawn into English by worshipful Bede were "in many places of so old englishe that scant can anye englishe man reade them;"(4) and *tak* in this place might very easily have been misunderstood fifty years earlier, if it had not been for the addition of *show*.

P. 64, l. 21. *þes.* Cf. Liturgy of St Chrysostom: Δὸς αὐτοῖς, Κύριε, εἰρηνικὸν τὸ βασίλειον, κ. τ. λ.—Goar, p. 78.

l. 23. *trwly.* An early instance of this use of *w* in a Northern MS.

P. 65, l. 1. Cf. ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν . . . . κτητόρων.—Goar, p. 39.

l. 2. See note, p. 331.

l. 3—6. It is curious to find a corresponding enumeration in the Æthiopic Liturgy, and, so far as I have observed, in that only of the Eastern formularies: "Bless those who offer incense, and holy bread and wine, and oil and ointment, and veils and books for public service, and vessels for the temple; and may Christ our God recompense them in the holy Jerusalem."—*Æthiopic Liturgies and Hymns*, p. 18. Was there a common original?

l. 4. *towell.* It will be noticed that in the later forms (p. 71, l. 19; p. 76, l. 12) "altar-cloth" has been added as an alternative expression, upon the principle pointed out above (p. 331).

When the later forms were revised the word was probably beginning to be understood in the sense in which we now

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M. R. II, p. 192. "Manum super caput cujuslibet."—*Bishop Lacy's* (Exeter, Cent XIV.) *Pontifical*, Ed. Barnes, p. 85.(*) I add the modern rubric of the Church of Rome: "Solus Pontifex manum dexteram extendens, ponit super caput cuilibet ordinando."—*Pontificale Romanum a Benedicto XIV, recognitum et castigatum*, Mechliniæ, 1862, p. 52.

(1) "Deinde solus episcopus qui eum benedicit manus super caput illius ponat."—*Pontificale Ecgberthi*, S. S., p. 18. The old rite was brought back at the Reformation: "*Then the Bishop laying his Hands severally upon the Head of every one of them.*"—Rubric, the Ordering of Deacons.

(2) "That both by word and good example they may faithfully serve Thee in this office to the glory of thy name and the edification of thy Church."

(3) "Ic þe mæg tæcan oðer þing." *I can teach thee another thing.* Boethius quoted. Bosworth, *s. v.*

"he þonne tæceð him dædbote" (of the confessor assigning penance).—*Canons under King Edgar.* Thorpe, A. L. II, 266, § 1.

(4) *A compendious old Treatise*, written about 1480, printed, Marburg, 1530, Arber's Reprints, 1871, *Rede me and be not wrothe*, &c., p. 175.

(*) The prayer above quoted is printed "*bene merendi*," but I happen to have the interleaved copy of the late Dr Oliver, a learned Roman Catholic clergyman, whose assistance Mr Barnes acknowledges in his preface, and he has corrected it "*bene vivendi.*"

exclusively use *towel*. Palsgrave (p. 282) gives only "towell to wype on—*touaylle;*" and so also in the Promptorium (p. 498) this is the only sense given.

The corresponding Latin form (*tualea*) occurs in the tenth *Ordo Romanus*(1) of the eleventh century as altar-cloth; and so *tobalia*, in the next century.(2) *Tobalia* occurs in the twelfth *Ordo* as napkin,(3) table-cloth,(4) and altar-cloth.(5)

It may illustrate the change in the ordinary acceptation of the word in this country to mention that in the constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey, *Ut Parochiani*, A.D. 1305, there is specified among the necessary ornaments of the church, "Frontale ad magnum altare cum tribus(6) tuellis," for the three altar-cloths;(7) and that Lyndwood, not much more than a hundred years later, glosses the three towels: "Two to be placed on the altar under the corporas: but the third will be for use at the lavatory to wipe the hands."(8)

The old English compound which towel appears to have displaced was weofod-sceat;(9) but altar had been so fully naturalized that we can hardly class altar-cloth as a hybrid, and it has maintained its place in common use to the present day, although the existing canon describes it, as now used in our churches, as "a carpet of silk or other decent stuff." (10)

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(1) Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* II, 102.

(2) *Ordo* xi, *u. s.* 162.

(3) *Ordo* xii, p. 198. *Italian*, Tovaglionino.

(4) *Ib.*, p. 202. *Italian*, Tovaglia. It is used in this sense in the "*Urbanitatis*," printed by Mr Furnivall in the Babees Book, p. 14:

"Also kepe þy hondys faire & welle
Fro fylynge of the towelle."

Also as napkin, *Ib.*, p. 323, 326.

(5) *Ordo* xii, *u. s.* p. 205.

(6) The older illuminations show the cloth covering the altar on all four sides (*ante*, p. 174). Afterwards the altar-cloth appears to have been distinguished from the frontal, as covering or hanging down only over the two narrower sides. In an inventory of the date of 1440 (Peacock's *Church Ornaments*, p. 184) we find—

"Item vi autere towells of lynen clothe . . . ."

"Item ii pendant towell of red silk . . . . and 2 black pendant towell of silke . . . . for the corners of the auter."

(7) See to the same effect a quotation from Myrc, *ante*, p. 173; and the corresponding constitution for the province of York, A.D. 1250.—*The York Pontifical*, Henderson, p. 371.

(8) *Provinciale*, Lib. III, Tit. xxvii, p. 252. In the *Novum Registrum*, or Body of Statutes for Lincoln Cathedral (A.D. 1440) already quoted, p. 173, we have in the same chapter (p. 25) "Manutergia sive tuelli," and (p. 26) "tuelli sive linteamina."

(9) It occurs in the *Canon of Ælfric*, XXII (Thorpe, A. L. II, 350), requiring the altar-cloths (*weofod-sceatas*) to be in good condition; and also in the Sherburn Inventory, *post*, p. 334.

(10) Canon (1604), LXXXII.

P. 65, l. 4. *anourment.* The constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey, A.D. 1305, *Ut parochiani* specifies the ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, and the rule according to which in the province of Canterbury they were to be provided by the parishioners, and rectors or vicars respectively.(1) A decree to the same purpose was made by Archbishop Grey, some fifty years earlier, for the province of York,(2) and there was a corresponding ordination by the Dean and Chapter of York as to the churches in their jurisdiction.(3)

The many inventories that have been published of the ornaments of churches and of their plunder give abundant details of these ornaments; but I add that of the Church of Sherburn, to which reference has already been made, p. 155, although it has been printed by Canon Raine,(4) as it is probably the oldest inventory of the kind which is extant:

"þis syndon þa cyrican madmas on Scirburnan · þær synd twa *Cristes* bec · *and* ii · rodan · *and* i · aspiciens · *and* i · ad te leuaui · *and* ii · pistol bec · and i · mæsse boc · *and* i · ymener · *and* i · salter · and i · calic · *and* i · disc · *and* twa mæsse reaf · *and* iii messe hakelan · *and* ii weoued sceatas · *and* ii · ouer brædels · *and* iiii handbellan · *and* vi · hangende bellan." I venture to add my own translation, though I cannot be at all sure that I have been successful in my identification of several of the items;—and in a matter of this kind, where there is any doubt, the dictionaries are of very little use:—These are the church ornaments at Shireburn: There are two Christ's books (*gospels*); and two crosses; and one Aspiciens (*Antiphoner*? *ante*, p. 155); and one Ad te levavi (*Grayle*? *ante*, p. 156); and two *Epistolaria;* and one mass-book; and one hymnal; and one psalter; and one chalice; and one paten;(5) and two(6) mass-vestments (*surplices or albs*?);

(1) *Lyndwood*, III, tit. xxvii.

(2) In the Register of Archbishop Gray, A.D. 1250, *York Pontifical*, Henderson, p. 371; but in Labb. & Coss., XI, col. 763, "incerto anno."

(3) York Fabric Rolls, 164.

(4) *Ib.*, 142.

(5) The "charger" of the A. V., St Mark, vi, 25 (or *discus* in the Vulgate), was rendered *disc* in our old English versions; and it would be curious to know whether our forefathers merely used the common name for the paten, or whether, as they adopted *calic* from the Latin *calix*, they borrowed an ecclesiastical name from the δίσκος of the Greek rubrics. In the "*Danmarks og Norges Kirke-Ritual*," the service-book of the Lutherans in Denmark and Norway, the "chalice and paten" are still "Kalk og Dish."

(6) There can be little doubt but that the "v fulle mæsse reaf" in the list of Bishop Leofric's gifts to his new cathedral at Exeter, where there is no mention of *hakelan* or other vestments for the priest,—like the *Missale vestimentum* of Archbishop Grey's constitution,—included all the vestments worn by the priest at mass (see *ante*, p. 167); but as there is no "full" in this case, and the *hakelan* follow, I am inclined to think we must take *mæsse*

and three(1) mass cloaks (*chasubles*?); and two altar-cloths; and two veils; and four hand-bells; and four hanging-bells.

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reaf as intending only a part of the full mass-vestment of the priest,—other than the hakela—for in a country church there would not have been vestments for deacon and subdeacon as at Exeter,—and therefore most probably the albs or surplices which come within the name. Reaf by itself is simply a garment, and frequently occurs in Anglo-Saxon laws and canons of church vestments in general; for example: the clergy were required at every synod to have "becc *and* reaf to godcundre þenunge" (*books and vestments for Divine Service*).—*Canons under King Edgar*, III, Thorpe, A. L. II, 244.

(1) In making this suggestion I must admit that the Icelandic dictionary gives (C-V, 425) *cope* as the meaning of the cognate "*messu-hökul*"; and if it were simply a question of linguistic, and more especially of Scandinavian, learning, I should not venture to differ from this, our highest authority.

There are those who suppose that the chasuble was always the exclusive eucharistic vestment in the west; and in that case the name alone would exclude the cope. For myself I lay no stress upon the mention of *mæsse*.—The name of mass was not exclusively used of the office of the eucharistic sacrifice; and both chasuble and cope were for centuries used at mass and other offices by the celebrant and the assistant ministers, priests, deacons, and subdeacons. But I assume that the specific difference of the two vestments was this: that the cope was open down the front; and the chasuble was made with an opening in the middle to put over the head.

In this it was like the Roman *pænula* (see Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Smith, *s. v.*); and without entering into the question whether, as some tell us, the "*cloke*" that St Paul left at Troas was a mass-vestment, or whether he used it for winter warmth, it is enough for our present purpose that Ulfilas translated its Greek equivalent φελόνης or φαινόλης (2 Tim. iv, 13) by *hakul*. So much then we know of the use of the word in a kindred language before our forefathers called their church vestment *hakela*. No description has come down to us from those times, and we may therefore accept the evidence which is afforded as to its precise meaning by its use in cognate languages in the present day. Nor does it seem unreasonable to suppose that when the Icelanders and other northern peoples received their Christianity and ecclesiastical organization from this country they adopted its English name with the *hakela* of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Now the name of the vestment which is worn by the Lutheran ministers in those countries at the administration of the Lord's Supper, is in Iceland *messu-hökul*, and in Denmark and Norway, *messehagel* or *hacke*—evidently allied to the *mæsse-hakelan* of our inventory—and the vestment so worn is not a cope, open in front, but a chasuble, with a cross on the front and back, put on over the head, not indeed of the ancient full shape, but like the modern Roman chasuble, cut away at the shoulders, as chasubles began to be, after the introduction of the elevation of the host, for greater convenience in the execution of this ceremony.

In the absence of more direct evidence it makes for the correctness of my suggestion of *hakela* not being intended of a vestment open in front, that Mount Heckla is so called from a kindred Icelandic word applied to the cloud which caps its summit,—an idea which we also find in an English poem:

"Uch hille hade a hatte, a myst-hakel huge"
Sir Gawayne (about A.D. 1360), Ed. Morris, l. 2081.

P. 65, l. 5. *halybred.* See the revised formula, p. 71, l. 32. For a very complete account, see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 1876, p. 887—893. See also Mr Peacock's note, *Myrc*, p. 89; Gerbert, *Disq.* I, 406; Maskell, M. R., I, p. cclviii—cclxi.

I add from Audelay's Poems (p. 80) an extract showing the received opinion on this head:

"And oche day thi masse thou here
And take hale bred and hale watere
Out of the prestis hond;
Soche grace God hath ȝif the,
ȝif that thou dey sodenly
Fore thi housil hit schal the stond."

From the following extract from Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* holy bread seems to have carried home(1) to those who did not hear mass:

"Þe seruyng man þat seruyþ yn þe ȝere
Oweþ to come when he haþ leysere.
ȝyf þou come noghte, algate y rede
Ete noght ar þou haue holy brede,
For to many þynges hyt may auale
To soule helpe, or lyues trauayle.
Þy body ȝyf þan smartly endes
Hyt ys for housyl aȝens þe fendes."—l. 835—842.

—— *gaf to this kirk to day.* Theirs (*Superstitions*, II, 518) mentions that in some French churches the bread which was given to be blessed, was presented at the offertory to the sound of trumpets, drums, fiddles, hautboys, and flutes, ornamented with banderoles and with liveried attendants.

l. 11. *has gane or sal ga.* It is curious to observe how this reproduces the τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον of the liturgy of St Mark, (2) in respect to actual and intending travellers, though the prayer is here confined to those who go on pilgrimage. See the use of "gode gates," *ante*, p. 69, l. 36; and p. 78, l. 32, where "pylgrimages" replaces it.

l. 12. *brigges and stretes.* In the Canons under King Edgar, the making of bridges over deep waters and foul ways is specified among the almsdeeds, by which in the way of *dædbota* or penances much may be redeemed—*mycel man mæg alysan.*(3)

Centuries later we find giving money to the poor, or for bridges,

(1) It was also the use of Rouen, down to the last century, to bring home small bits of the *pain béni* for those who were not able to be present at mass.—*Voyages Liturg.*, p. 422.

(2) Renaudot, I, 138. Cf. Malan, *Coptic Liturgy*, p. 28.

(3) Canons XIII and XIV, Thorpe, A. L. II, 282.

or church-work, are classed together as ways of making restitution when those who have been wronged are not to be found.(1) Later still we have Cardinal Pole in 1557 in his visitation articles inquiring, "XXVI. Item, Whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the mending of the highways or other charitable deed?"(2)

I add a reference to this practice, which puts it on its true footing, from "Christ's Own Complaint," printed by Mr Furnivall from an early fifteenth century MS.:

> "þe porre peple þou doist oppresse
> Wiþ sleitis and wilis ful manye also:
> þou makist chirchis, and doiste singe messe,
> And mendist weies, men on to go;
> And sum men þee banne & summe blesse;
> Which schal y heere of þeise two?
> If þou wolt haue grace as þou doist gesse,(3)
> Lete al falsnes be fleemyd þee fro."(4)

P. 65, l. 22. *in dette.* Cf. St Matt. vi, 12: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," where "debts" includes sins of omission and sins of commission. The "*debita*" of the schoolmen, the Latin of the Vulgate in this place, was used of *duties*, and it would seem that *debt* is here intended of *failures* in duty rather than of *breaches* of duty, though some sins of omission were counted as deadly sins, and some sins of commission were not so classed.

We have an example of "debt" in the sense of duty in Thoresby's Catechism (*fol.* 295), speaking of the neglect of the people by prelates and priests,

> "that er halden be dette for to lere thame,"

where the Latin is "*juxta debitum curæ instruere.*"

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(1) *Old English Homilies*, Morris, I, 31.

(2) Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I, 207. In 1372 Johannes de Oggill bequeaths "*ponti de Shincliff C solidos argenti,*" together with lights and gifts of money to monks and friars.—*Wills and Inventories* (Dr Raine), Surtees Society, I, 34. Another Ogle—Robertus Ogill, miles—in 1410 also leaves 100 shillings to mend broken bridges in Northumberland, and specially in his own domain, as his executors see fit (*ib.* p. 48); and similar examples might be produced to any extent.

We may trace the same feeling in the way in which the money received for discarded vestments and other ornaments in the second year of King Edward VI was disposed of—for example, Hamerton in Huntingdonshire: "which money [the churchwardens] declare upon their othes was bestowed in the repair of on great bridge in the towne."

(3) Gesse was probably beginning to have the sense in which it is now commonly used in *old* England. A MS. of some thirty or forty years later reads "as þou thenkis."

(4) *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S., 1866, p. 181.

It may be that "debt" is an allusion to the parable of the unmerciful servant to whom his lord forgave the debt(1) of ten thousand talents; and that it is to be understood of venial sins as contrasted with mortal sins. In this case there is not the cross-division of the former suggestion, for each of these classes of sin excludes the other; but I am not able to point to any contemporary authority, where debt is used in this sense.

P. 65, l. 22. *in prison.* If this stood by itself, there would be no difficulty in explaining it of purgatory, especially in connection, as it is, with the prayer for those in deadly sin, were it not that this first part of the Bidding Prayer is otherwise exclusively for the living, and that prayers for the dead and all souls in purgatory are specially bidden afterwards, p. 66, l. 26—34.

This prayer for those in prison, is not inserted in the corresponding place in the other York forms, where prayers are bidden for those in debt and deadly sin; nor, so far as I have observed, is it in any other. In the later forms we have (p. 70, l. 7) "bun in dette or in dedely syn;" and in the Sarum form, printed by Dr Henderson, we have "alle þilke þat liggeþ in dedly synne y-bounde,"(2) and it is not impossible that a reference to bonds in an older form, or the mention of debt in this, may have suggested the "poor debtors," or other prisoners, to a scribe, who had learnt that it was one of the corporal acts of mercy

"to help them that in prison er,"(3)

and who might not have been alive to any incongruity in this intermingling of spiritual and temporal needs, which would hardly have found a place in the carefully arranged devotions of an earlier period.

l. 25. The people are to say a Pater and an Ave instead of the Lord's Prayer of the earlier form (p. 62, l. 12, &c.), and our existing use (p. 321).

P. 66, l. 13. *breder.*

Cf. the Austin friar to Pierce the Ploughman:

"And ȝif þou hast any good · & wilt þi-selfe helpen,
Helpe us hertliche þerwithe · & here I vndertake,
Þou schalt ben broþer of our hous · & a boke habben
(At þe next chapitre) · clereliche ensealed;
And þanne oure prouinciall · haþ power to assoilen
Alle sustren & breþeren · þat beþ of our order."—l. 324—9.

See also, as quoted by Mr Skeat in his note upon this place:

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(1) St Matt. xviii, 27,—"debitum dimisit ei."—*Vulg.*

(2) *York Manual*, p. 221*. Cf. *ante*, p. 71, l. 7, and note, p. 341, "bun.'

(3) *Catechism*, Thoresby's Register, fol. 295. "I was in prison, and ye came unto me."—St Matt. xxv, 36.

"Ye sayn me thus how that I am your brother
Ye, certes, quod the frere, trusteth wel;
I took our dame the letter under oure sel."
C. T. 7707—10.

P. 66, l. 14. *sisters.* The three great minsters or collegiate churches, York, Beverley, and Ripon, are here specified. Southwell, which was within the diocese of York, is also mentioned in the other forms (pp. 71, 78). As to York, it has been already mentioned (*ante*, p. 326) that there is no record of any charters of fraternization at York Minster. I have seen it stated that there were *sisters* belonging to Beverley Minster; but I can find no authority for the statement; nor have I chanced to meet with any record of a foundation of this description in any English cathedral. At Rouen there were thirty canonesses, either spinsters or widows. In the seventeenth century their prebends were not worth above six francs, paid by the Archbishop; and at three obits, which were the only services they were required to attend in the year, the Chapter made a distribution of a like sum amongst those present. Although the value was small, these prebends were sought after by persons in good circumstances, because they conferred the legal privileges of the Chapter, but it was supposed that formerly they were more valuable, and that these sisters had charge of and washed the church linen.(1)

l. 31. *kirk-ȝerde.* *Kirk-garth* is more common in Yorkshire in the present day, where *church-yard* has not displaced it; but there is abundant evidence that "*yard*" was formerly in common use, were it only that at York, what in some cities is the cathedral close, for centuries has been called the Minster-yard.(2)

Cf. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐνθάδε εὐσεβῶς κειμένων καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ.—*Euchologion* (Venice, 1854), p. 18. It will be seen that in our next bidding prayer (p. 72, l. 24) "or in any other" is added. In the Greek there is no mention of purgatory.

P. 68. *Bidding Prayer III.* I have transcribed this from the Manual in York Minster Library (XVI. M. 4), carefully preserving the punctuation of the original, except as marked within brackets. The MS. is upon vellum, $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, and in good condition, but has been rebound.(3) Mr Bond and Mr Thompson of the British

(1) *Voyages Liturgiques*, 374-5. The *Novum Registrum*, or collection of Statutes of Lincoln elsewhere quoted, require (p. 26) the treasurer to find a washer-man or washer-woman (*lotorem vel lotricem*), to wash the albs [which would seem to include the surplices], the hand-towels, and linen of the altars.

(2) "Garth" was also used. In 1383, John of Croxton wytes his body to be buried "in the Minster Garth."—*Test. Ebor.*, I, 185.

(3) It was lettered "Rituale," which is the name of the corresponding Roman service-book; very much as I have found old English portesses bound and catalogued as "Breviaries," when, not unfrequently, as also in the case of Horæ, &c., they have not been described as "Missale," or "Missale Romanum."

Museum, who did me the favour to examine it in 1870, dated it 1440—1450, judging from the handwriting only. It would seem that, although the Bidding Prayer was here an integral part of the book, as it was afterwards of the printed edition, it was not considered as properly belonging to the manual, which ends with the following rubric: "**Explicit manuale** *secundum* **usum Ebora***censem*," which is followed without a break by *Deprecatio*, &c., as in line 1.

This form was intended for use in a parish church (l. 20), within the City of York (p. 69, l. 16-17); after 1396, when it was made a city and county in itself, and sheriffs were appointed instead of bailiffs; and also (l. 11) after or during the schism of rival popes which began with the election at Avignon of Clement VII. in 1378. All these notes of time tally with the date assigned by the Museum authorities, as mentioned above, from an examination of the handwriting.

P. 68, l. 7. *þe.* The thorn letter (þ) here and elsewhere in the manuscript is written very much as the wen (p) was written, when the two characters were used together.

l. 11. *trewe cardinals.* "True" was most probably inserted at the time of the schism, when there were pope and anti-pope, and for some time those rival popes, each with his college of adherent cardinals, mutually denouncing and excommunicating the others. This schism, begun in 1378, was ended in 1429, by Clement VIII, who had been elected to succeed Benedict XIII, voluntarily renouncing the pontificate.(2)

—— *patriarck of ierusalem*, not mentioned in other northern forms, but commonly inserted in the Bidding Prayers of the southern province.

l. 12—14. Cf. Maundeville, "For wee ben clept cristene men aftre Criste oure fadre. And ȝif wee ben righte children of Crist, we oughte for to chalenge the heritage, that oure fadre lafte us, and do it out of hethen mennes hondes. But nowe pryde covetyse, and envye han so enflawmmed of the lordes of the world, that they are more besy for to disherite here neyghbores, more than for to chalenge or to conquere here righte heritage before seyd."(1)

P. 69, l. 9. *communers*, first mentioned.

l. 17-18. Before the passing of the municipal reform act the corporation of York consisted of a Lord Mayor, twelve aldermen, two sheriffs, "the twenty-four," so-called, whether more or less than that number, being such as had passed the office of sheriff; and seventy-two common-councilmen. Henry VIII. in 1518 granted a common council of forty-one, and this number was enlarged to seventy-two by Charles II. The sheriffs were three in number when first appointed in lieu of bailiffs by the charter of 19 Richard II.

(1) *Voiage and Travaile*, Halliwell, p. 3. (2) See note, p. 331.

It will be noticed that the corporation continues to be specified in the Bidding Prayer (*ante*, p. 320), still used in the Minster.

P. 69, l. 26. *in quart and heill.* Cf. the "health and wealth" of the Prayer Book.

"A, Laverd, sauf make þou me;
A, Laverd, in quert to be."
(*O Domine salvum me fac, O Domine bene prosperare.*)
Ps. (118) cxvii, 25.

"Keper of mi querte." (*Susceptor salutis meæ.*)
Ps. (89) lxxxviii, 27.

"For þai er swa wilde, when þai haf quert
þat na drede þai can hald in hert."—*P. C.* 326-7.

"Ihesu! putte in-to myn herte
þe memorie of þi pyne!
In sijknes, and eek in qwarte
þi loue be euere myne!"
Hymns, Furnivall, p. 27, l. 169—172.

Quart (more rarely *quert*) is explained by a reference to the O.F. *cuor*, *queor* or *queur* (Lat. *cor*); but, as it was used for the most part in the northern dialect, more especially at first, may it not be a northern form of the A.S. *heorte*, which came to be used in the sense good heart, good case, well-being and safety, when the other form, heart, was used in the more general sense? Cf. Icel. *hjarta;* Goth. *hairto*, Gr. καρδιά.

P. 70, l. 6. *in quart*, in good condition (*heart*) and safety. See last note.

l. 6, 7. *bun in dette or in dedely sin.* Cf. p. 65, l. 22, the note, p. 338, and the quotation there, from the Sarum Bidding Prayer, where we have "y-bounde."

It will be admitted that "bun" in this place is *bound*, and that it is not to be explained as *ready*;(1) and so too in the phrase in

(1) *Ante*, p. 161. The nautical *bound*, as in "*bound* for New York," is explained by an authority to which, as a rule, I am always prepared to defer, as if *bun* or *boun* (*ready*) were "now corrupted into *bound*." But this phrase is used of a ship, not only when in port ready, or making ready for sea, but also at sea, as, for example, when hailed or hailing, with reference to the port, cruising-ground, or point of rendezvous, to which she is under engagement, or orders, to make her voyage, when it seems more natural to understand it of *bound*, the pp. of *bind*.

Cf. "When the messes were don
And homward were alle bon."(*)

It may be that the etymological significance of the word came to be lost sight of, and that it became associated with the notion of bonds and binding obligation. In the East Riding *bun* or *boun* is still in every day use, in the

(*) *Coronation of K. Arthur* (R. Brunne), quoted by Mr Furnivall, Preface, *Handlyng Synne*, p. xl.

the next page (p. 71, l. 28), "women bun with childer"—the "women labouring of child" of our English litany—it cannot be "*bun*," ready or about to be delivered, for we have the corresponding phrase in the Bedes for the Sonday in the Festival "in our ladyes bonds,(1) and with child," and the meaning is still more clearly brought out by the form in a MS. Sarum Missal (about 1400), printed by Dr Henderson: "And for alle wymmen þat beth in oure lady byndes that God for his mercy so hem vnbynde as hit be best to lyf and to soule."(2)

P. 71, l. 13. *Suthwell.* The county of Nottingham was then within the diocese of York. Cf. *ante*, p. 66, l. 14, where the three great churches in Yorkshire only are mentioned.

l. 15. *godhede.* Goodness here, rather than Godhead.

> "Evrich thing mai losen his godhede
> Mid unmethe and mid over-dede."
> *Owl and Nightingale*, 351-2.

> "þat is þe perfeccion and þe guodhedde."—*Ayenb.* 79.
> *Contra*—"þat bifalleþ to Godes godhede
> As wel as to his manhede."—*Castel off Love*, 81-2.

l. 17. *maste to goddes louing*, ad majorem Dei gloriam. *Louing* may have been out of use in the sense of praise, when this Bidding Prayer was printed in the following century; for in the printed manual (*ante*, p. 78, l. 23) we have "plesure;" and so also "welfare" instead of *heill.*

l. 25. *kirkwarke*, or what in later times, as at York, was called the fabric fund. Philippa, Countess of March, in 1381, devises "al overaigne de mesme l'eglise (*Austin Canons at Bisham*), deux centz livres a tiel entent qe les priour et covent de la dite maison teignront solempement le jour de mon anniuersaire as touz jours."(3) John of Croxton of York in 1383, "wytes to Saynte Peter warke x s."(4) And so Robert Willoughby in 1433, wills "To þe kyrke-

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sense of ready, and, if I do not mistake, often with a further sense of duty or necessity. I may illustrate this by the way in which the word was lately used by both parties to a quarrel I was able to make up. One said, "I'se bun (*ready*) to shake hands," and the other, "I'll own I'se bun (*bound*) to submit."

(1) This may be explained by a devotion in the York Horæ, f. clxxvi:

"¶. **For women trauaylynge of chylde. Ps.** Beatus [Ps. i, with Gloria Patri] ✠ Maria peperit *Christum*. ✠ Anna Maria*m*. ✠ Elizabeth johanne*m*. ✠ Cilina remigium. ✠ Sic me feliciter parere concedat *omni*potens deus *in* perfecto maturitatis te*m*pore. Ame*n*. **De Sancta Maria.** An*ti*phona. Sub tuam protectionem confugimus, ubi infirmi acceperunt virtute*m*: propter hoc tibi psallimus dei genetrix virgo. v*ersus*. Sancta dei genetrix virgo semper Maria. Re*ponsorium*. Intercede p*ro* nobis ad dominum deum nostrum."

(2) *York Manual*, Surtees Society, p. 221.

(3) Nichol's *Royal Wills*, 99. (4) *Test. Ebor.* I, 185.

werke xl.s."(1) In 1444, we have a legacy "Fabricæ ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eboracensis xl s."(2) In 1448, Johnson "laborer," leaves "Ad opus ecclesiæ meæ, xx s."(3)

P. 72, l. 3. *hayls.* This word is specially applicable to the use of the Ave Maria, which, as has been pointed out, p. 184, as used in the Church of England before the reformation, did not include any prayer.

Here for the first time we have the use of the *Ave* without the *Pater-noster*, as the use of it with the Pater-noster was an innovation on the older form. Cf. p. 61, ll. 7, 12, &c.

P. 74. *Bidding Prayer IV.* This form is written in a later hand, on a blank leaf at the end of MS. Manual, from which Form III is printed. It will be observed that it leaves out the Latin devotions of the priest and clerks, and is in other ways much shorter than the other forms.

l. 20. *nyde.* In the Festival the corresponding phrase is "that haue most nede and leste helpe." Cf. p. 72, l. 2, where the living who have need of prayer are mentioned.

In the Sarum Prymer of 1538, is "A prayer to God for them that be departed, hauyng none to praye for them. *Miserere quæsumus Domine Deus.* Haue mercy (we beseche the lorde god) thorough the precyous passyon of thy onely begotten sonne our lorde Jesu Christe, haue mercy on those soules that haue no intercessours unto the to haue them in remembraunce, whiche haue neyther hope nor comforte in theyr tormentes, but onely for that they be formyd after thy ymage and likenes, and insigned with the sygne of faythe, which eyther by neglygence of them that be lyuynge, or longe process of tyme, are forgotten of theyr frendes and posteryte. Spare them, lorde, and defende thy creacyon, neyther despyse thou the worke of thyne handes, but extende thy ryght hande on them, and delyuer them frome the dures of theyr paynes, and bryng them into the company of the celestyall cytezens, thorough thy excedyng greate mercyes, whiche are most excellent aboue all thy workes. Which lyuest and reygnest, god, worlde without ende. So be it."(4)

P. 75. *York Bidding Prayer V*, from the edition of 1510,(5) with

(1) *Test. Ebor.*, II, 41. (2) *Id.* II, 93. (3) *Id.* II, 121.

(4) Maskell, M. R. II, 174, and see the rest of the note there.

(5) This edition is in small quarto ($9\frac{1}{4}\times7$). The colophon (fol. 103 *b*) is as follows: "¶ Manuale insignis ecclesie **Eboracen**sis impressum per **Wynandum de Worde** commorantem **londonii** in vico nuncupato **flete-strete** sub intersignio solis: vel in cimiterio sancti pauli sub ymagine dive marie pietatis (pro **Johanne gachet** et **Jacobo ferrebouc sociis**). Finit Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo nono quarto ydus Februarii.

Sane hoc volumen digessit arte magister
Wynandus de worde incola londinii."

Dr Henderson (*York Missal*, II, 258) enumerates copies as known to be

the addition of marginal notes, but without any alteration in the punctuation, the contractions only being expanded in Italic, and the Latin broken into lines and paragraphs. A comparison with the older manuscripts shows—and this may also be observed in the printed Ebor *Horæ*, and north country wills, and formal documents from the latter part of the fourteenth century downwards(1) —that the northern dialect had ceased to be intentionally used as the written language of northern clerks, though the strangeness of the southernizing process is betrayed by the overlooking of several northern peculiarities, or rather northern peculiarities other than those which have been adopted in the common tongue.

In addition to the usual substitution of more modern words for those which had become obsolete or obsolescent the following may be instanced as being more properly dialectic changes:

bones	*for*	banes	moste	*for*	maste
bretheren, broders	„	brether	shall	„	sal
cherche	„	kirk	sowles	„	saules
every	„	ilk	such	„	swilk
from	„	fra	their	„	þare
great	„	mykill	them	„	þame, þam
hathe (3 *sing.*)	„	hase, hafes	therafter	„	þarefter
helpe (*imperat.*)	„	helpes	where	„	whar
hertly	„	hartly	whiche	„	qwilk
holy	„	haly	whome	„	whame
londe	„	land	worke	„	warke

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extant in the five following libraries—Bodleian (Z. 13, *Th. Seld.*); Ripon Minster; St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw; Beresford Hope, Esq.; and Magdalen College, Cambridge. That in the Ripon Library is very closely cut, but is otherwise perfect, and was lent to me for the purpose of this edition by the kindness of Dr Hugh McNeile, the then Dean of that cathedral.

Dr Henderson mentions another edition of the manual (Gachet, without date) in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.

(1) In 1493, "I, Robert Calverley of Calverley, esquier, being in good mynd, maketh my testament in this forme . . . . . to be beried in the church of Calverley." —*Test. Ebor.*, IV, 157. In 1541, Sir Richard Towgall, a chantry-priest at Gateshead, Durham, "to be buryed within the church of gatyshead, where my father and mother doithe lye."—*Wills & Invent.*, S. S. I, 117.

1545. "I Thomas man*ers* whol of mynd *and* remembr*ance* maiketh this my testament . . . to be buryd in the quere of the Churche of Holye Elande [*Holy Island*], wher my p*re*decessors doythe lye w*ith* soulle messe *and* derege."—*Ib.* I, 122.

On the 13th April, 1513, the tower of St Mary's, Beverley, gave way and fell through the roof in the time of service. It is commemorated by an inscription carved on a beautiful oak skreen, not later than 1530, which, not without the protest of Sir Gilbert Scott, who tempered the recent restoration, has now ceased to ornament the church. The northern *saules* has held its ground, though *church* has taken the place of *kirk*: "Pray God haue merce of all the sawllys . . . . slayn at the fauling of thys ccherc."

On the other hand the *-s* in the singular and plural of the present tense and the *-and* of the participle retain their ground, though the southern *hath* has supplanted the older *has*, and the final *-s* has been discarded in the imperative. It will be noticed that the following are in the plural:

redys	singes	worshippes
gives	sendes	upholdes

Does (not *doth*) occurs in the singular; and *land-tylland* remains unaltered.

P. 75, l. 9. *Trewe to the kynge.* As the specification of the "true" cardinals was due to the schism in the papacy (*note*, p. 340), there can be little doubt that this addition to the earlier forms must have dated from the Wars of the Roses.

l. 10. In 1534, when Henry VIII. finally broke with the pope, he directed his name and the word *pope* "to be utterly razed" out of all prayers, calendars, church books, &c.; and he was thereafter designated simply as the "Bishop of Rome," in all acts of parliament and other formal documents. In the June of this year there was issued a special document, limiting this part of the bidding prayer, "word for word."

In 1542 the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury considered the question of correcting and reforming portesses, missals, and other books; and the more complete rasing and abolishing of the names of the Roman pontiffs and Thomas Becket by all priests. It continued to be one of the questions at visitations down to the year 1547, "Whether they have put out of their church books this word *papa*, and the name and service of Thomas Becket."

The danger of arbitrary punishment was so great that the presence or absence of these proscribed names may be looked for as a proof of a manuscript or book being English, or, at least, of its having been in this country until the danger was past. Of the large number which I have examined, I have never seen a service book which did not shew at least a colourable obedience.(1) In the beautiful Sherborne missal,(2) of which, by the kindness of its noble owner, I have made a renewed examination after these pages had been sent to the press, I noticed that this obedience had been carried to a great extreme—possibly because in this case the danger was very great—unless indeed it was the vandal act of some prying visitor or king's commissioner thereto authorized, who was searching for a pretext to fill the royal exchequer or his own. The page containing the musical notes of

(1) See above, p. 102, ll. 11, 18; p. 104, l. 23; and (where one might not have expected to find it) in the Vernon MS., p. 136, l. 294; p. 137, l. 325, and p. 139, l. 389.

(2) Above, p. 257, *n.*; 306, *n.*, &c.

the *Gloria in excelsis* (p. 359) is ornamented in the margin with a series of most exquisite miniatures of pope, cardinal, patriarch, archbishop, &c.; which remain uninjured except that the tiara on the pope's head has been roughly defaced. The only other miniature which appears to have been subjected to maltreatment is one in the mass (p. 44), "*Sancti* t[*ho*]m[*e*] martiris" (*Dec.* 29), where in a miniature of the archbishop, in the initial D of the collect, the jewels on the front of the mitre appear to have been purposely washed off, though the form of mitre has been allowed to remain, and the face is uninjured.

P. 76, l. 2. *quene.* Elsewhere the omission of a prayer for the queen (C 183), or the pope (B 362), has furnished a note of time. Henry VIII. was married to Catharine of Arragon on the 3rd June, 1509. The manual from which this form is printed was finished(1) on the 10th February, 1510. His queen was therefore prayed for, and it will be observed that it is equally exact in not praying for royal children.(2)

l. 20. The print inserts "our lady," and reads *sayntes* for the *halouse* of the earlier text, p. 71, l. 27.

P. 78, l. 23. *plesure.* This change proves that the "*louing*" of the earlier form (p. 71, l. 17) was already losing its first sense of praise.

P. 80, l. 13. *Ye or I be bounde to pray for.* Cf. "pro quibus exorare jussi et debitores sumus."—*Missa pro animabus quibus tenentur*, Collect, *Miss. Ebor.*, II, 188.

This is expressed more fully in the Bidding Prayer for the Diocese of London (*MS. Harl.* 335), printed by Dr Henderson: "Also yee shall pray speciale for the soules for which ye have had any gode by yefte or by qwest, whereby that ye have your lyvynge and your sustenance."—*York Manual*, 225*.

THE YORK HOURS OF THE CROSS.

The Hours of the Cross must not be confounded with the older Office of the Cross,(3) or the *Cursus de Sancta Cruce*, mentioned by Udalric. They do not appear to be earlier than the beginning of the

(1) See the colophon, *ante*, p. 344, *n.*

(2) Cf. *ante*, p. 62, l. 8: "þe kynges childer."

(3) The Cotton MS. Titus D. XXVII. contains Offices of the Trinity and the Cross. The date is 1012 × 1020. See description with the photograph, No. 60, of the plates of the Palæographic Society. Fol. 66—73 are devotions for those who desire to pray before the Crucified ("*si vis orare ante crucifixum*"), first *ad pedem dextram*; then *ad pedem sinistrum*, and so on *ad dexteram manum—ad sinistram manum—ad os eius—in medio pectore—ad aures eius.*

fourteenth century. One MS. (Reichenau 82) claims Pope Benedict XII, who died in 1342, as having put them forth. Another XIV. Century MS. assigns them to his predecessor John XXII. A third manuscript of the same century, also quoted by Mone,(1) has the following metrical prologue:

> "Subscriptas horas edidit de Ihesu passione
> Egidius episcopus ex devotione,
> Trecentisque diebus indulgentiæ dotavit,
> Quos et apostolicus Iohannes confirmavit."

By whomsoever written they became very general in Western Europe, and this has led to many various readings of the text, which are noted in Mone. There are also several variations between the Ebor Text and the Sarum, for which the reader is referred to the Sarum *Horæ*, or to the transcript in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, II, p. xi—xviii.

Mone gives a curious Norman French translation of the xv century. There is an old Dutch translation in his *Niederländ. Volksliteratur*, p. 151, and an old High German translation in Hoffman's *Geschichte des Teutschen Kirchenliedes*, p. 192. Mr Maskell gives the anthems in Latin with an English metrical version from printed Sarum *Horæ* and *Primers*;(2) and metrical and prose translations from early fifteenth century manuscripts.(3) Dr Morris also prints a metrical version, from a fourteenth century manuscript,(4) but none of them claim to be of the York use, or are written in the northern dialect.

The hours, here first printed, are taken from a manuscript Ebor *Horæ*—the only one that is known—in the York Minster Library (XVI, K, 6), which appears in the catalogue, and is lettered on the modern binding as "Liber Precum, Sæc. XV." It is on vellum, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, of 120 leaves, the first and last originally left blank, but some entries of births in the Pulleyn family between 1597 and 1616 have been made on the *verso* of fol. 1, in a contemporary hand. It has been noted on a fly-leaf by a former librarian that it had been compared with a MS. in the Bodleian of the date of 1420; and from the character of the handwriting and illuminations this date may very probably be rightly assigned to it.

It had not been noticed that the prayers are "after the use of York," but that I am right in assuming this, I have little doubt—not so much from the markedly northern dialect of the English portions, which alone would not have been sufficient, as from the fact that it

(1) *Lateinische Hymnen*, I, 108.

(2) *Monumenta Ritualia*, II, p. xi—xvii.

(3) *Ib.*, p. 37-8, 45, &c.

(4) *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S., 1871, p. 222-4. Dr Morris gives the reign of Edward III. as the date of the MS.; or—with a query—the time of "Edward II. and Isabella." If this last suggestion be correct it places the date of these hours at the very beginning of the pontificate of John XXII, or in that of his predecessor; and at all events proves their early introduction into this country.

agrees with the printed *Horæ* in the Minster Library (XI, O, 28), "*secundum usum Eborancen,*"(1) in places where it is peculiar—as, for example, the mention of *Archiepiscopus noster*—and that the Calendar, which is distinctively York,(2) was most probably written by or for some

(1) The known editions and copies of the York *Horæ* are :

I. Rouen, Bernard and Cousin, 4to, 1512.—Three, Sir H. Hoare; St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw ; and St John's College, Cambridge.

II. Rouen, 12mo, Nich le Roy, 1538—One, Cathedral Library, Lincoln.

III. London, 12mo, Wight, ? 1554 × 1558(*)—One, Magdalen College, Cambridge ; and Fragment, York Minster Library.

IV. Mr Dickinson in his *List of Printed Service Books*, 1850, mentions another York *Horæ :* "1556, 12mo, London, Emmanuel College." Mr Chapman, Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel, to whose kindness I am indebted for the notice (III) of the York *Horæ* in the Pepysian Library of Magdalen College, has been unable to find any trace of this book in their library. We might have supposed that the copy at Magdalen had given rise to a confusion in Mr Dickinson's informant, especially as there is no notice of it in his list, except for the mention of the date of the Emmanuel copy and that no printer is specified.

V. An imperfect copy in York Minster Library (XI, O, 28). I have taken some pains to find the place and date of this edition, but without success. From the frequent use of "et," as the expansion of "&" in the English prayers, this last is evidently the work of a French or foreign printer; but beyond this, and the fact that it is not of any of the editions above specified, I have been able to discover nothing definite. There are full page woodcuts before each hour, and numerous elaborate initial letters. The pages are surrounded by borders of saints, and hunting and other secular subjects, of the same character as those often used by Paris and Rouen printers in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Mr Bullen, with the kindness for which I have always had to thank the authorities of the British Museum, was good enough to collect all the many wood-cut bordered books in the library for the purpose of comparison, but they did not help us. Mr Reed in the Print Department also was kind enough to examine the book, and he did not know the wood-cut borders, and had never seen the Annunciation treated in the same way. It is of an extreme realistic type, a full page cut before the matins (*fol.* 20, *b*) : the blessed Virgin is seated, the angel kneels on one knee before her ; and a ray proceeds from the first person of the Trinity to her ear, down which the dove is flying, followed by an infant Christ, bearing his cross.

An attempt has been made to complete the book, by inserting leaves of the small English edition above mentioned (III), and writing other portions on some of the blank leaves bound up with it. By whoever this was done—probably in the reign of Elizabeth—the book bears the marks of after use, and, quite apart from bibliographical considerations, seems to have a melancholy interest as the cherished, though mutilated and proscribed, possession of some devout adherent to his old convictions. These may have exposed him, if not to persecution, which may have been too likely, still to many inconveniences and discomforts from penal laws which—and we may all be thankful for it—are now swept out of the statute-book.

(2) There is, however, the following entry—but in a later hand—at July 14 : "dies cuniculares incipiunt. *Festum* reliquiarum *cathedralis* lincoln."

(*) There is no date in the title-page, and the book ends with *Finis*, without farther colophon ; but I think I am justified in suggesting the reign of Queen Mary as the probable date, from a reference to the dates of other books printed by Wight, and from the fact that no service books of the Ebor use were printed in the last ten years of Henry VIII.

one connected with the parish of All Saints, Pavement, in the city of York, as at the Ides (15th) of May there is the following note: "Dedicacio*nis* ecc*lesie* om*nium* *Sanctorum* *super* paui [*mentum*] Ebor."

These hours in English are written consecutively at the beginning of the manuscript. The Latin is given from the same manuscript, where these hours are inserted in the hours of the Virgin, except the words within brackets, which have been added from the printed *Horæ.*

P. 82, l. 1—3. This was not repeated, as was that, l. 4—6, with the Gloria Patri, l. 7—9, at the subsequent hours. The Myroure gives the reason. It directs the nuns to begin the service with an *Ave-Maria*, and then proceeds: "¶ When ye haue thus begonne wyth oure lady and founde comforte in hyr. ye begynne to desyre to prayse oure lorde god. But for ye fele youre selfe vnworthy so moche as to open youre mouthe therto. therfore ye pray hym to open your lyppes. to hys praysynge and saye. *Domine labea mea aperies.* that ys Lorde thow shalte open my lyppes. *Et os meum anunciabit* &c And my mouthe shall shew thy praysynge. Thys verse ys only sayde at mattyns. that ys the begynnynge of goddes seruyce. in token that the fyrste openynge of youre lyppes, or mouthe. shulde be to the praysynge of god. and all the day after, they shulde abyde open. and redy to the same. and be so occupyed and fylled therwyth, that nothynge contrary to hys praysynge myght enter in. ne do eny thynge wel. eny tyme of the day. w*i*thout hys helpe. as he sayeth hymselfe in hys gospel. *Sine me nichil potestis facere.* that ys. wythout me ye may do ryghte noughte. Therfore bothe at mattyns. and at begynnynge of eche houre. ye aske hys helpe. & saye. *Deus in adiutoriu*m *meum intende.* That ys. God take hede vnto my helpe."(1)

l. 1. *lyppis.* It is sometimes assumed that *-is* or *-ys* in the plural is a mark of Scotch or rather English across the border; but not only do we find it here in an unquestionably York MS., and page 84, l. 49, "panys;" but we have below, l. 17, "domis" in the genitive, and so very commonly in later northern MSS.(2)

l. 12. *wysdome.* See note (3), *ante*, p. 218, and C. T. 14883.

l. 14. *withouten les.* Not an unusual tag to help out a rhyme.

Cf. "The swetnesse lasted, withouten lees,
Till that the body buryed wes."
Guy of Warwick, Zupitza, 10695-6.

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(1) Ed. Blunt, E. E. T. S., 1873, p. 81.

(2) I may illustrate this by an inscription on two pillars, in the nave of St Mary's, Beverley, within ten miles of the southern boundary of the North-Humber-land. On one, "Thes to pillors mad gud," and on the other, "wyffes. god reward thaym." The next pillar was made by the minstrels, and the fact is not only recorded by an inscription; but a group of five of them is carved on a corbel projecting from the pillar. See note, *ante*, p. 344, *n*, for the date, where also may be seen the same grammatical form in the quotation from the rood-screen.

"an angel him bad withoute lye:
Dauid, go to Arabye
To þe mount Thabor blyue
and bringe to Ierusalem withoute les
þo þre ȝerdes þat Moyses
sette þere by his lyue!"

Canticum de Creatione, Horstmann, *Anglia*, I, 997—1002.
See also *Towneley Mysteries*, p. 5, and *post*, p. 384.

P. 82, l. 16. *tyde.* Evidently written by mistake from line 13.

P. 84, l. 22—5. With this prayer to Christ, compare one to St Helen in the MS. Hours (fol. 98 *b*), from which this is printed:

"Seint elene j þe pray
To helpe me at my last day
To sette þe crosse *and* his passione
Betwix my synfull saule *and* dome
Now *and* in þe houre of my dede
And bryng my saule to requied."

This was probably a local form, for St Helen (Helena), owing to the received opinion that she there gave birth to the Emperor Constantine, was the object of special devotion in the city of York, where one of the churches is called by her name.

The following is taken from the order of the visitation of the sick, given in Maskell.(1)

At the last the priest exhorts the dying man to set the cross (*crucifix*) before him and say, "I wot wel thou are nouȝt my God, but thou art imagened after him and makest me have more mind of him after whom thou art imagened, Lord Fader of heuene, the deth of oure Lord Jesu Crist, thi Sone, whiche is here imagened I set betwene the and my euil dedis; and the desert of Jesu Crist I offre for that I should have deserued and have nought.

"*Sey azen:* Lord the deth of oure Lorde Jesu the Sone wiche was bore of Seinte Marie, moder and maiden, I sette betwene me and thi wrath."

l. 37-8. This petition appears to be peculiar to York.

l. 38. *mistime.* As in the litany, "a subitanea et improvisa morte"—"from . . . . . murder and sudden death." Cf. St Luke xxi, 34: "Lest . . . that day come upon you unawares."

l. 45. *of dedly synne me to shryue.* At first *scrifan* was used of the shrift-father, who received the confession and assigned the penance, and *andettan* of the penitent opening his sin, as in the prescribed form of confession, "Ic andetta Ælmihtigum Gode and minum scrifte—*I confess to Almighty God and to my confessor.*"(2) Afterwards it was used, like the French *confesser*, of the penitent who

(1) *Monumenta Ritualia*, III, 357-8, and see *post*, p. 396.
(2) Canons under K. Edgar, *De Confessione*, 6. Thorpe, A. L. II, 262.

made the confession, and of the confessor who heard it, probably because it came to be held that, as the confessor shrove their sins from men after confession,(1) they shrove or rid themselves of their sins by confession. This explanation is favoured by a suggested explanation of the word,(2) and by the usual construction, as in the phrase before us, and as *ante*, p. 124, l. 10, "caste out with meke schrifte alle venym of sin."

I find, however, in Richardson (*s. v.*) that Ihre, who supposes that the word was received from the English preachers of the gospel, derives the Swedish *skrifta*—and if so, the English *shrift*—from *scribere*,(3) to write, because the penance required was given in writing; and Skinner also because the names of those confessing were written down. Dr Richardson pertinently remarks: "Neither of these reasons has introduced the word into the Italian or French," nor has it into the German, or any Romance language.(4) He adds that "Lye quotes three instances from the Anglo-Saxon version of Boethius where the Latin *curare* is rendered *scrifan*." He also refers to Somner, who is quoted in the note.

P. 84, l. 52. *fays*, the northern form in marked contrast with the southern "*foon*" (foes).

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(1) Cf. Mannum heora dæda scrifan—*u. s.*, can. I, p. 260.

(2) Somner. *s.* SCRIFAN. Delictorum confessiones exigere ve audire, pœnitentias injungere; to hear confessions and enjoyne penance, to shrive. *Item.* putare, amputare, resecare; to prune, lop, or shrive trees.

(3) In Cleasby-Vigfusson the Icelandic *skript* is given, I, a drawing; II, a writ or scripture, and in these senses it may very well be derived from *scrifan* and that from the Latin *scribere*, as we are there told. We also there find that *skript* is, III, (*eccles.*) confession and penance, but though there is a common form of the word, or words in these different senses, it does not necessarily follow that they have the same derivation. Our heathen forefathers knew nothing of confession, and therefore could not have brought the name with them, when they settled in this country; and it seems not unreasonable to suppose, as suggested above in respect to the Swedish *skrifta*, that the Icelanders received *skrift* in the sense of *shrift*, when they received their Christianity from England.

(4) There can be no doubt that many foreign ecclesiastical terms were grafted into the language from the time of Saint Augustine, and the first Latin missionaries, as Christ, apostle, pope, bishop, priest, deacon, mass, chrism, &c., but then it will be noticed that every one of these examples was imported in the sense it had hitherto borne. On the other hand, in a far greater number of instances, and more especially where it was desirable that the new words should be "understanded of the people," they were rendered in the vulgar tongue, as Hælend (*Saviour*); hallows, fulluht (*baptism*); housel (*eucharist*); gospel, rood, weofod (*altar*); mæsse-reaf (*vestment*); hacele (*chasuble*); heofod-lin (*amice*); sang-boc (*psalter*); bletsing-boc (*benedictional*); ræding-boc (*lectionary*); spel-boc (*book of homilies*); tidsang (*canonical hours*); and so the names of the several hours—and if all these, and many more of the same kind, why not shrift, remission, or cutting off of sin; scrift-boc (*book of penances*); scrift-scir (*parish*), &c.?

P. 86, l. 68—71. There is no English anthem for compline in the York Manuscript. I have supplied it from the Cambridge MS. printed by Mr Maskell.

l. 72—8. The English "Recommendation" is also wanting in the York MS. Horæ, and it not being found in Mr Maskell's MS., I give it from the Primer of 1543, as printed by him in his preface.

P. 87, l. 49—56. It will be noticed that the York MS. has the Latin *Antiphona ad completorium*, and the *Recommendatio*, which last rubric or title I have supplied from the York *Horæ* of 1536. The other Latin titles within brackets are from the printed *Horæ* in the York Minster Library described above, p. 348 (V).

l. 57—61. The verse, respond, and prayer were repeated at each hour, as appears from the printed editions, where we find the first words with an **ut supra**, except that of Rouen, 1536, which describes itself on the title-page as "*sine require*" (without any, *see above*), and gives them in full at each place.

APP. I. THE MASS—YORK USE.

The order of mass, p. 90—116, is taken from a vellum manuscript(1) of about A.D. 1425, in the York Minster Library (XVI, A. 9). It would not be within the scope of the E. E. T. S. to produce in detail the grounds of the opinion here advanced, and I cannot refer to any writer on these subjects who has made the same remark; but it appears to me in the first place that the York Use, as here given, and notwithstanding some later and easily recognized interpolations, was in the main the ancient Gregorian mass, according to the Roman rite of the eighth century; or rather that it was the use "secundum ritum sacri palatii,"(2) which with most absolute self-confidence was enforced by a high-handed exercise of royal supremacy in the dominions of

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(1) The MS. B of the *York Missal*, edited for the Surtees Society by Dr Henderson, which has been published since these extracts were printed. See *post*, p. 354.

(2) This phrase is used by Leidradus, Archbishop of Lyons, in his *Epistola ad Carolum Magnum*. We have no evidence as to what may have been the earlier York use—whether it was that compiled for England by St Augustine, from those of Rome and Gaul, with, it may be, some British customs other than those to which he had been used ("*moribus nostris contraria*."—Bed. H. E. II, 2)—or whether it was a Scottish use, introduced by missionaries from Iona—but, as elsewhere remarked with respect to the Gallican liturgy, we know that Charles did not altogether succeed in abolishing diocesan uses in Gaul; and it is not at all inconsistent with the suggestion in the text that some ancient usages may have survived at York.

Charles the Great ;(1)—and further, that it was very probably introduced at York(2) by Archbishop Eanbald II, at the instance of his old master Alcuin,(3)—who, though established at the Frank court, had not

(1) In confirmation of this I may quote the conclusions of the Abbé Duval in his Études Liturgiques in the *Observateur Catholique* 1859, Tome VII, 161 :

"Charlemagne à l'example de Pepin, son père, et à la prière du pape Etienne, réforma lui-même ou fit réformer par ses écrivains les anciennes liturgies de l'Église gallicane, en y introduisant des pièces nouvelles ou tirées des livres romains."

(2) As regards the southern province it had been decreed about fifty years before this (A.D. 747), by a provincial council at Clovesho (*Canon* XIII), that the Roman model—"*exemplar quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia*"—should be adhered to in all the offices of religion. St Osmund established the Sarum use in the eleventh century ; and it would seem that there had been some intention of extending it beyond the Humber, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Among other proofs may be mentioned a MS. of the Ebor Missal now in the Library of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge (*MS.* D of Dr Henderson's edition), which was apparently an attempt to assimilate the York use to that of Sarum. That it was abortive is evident from the fact that the changes introduced in it were not admitted in any of the editions of the Ebor Missal, when it came to be printed.

There are sufficient grounds for supposing that Henry VIII. intended, even if he did not carry out his intention, that "the whole realm should have but one use." This was carried out in the reign of his son ; and when the Book of Common Prayer was taken away in the time of Queen Mary, the convocation under Cardinal Pole in 1557 considered the question whether the Latin service books should not be "uniusmodi per totum regnum."—Cardwell, *Synodalia*, II, 453.

(3) See Alcuin—Epist. LV, *Opera*, Migne, I, 224, and Epist. LXV, *ib.* 254.

The following is one of the *Orationes solemnes* for Good Friday in the York Missal :

"Oremus et pro Christianissimo *Imperatore* nostri ; ut Deus et Dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes, *et faciat sapere ea quæ recta sunt, atque contra inimicos catholicæ et apostolicæ Ecclesiæ triumphum largiatur victoriæ* ad nostram perpetuam pacem."—*York Missal*, Henderson, I, 103-4. According to this form the kings of England, centuries before the times of our own Empress of India, were prayed for in the northern province as emperor.

The old "imperatore," which is itself older than the "Holy Roman Empire" of Charles and his successors, was retained in the Sherborne missal (p. 206), but has been altered *secunda manu* into "rege" for the *King* of England, and this is the reading of the printed Sarum (*ed.* Burntisland, 326).

"Imperatore" remains in the Roman Missal, though it may be a question what emperor is now prayed for at the Vatican. The clause shewn in italics (et faciat . . . . victoriæ) is found in neither Rome nor Sarum, and is very suggestive of the incessant wars of the Franks against the Saxons and other heathen tribes, which were professedly carried on, not merely for the conquest of "barbarous nations," who were dangerous neighbours, but also for their conversion to Christianity, and their submission to papal authority.

See also the *Missa contra Paganos* in the Ebor MS. missals (*ed.* Henderson, II, 178), which is neither in the Roman, Sarum, or printed York missals.

relinquished his place in the cathedral church(1)—and, very possibly, partly in deference to Alcuin's royal scholar, whose influence, at all events in secular matters, was acknowledged a few years later, in Britain, north of Humber, even if his paramount dominion was not formally recognized.(2)

I follow the fashion of not retaining the mediæval spelling of the Latin of the following extracts, though I had been very careful to do so in making my transcript some years ago, when I had undertaken to edit the York Missal, if the Surtees Society did not take it in hand. My friend Dr Henderson has now edited it for the society, and relieved me from my engagement, to my great satisfaction, and very much to the greater advantage of liturgical students. They have now within their reach the most complete edition of any provincial use which has hitherto been published—the only one where the variations of the order of mass and the canon in the printed editions and every known manuscript are shewn in parallel columns, and that contains a comparative calendar and index of fixed feasts, so necessary in the identification of uses.

P. 94, l. 3. *Psalmus*,—The name applied otherwise than to the Psalms of the Psalter, and we also find it used of the Creeds.

P. 96, l. 18—24. These two prayers are peculiar to this use. With the last compare that in the same place in the Mosarabic Liturgy: "Conforta me, Rex sanctorum summum tenens principatum; da sermonem rectum et benesonantem in os meum, ut placeam tibi et omnibus circumstantibus."(3)

l. 10. The following is the rubric which has been omitted in the text: "*Sicuti evidens habeatur et plena cognitio, qualiter orationes quas collectas vocamus terminandæ sint; Prius notandum est, quod in eis quandoque dirigitur sermo ad Patrem: quandoque ad filium: quandoque ad Spiritum Sanctum: quandoque ad totam trinitatem. Sed quando ad patrem, iterum considerandum est, utrum ita dirigatur sermo ad Patrem, quod fiat mentio de filio et spiritu sancto, vel non. Et si in oratione, quæ ad patrem dirigitur, fiat mentio de filio, refert an fiat ante finalem partem, an in ipso fine; et secundum has diversitates variabitur finis. Si vero oratio dirigitur ad Patrem absque mentione filii et spiritus Sancti, finietur sic:* Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate spiritus sancti deus *et cetera ut hic* Concede nos famulos tuos [*quæsumus, Domine, Deus*].(4) Deus qui miro ordine.(5) *Si vero de Spiritu Sancto fiat mentio, dicetur:* In unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti deus, *et cetera, ut hic* Deus qui corda fidelium,(6) Ure igni

(1) Note, *ante*, p. 326-7.
(2) See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 1867, I, 39-40. Palgrave, I, 484.
(3) *Missale Mixtum*, ab A. Lesleo, S. J., 219, l. 78.
(4) Collect, Lady-mass before Advent.
(5) Collect, St Michael and all Angels.
(6) Collect Mass of the Holy Spirit.

Sancti Spiritus renes.(1) *Si vero de Filio fiat mentio ante finalem partem, dicetur:* Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, *et cetera, ut hic,* Deus qui de beatæ mariæ.(2) Largire nobis, clementissime.(3) *Si vero in fine fit mentio de Filio, dicetur:* Qui tecum vivit et regnat, *ut potest videri in oratione de sancto stephano, cujus finis talis est,* Qui novit etiam pro persecutoribus exorare dominum nostrum Christum filium tuum, Qui tecum, *et cetera.*(4) *Item in oratione* Deus qui salutis.(5) *Si vero ad filium dirigatur oratio sine mentione Spiritus sancti, ut hic,* Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni,(6) *et similiter in orationibus de adventu domini, dicetur:* Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre [MS. patri] in unitate spiritus sancti deus. *Si fiat mentio de spiritu sancto, dicetur:* Qui cum patre et eodem spiritu sancto vivis et regnas, *et cetera. Item orationes ad patrem, in quibus mentionem de Trinitate facimus, sic concludimus:* In qua vivis et regnas deus, *sicut in hiis orationibus,* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui dedisti,(7) Populum tuum, domine quæsumus.(8) *Illas vero quas ad ipsam Trinitatem dirigimus sic finimus,* Qui vivis et regnas Deus; *similiter,* Placeat tibi Sancta trinitas.(9)

"*Secundum autem Romanam ecclesiam*(10) *nullam orationem cum* Per eum qui venturus est judicare *concludimus, nisi quando fit exorcismus in quo diabolum per divinum judicium ut a creatura Dei recedat exorcizamus. Nam in aliis orationibus, quas cum* Per Dnm nrm *concludimus, Patrem ut per amorem Filii sui nobis subveniat imploramus. In exorcismis autem diabolum per Dei judicium, ut aufugiat, increpamus, in quo judicio se scit diabolus potentissime damnandus, cujus timore judicii concutitur.*"

There is a shorter rule of a similar character, but without examples, in the Sarum Cautelæ Missæ.(11)

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(1) Collect, *Missa contra tentationes carnis.*

(2) Collect, Lady-mass in Advent.

(3) Collect, St Mary Magdalene. (4) Collect, St Stephen.

(5) Collect, Lady-mass in Epiphany-tide.

(6) Collect, First Sunday in Advent. (7) Collect, Trinity Sunday.

(8) I am unable to find the collect which is here referred to. There are two collects in the York Missal with this beginning, viz. those for the Saturday in the Lent Ember week (*ed.* Henderson, I, 59), and for the Thursday after the second Sunday in Lent (*ib.* p. 63)—but in neither of them is there any mention of the Trinity, nor do they end as here laid down.

(9) Prayer said by priest after mass.—See *ante,* p. 117. This ends (*similiter*) in like manner as a collect, although itself not a collect in the sense of the rubric.

(10) This mention of Rome and that above, p. 94, l. 31, date back, if I am not wrong in my suggestion, p. 352, from the times when the Roman *Ordo* was established by law in the Frank dominions, and when as yet the principle of agreement with it was not taken for granted.

(11) *Miss. Sar.,* 651. See also *Pupilla Oculi,* f. xxii. and note, Maskell, A. E. L., p. 30-31. The Roman rule is given *Rub. Gen.,* ix, 17.

P. 96, l. 21. *Vicarius.* The mention of the Vicar gives a local colour to the MS. and proves that it was intended for use in York Minster itself. The printed editions read "*diaconus.*"

P. 98, l. 22. See note, p. 288, as to the use of the name *offertory* for the whole service until the *secreta;* p. 231—244, as to offerings of the laity, &c.; and p. 318-19 as to the place of the Bidding Prayers and sermon.

l. 29. This, the personal prayer of the priest—"ego," "meis"—with a distinct reference to the propitiatory character of the oblation, was adopted in the course of time, as an integral part of the service. Ives, Bishop of Chartres, towards the end of the eleventh century, pointed out in the Micrologus that the Roman Ordo appointed no prayer to be used between the Offertory and the *Secreta.*(1)

P. 102, l. 11—19. The substance of this rubric is to be found in a letter from Pope Pelagius II. to the bishops of Germany and Gaul, which Baronius ascribes to the year 590. Its genuineness was questioned by Cardinal Bona, for reasons which I need not discuss; and I only refer to it because Muratori in his dissertation *De Rebus Liturgicis* states it to have been a forgery of Pseudo-Isidore in the time of Charles the Great;(2) and because this origin would account for its being found in the York Mass, if the circumstances of its introduction into this country are such as I have supposed.

P. 106, l. 12. Eugenius, the first of his name, was pope from 655—658, and there has been no Eugenius the seventh. It will be observed that there are seven crosses from this place to the consecration of the chalice; but I am inclined to think that my other suggestion in the English is the more probable—and that "*septem*" refers to the seven words (line 2), "*genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi,*" which may have been interpolated before the time of St Gregory, and which a rubric in the Sidney-Sussex MS. directs the priest bowing down to address to her.(3)

l. 25. *Alexander papa instituit.* This rubric is not found in the printed editions of the York Missal, nor have I noticed it among the rubrics of the different uses printed by Martene, or elsewhere. It would seem, however, that it is at least as old as the time of Durandus. His commentary on this part of the Canon

(1) "Romanus ordo nullam orationem instituit, post offerendam, ante secretam."—*Microl.* xi. See also what he says in the same chapter as to another prayer beginning, "*Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas,*" which is now inserted in the Roman Missal, not being "ex aliquo ordine, sed ex ecclesiastica consuetudine." See also Bellarmine, *De Missa,* II, *c.* xvii.

(2) *Liturgia Romana Vetus,* Venet., 1748, I, 66-7.

(3) *York Missal,* Henderson, I, 182, MS. D: "Hic parum inclinatus dicat ad istam septem verba sequentia."

(*Qui pridie*, &c.) appears to refer to this or some similar rubric :—"Hæc verba dicitur Alexander Papa primus addidisse, ut præmissum est."(1)

P. 106, l. 30. *Hic tangat hostiam.* The Sarum rubrics before the words of institution are as follows: "*Et postea elevet paululum,*(2) *dicens,* tibi gratias agens, bene ✠ dixit, fregit, *Hic tangat hostiam dicens,* deditque discipulis suis."(3) This touching is not crossing, nor was it to be understood of breaking the bread. A rubric of the Sarum manual of 1554 explains that some silly fellows ("*fatui*") did so, but that the Church consecrates before breaking, and so does otherwise than as Christ did—"sic aliter facit Ecclesia, quam Christus fecit."(4)

P. 108, l. 8. *Feceritis.* This, of course, with a change of tense, is the "Hoc facite" of the Vulgate, and the τοῦτο ποιεῖτε of the Greek; and, therefore, whatever English verb would render those phrases would equally render this. I venture to say this here, because my alternative rendering ("or offer") has been objected to,—mainly on controversial grounds,—and may be objected to again, when the completed work is in the hands of the public. Now, I was well aware that the rendering of this phrase had been a subject of controversy, but I had undertaken to give "a verbal rendering," and as I thought that as a matter of grammatical construction it fairly admitted of both renderings, I did not attempt to choose between them on doctrinal considerations, and therefore gave them both; and for so doing I have the example of the authorized version, where the very phrase occurs, Numbers xxix, 39, in reference to sacrifices at the feast of tabernacles. The Hebrew is תַּעֲשׂוּ אֵלֶּה, and the Septuagint ταῦτα ποιήσετε. The Vulgate renders, "*Hæc offeretis,*" and our translators, "These *things* ye shall do," and in the margin, "or *offer.*"

l. 10. See note, *ante*, p. 288.

l. 16. See note, *ante*, p. 290.

P. 112, l. 21. See note, p. 295.

P. 116, l. 1. The MS. contains no rubric for the formal rinsing of the chalice and of the priest's hands, though no doubt the innovation had been adopted at York when it was written. See note, p. 301-7.

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(1) *Rationale*, 4, lxi, 1.

(2) "*Hic elevet hostiam dicens.*"—Sherborne Missal, p. 383. See note as to the prohibition of this elevation of the unconsecrated host, after the practice of elevating the consecrated host had been established.—*Ante*, p. 283.

(3) *Miss. Sar.*, 618. (4) *Ib.*

APPENDIX II.

P. 118, l. 8. When I drew attention (p. 173, *n.* 2) to this place and the reason for marking a cross, I had not noticed that Mr Way (P.P, p. li. *n.*) mentions the sign of the cross being found after certain words of ill omen in the Promptorium, thus: "Diabolus, the deuel. ✠ Demon, the deuel ✠."

P. 120, l. 13. *levyth.* See note, p. 312.

l. 33. *eventually burned.* Meanwhile he had succeeded in making his escape from the Tower into Wales. There is some uncertainty as to his movements during the intervening four years, but having been again committed to the Tower, he was brought before the Lords in parliament assembled on the 13th December, 1417, and sentenced not only to be burned as a traitor to God and "*heretic notorement approvee et adjuggee*," but also to be hung as a traitor to the king and his realm. The sentence was carried into effect on the 18th December, when he was drawn on a hurdle to St Giles' Fields, and there hung in chains, and "burnt hanging"—*ars pendant*—in the terms of his sentence as recorded in the rolls of parliament.

P. 121, l. 6. "þerfore þenk 3e, clene prestis, hou moche 3e be holden to God, þat 3af 3ou power to sacre his owene preciouse body and blood of breed and wyn, whiche power he grauntid nevere to his owene modir ne aungel of hevene."—Wyclif, *Works*, III, p. 288-9.

l. 18. *goddes borde.* It has been frequently asserted in the controversial literature of the last few years—sometimes as a reproach, and sometimes to the praise of the revisers of the service books of the Church of England in 1548—that they then for the first time used the name of God's board, or the Lord's table, or the holy table, in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Without going out of our own country, or referring to the writings of the fathers or to the Eastern liturgies, which men who undertake to write dogmatically on these subjects ought to know something about, the mere fact of the occurrence of this phrase in a book, up to that date, so largely used by the clergy as the Festival, is enough to prove the contrary.(1) Ælfric in his paschal homily speaks of Christ's "beod" (*board*). The old English homily for

(1) This mistake nevertheless appears to have passed unchallenged by my lords, episcopal and legal, and by the counsel engaged in the proceedings before the judicial committee of the Privy Council in the case of Martin *v.* Machonochie. See the shorthand writer's notes, 20th Nov. 1868. *Fourth Report of the Ritual Commission*, Folio, 1870, p. 229.

Easter-day of the twelfth century, edited by Dr Morris, exhorts "þat holie bord bugen and þat bred bruken"—*go to the holy board, and partake of the bread*;(1) and farther on, "þanne muge we bicumeliche to godes bord ȝugen, and his bode wurðliche bruken"—*then may we go meetly to God's board, and worthily partake of his body*.(2) In the early part of the fourteenth century we find the phrase in the Ayenbite very much in the same connection in respect to clerks in holy orders—bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons,—and Dan Michel explains it of the wyeued (*weofod*) or altar: "Yet eft hi ssolle by more clene / and more holy / uor þet hi serueþ at godes borde of his coupe / of his breade / and of his wyne / and of his mete. Godes table is þe wyeued. þe coupe is þe chalis. his bread and his wyn: þet is his propre bodi and his propre blod."(3)

In the quotation from Lydgate (*ante*, p. 233) he speaks of the "Altar, called God's board."

In Robert of Brunne's Langtoft(4) we have

"Richard at Godes bord His messe had and his rights."

But there is no need to multiply quotations, and I have noted a great many where the phrase is used in this connection; for—instead of being never used—the wonder would have been that it had not been in every day use, when in the prayer used in our Church in the eighth century at the dedication of an altar, in the earliest York Pontifical, was as follows: "Presta ut in hac mensa sint tibi libamina accepta, sint grata, sint pinguia et Spiritus Sancti tui semper rore perfusa;"(5) and the same words occur in the latest York Pontifical, in the sixteenth century, though meantime the words, "in honorem sancti *ill*," have crept in before the "consecramus."(6) Nor was it only in the service books, but we find the same things in the canon law of the Church. The Legantine Constitutions of Othobon, afterward Pope Adrian V, passed in a "*Concilium Anglicanum*," of both provinces decreed (*Tit.* III. *De Consecratione*): "Domus Dei materiali subjecto non differens a privatis, per mysterium dedicationis invisibile fit templum domini, ad expiationem delictorum et divinam miseri-

(1) 2nd Series, p. 94. (2) *Ib.* 98.

(3) Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Morris, E. E. T. S., 1866, p. 235-6.

(4) *Langtoft's Chronicle*, Hearne, p. 182.

(5) Benedictio vel Consecratio Altaris, *Archbishop Egbert's Pontifical*, Greenwell, p. 40-1.

(6) *Archbishop Bainbridge's Pontifical*, Henderson, p. 328. There is a separate prayer for the "*Consecratio tabulæ*," or the stone slab which formed the top of the altar. The words quoted also occur in the more elaborated office for the consecration of an altar, according to the existing Roman pontifical of Pope Benedict XIV, where we have "in cujus (*sc.* Dei) honorem ac beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum."

cordiam implorandam : UT IN EA FIT MENSA,(1) in qua panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendit pro vivorum et mortuorum suffragiis, manducatur."

APPENDIX III.

This piece was copied for the Society by Mr George Parker of the Bodleian, and he also read the proofs with the original. The manuscript from which it is taken is *Ashm.* 1286 :—"A handsome and valuable quarto MS., consisting of 257 leaves of vellum, gilt at the edges, written about the year 1400, in a fair text hand, in columns, with fair margins, and adorned with frequent rubrics, and painted capitals and borders. Begins with A treatise of The Love of God ; and Ends with A special Confessyoun."(2) The MS. was very probably written for a favourer of Lollard opinions, as it contains (*fol.* 32—108) "Þe Pore Caytyf." There is little to remark as to the dialect. It does not appear to have been tampered with, and is midland, with some southern forms, and (p. 122, l. 29) an instance of the northern participial ending.

P. 127, l. 10. *I can seye* = eye can see. Cf. 1 Cor. ii, 9. The scribe may have been writing from dictation, and have understood "I can say"—*say* with the pronunciation *sey*, see p. 314.

Cf. Hampole's rendering of the Vulgate :

> "Eghe moght never se, ne ere here,
> Ne in-tylle mans hert come þe ioyes sere
> þat God has ordaynd þare and dight
> Tylle alle þat here lufes him ryghte."—*P. C.* 7793-6.

APPENDIX IV.

The celebrated Vernon manuscript of the Bodleian has supplied this piece. It is No. 121 of Mr Halliwell's account of the manuscript. It consists of 688 lines, and extends from *Fol.* 302, *b*, *col.* 1, to *Fol.* 303, *b*, *col.* 3 ; and has been copied for the Society by Mr George Parker, who had already copied Mr Skeat's A-text of Piers Plowman from the same manuscript. I collated his copy with the manuscript—a very unnecessary piece of trouble, as I had no occasion to make an

(1) The gloss of Johannes de Athonia (John Acton) is "*Mensa.* Id est Altare."—Oxon. 1679, p. 83.

(2) *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.*, W. H. Black, Oxford, 1845, p. 1051.

alteration of a letter—and Mr Parker has since read the proofs with the MS.

The date of the Vernon MS. is about 1375, but I am disposed to think that the original must be at least a century older, and that our text is a confused and very fragmentary copy. There can be no doubt that it has been very much mutilated, were it only in the process of southernizing the northern dialect. The creed has been omitted (l. 484), though (l. 485—508) fragments of an "exposition" of the creed are retained. The lines which are reprinted, pp. 362, 363, have been repeated, probably from the combination of different copies; and very possibly the lesson and *exemplum*, which does not occur in Audelay or the Harleian MS. (l. 436—448), may have been a later insertion, with tacit reference to Wycliff's translation of the Bible, and Lollard dissatisfaction at the gospel being read in an unknown tongue.

The metre is that which was called "cowee" or *versus caudati*, of which we have already had an example in the confession in the Mass-book (p. 8). It was so called from having kowes, pendants or tails(1)—that is, shorter lines between the couplets,—which are "coupled" or rhyme together. In this piece we have the double cowee, or staves of twelve verses, four rhyming couplets of four feet or accents in each line, followed by a line of three accents. The two couples of cowes or tails are intended to rhyme together, except that (l. 469 and 559) the copyist in order to get rid of northern forms has broken the longer stave into the more common one of two of six lines each.(2) Although

(1) *Kowes* from the O.F. *coe* or *keue* (queue). The involved style of this piece fully justifies what Robert of Brunne says in the prologue to his Chronicle of the metre in the hands of the makers of his day. He explains the different principle upon which he has rendered his original:

"In simple speche as I couthe,
þat is lightest in mannes mouth
I mad nought for no disours,
Ne for no seggers no harpours;
Bot for the luf of simple meñ,
þat strange Inglis cañ not keñ:
. . . . . .
I made it not for to be praysed,
Bot at þe lewed meñ were aysed
If it were made in ryme couwee,
Or in strangere, or enterlace,
þat rede Inglis, it ere inowe,
þat couthe not haf coppled a kowe,
þat outhere in couwee or in baston,
Som suld haf ben fordon,
So þat fele men þat it herde
Suld not witte howe þat it ferde."

Hearne's Works (*reprint*), III, p. xcix.

(2) The northern *-ande* is retained in the tail-rhyme (l. 665), because if it had been altered to *suffrynge*, as the others, it would not have rhymed with *hande*.

written in rhyme, many of the lines show much of the old alliterative feeling, even if, as might be very possible, some of them were not adapted from an older poem in that metre. In its present form it was intended for recitation "in hall,"

"Herkneþ hende · in halle" (l. 595);

and the hearers are called on to listen (l. 17, l. 557); and harken (l. 628); and are addressed as "sires" (l. 257, 383).

"Jon the blynd Awdlay,"(1) somewhat to the damage of his originality, borrows from this piece, or rather, in all likelihood, from a common original, more than two hundred lines out of the four hundred and fourteen of his poem "De meritis missæ; quomodo debemus audire missam," which calls itself a sermon, and claims an indulgence for the hearers:

"Alle that han herd this sermon
A c. days of pardon
Saynt Gregore grauntis ȝou this."(2)

It was edited from a Douce MS. [No. 302, *fol.* 10*b*-12] in the Bodleian for the Percy Society by Mr Halliwell.

Very much the same matter, though with a very great many various readings, is included in the unpublished *Meritum Missæ* of the Harleian MS. 3954.(3) This was also intended for recitation, and the audience is addressed as "Lordingis."

The Vernon MS. as here printed is patched together from the copies of at least two different scribes, who have altered the original according to their several dialects. As one instance, the lines already mentioned as having been repeated are here given for the sake of comparison:

"Whon þat þou comest · þe chirche with-Inne
And þou sest · þe prest bi-gynne
Take his vestimens · on."—l. 212-14.

"Whon ȝe come · þe Churche with-Inne
And ȝe seo · þe prest bi-ginne
Take · þe vestimens on."—ll. 284—86.

Here the Douce MS. reads:

"Fro tyme the cherche ȝe ben within,
And the prest he doth begyn
His vestmentus to take on."(4)

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(1) He was a chaplain in the monastery of Hagmon in Shropshire, and became blind and deaf. He wrote in the early part of the fifteenth century.

(2) *Poems of John Audelay*, Halliwell, 1844, p. 81.

(3) This is a fairly written MS., early in the XV century, on vellum, oblong small folio. It contains among other pieces Sir J. Mandeville's travels, with rough illustrations, Piers Plowman, &c.

(4) Audelay, *Poems*, ed. Halliwell, p. 75.

And the Harleian MS. 3954, *fol.* 75:

"Sun þou be þe chyrch with in
And þe prest wyl be-gyn
þe vestement to tan."

But amidst the jumble of dialects, there is no difficulty in recognising Northumbrian as having been the dialect of the original, the northern forms being retained, when they rhymed with a word, which did not readily admit of being changed; and in one or two other instances where the scribe appears to have let them pass *per incuriam*. In fact it would be very easy to restore the northern forms in the text as it stands. For example, in the two staves where we have the lines here quoted,—and they would perhaps be more difficult than any, but for the hint in the Harleian MS.—the rhyme-words of the four tails in the first (l. 209—220) are *con* (take his vestimens), *on*, *non*, and *euerichon;* and the northern forms would be *can* (þe vestement to), *tan*, *nan*, and *ever ilk an*. In the second (l. 281—292) we have the tail-rhymes *mon*, *on*, *euerichon*, and *bigon;* and we may restore *man*, *tan*, *everilcan*, and *bigan*. Or in the first stave (l. 5—16), which does not occur in the other MSS., the scribe has not altered the northern *tan*, and the other tail-rhymes which, however, do not rhyme with it, are *on*, *ston*, and *gon*, and no doubt were originally written *an*, *stan*, and *gan*. In the second stave there is nothing so obviously characteristic in the tail-rhymes; and in the third (l. 29—40) we have four northern forms, *say*, *may*, *day*, and *way*—probably because *may* did not admit of being transliterated, for a few lines above (l. 23-4) we have *seye* and *preye* rhyming together; and lines 596-7 we have *sei* (say) and *wey* (way).(1) And so too in the couplets: l. 104 we have the northern *þou gas*, in the second person, unaltered to rhyme with *pas;* and so l. 578, in the phrase "gas hame," *gas* has most likely been retained by an oversight, but *hame* because a rhyme to *schame* did not readily present itself;—and upon the same principle we may account for the northern first person singular being retained in "I sees," because rhyming with "*lees*," l. 176-7.

P. 128, l. 11. *pris prayere*. Cf. William of Palerne, l. 161, where the Romance is described as a "pris tale;" and in Robert of Gloucester, Hearne, I, 409:

"Vyfty hors of prys þe kyng of þe londe
And vyfty þousand besans, he send hem by his sonde."

P. 129, l. 36. Audelay begins his poem by borrowing lines 17—47. His reading here—

"ȝef we wyl of our syn lete,"

very probably shows what the original must have read.

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(1) In the same stave we have *wey* and *weye* in lines 125 and 136, where in line 133 *way* has been retained when wanted for the rhyme.

P. 130, l. 80. *3or seruice say*, of the people; and so pointing to a time before they had ceased to join aloud in the ervice. See p. 200, 256-7.

l. 86-8. Further on(1) we may see what was the feeling, when this was written, as to the gospel in the mother tongue. It has already been pointed out(2) that in the later texts we may trace a change as to the practice of the people answering aloud and joining in the prayers with the priest, when they "of the letter could," which is recognized here and in the original of our Mass-book. In fact, some years before the reformation, not the practice only, but the theory, of congregational worship had died out;(3) and in the reign of Queen Mary, after the English service had been in use during the reign of Edward VI, not only were laymen not expected to take their part with the clergy in the prescribed office, if they chanced to understand it, but their being able to understand the language was looked upon as a hindrance to their devotions.

Dr John Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, writing in defence of the recent submission of the Church of England to the see of Rome, describes the jeer of the malcontents at Divine service in Latin. "But now, I warrant you, you must turn your tippet, and lay away your old mumpsimus, and shut up your portesse(4) and your mass-book too, and put away clean your purgatory masses."(5) "But many," he afterwards admits, "grudge and are offended that the masses and all other Divine Service is in Latin, so that when they be in the church, they do not understand what the priest saith."(6) For himself he says, "I have oftentime much marvelled at us Englishmen of late that we came to the church at the time of our English service to hear only and not to pray ourselves. . . . . When they come to church, and hear the priests, who saith common prayer for all the whole multitude, albeit they understand them not, yet if they be occupied in a godly prayer themselves, it is sufficient for them. And let them not so greatly pass for understanding what the priests say, but

(1) Page 140, l. 425—448, and note, p. 211.

(2) Notes, p. 201, 257, 310.

(3) See note, p. 158.

(4) Portesse, or *Portiforium*, the old Anglican service book corresponding to the Roman Breviary. The English name occurs in great variety of forms—portous, portuows, portowse, portuyse, portuas, portuasse, portas, portes, portess, portos, portose, portosse, portuary; but the form here (*portesse*) seems to have become general towards the middle of the sixteenth century; and in 1610 we have the translators of the Bible adopting it in their address "to the reader."

(5) *Exhortation to all men to take hede and beware of rebellion*, John Cawood, 1554, Sig. T iiij, b. I modernise the spelling in the quotations. Christopherson was made bishop of Chichester in 1557, and died Dec. 1558.

(6) *Ib.* Sig. X. iij.

travail themselves in fervent praying, and so shall they highly please God. Yea, and experience hath plainly taught us, that it is much better for them not to understand the common service of the church, because when they hear others praying in a loud voice, in the language that they understand, they are letted from prayer themselves, and so come they to such a slackness and negligence in praying, that at length, as we have well seen in these late days, in manner pray not at all."(1)

P. 130, l. 90. *holi. writ.* We must not suppose that the writer pretends to have inspired authority for his statements. Both "holy writ" and "holy scripture" are used in the present day exclusively of such books as may be accounted canonical in particular churches; but in the middle ages, as in line 95, of patristic and mediæval writers of recognized authority.(2) We find a like wider use in authorized Roman Catholic formularies of a later date, e. g. ."*Sacri scriptores*," in the Catechism of the Council of Trent (*Pars* II, c. IV, *q.* 5). Our old writers used it still more largely of legendary tales;(3) and, curious to note, while on the one hand they included the writings of the fathers, genuine and supposititious alike, in the general name of holy writ, on the other hand we find our Lord and the inspired writers classed together as doctors of the Church :—

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(1) *Exhortation to all men to take hede and beware of rebellion*, John Cawood, 1554, Sig. X. v.

(2) Thus we find good old Richard of Hampole prefaces his account of the seven joys of heaven and the seven "schendschepes" of hell with the statement that he shows them

"Als es fonden in haly wrytt" (*P. C.* 8186),

and he thereupon names his authority :

"Ffor Saint Austyn þat mykelle couth of clergy.
Says in a sarmon þat he made openly."—*P. C.* 8207-8.

And so, too, Robert of Brunne :

"Of holy wryt, þe englysh y toke
Dialogus men clepyn þe boke."—*H. S.* 1364-5.

(3) The York Minster Library MS. of the tale of Ypotyse—the appearance of our Lord as a child, under this name, to the emperor Hadrian—begins thus (*fol.* 58) :—

"Lystenes to me and ȝe may heere,
All þat wil of wysdom leere,
Of a tale of hooli writte.
Seint iohn̄ þe apostil witnesseþ it."

The writer furnishes an example of the reckless manner in which the authority of a weighty name was constantly claimed. His authority when he began, as we have seen, was Saint John the Apostle, and he ends with Saint John the Baptist (*fol.* 69) :—

"Seynt iohn̄ þe baptist
þat went on erþe wit Iesu crist
þis tale wrote in latyn
Clerkis to haue in parchemyn."

"After the text of Crist, and Powel, and Ion
And of oure other doctours many oon."—Chaucer, *C. T.* 7229-30.

P. 131, l. 98. *mony a mede.* This refers to the virtues or *virtutes missæ*, which were also known as the medes of the mass or *merita missæ*, though *merita* and *mede* were often used of the mass in a less restricted sense.

These *virtutes* or *merita* were sayings ascribed to our Lord himself, the evangelists, apostles, and ancient fathers, and so assigned without any attempt at critical exactitude—not to say, with an absolute unconcern as to the merest semblance of probable truth. They attribute to the fact of hearing a mass a variety of advantages, spiritual and temporal, most calculated to work upon the hopes or fears, the selfishness or affections, of the ignorant and superstitious. I hope this will not seem prejudiced or uncharitable, for I am not one of those who can see nothing to admire—or to desiderate—in the religion of our forefathers. In forming a judgment as to their opinions or practice, I endeavour, so far as I know how, to do so from their point of view, with their means of information, and in their circumstances; but in respect to those who debited these fables—and in this I may include the great majority of the legends and tales of the mass—the conviction has forced itself upon me, that whilst there were many humble and holy men who had a single eye to the saving of souls and the honour of their Lord, there were others to whom, whatsoever else they may have believed as to the merits of the mass, not the least of its merits was this, that it gave occasion for the mass-penny of the layman.

It would be an incomplete illustration of this part of our subject if the reader were left without materials for forming his own opinion. I have met with a great diversity from various printed and unpublished manuscript sources, and it had occurred to me to print some of the pieces entire in the Appendix; but they had so little to recommend them either to an antiquary or a philologist, that I have taken my own patience and my readers' into account, and give only a few extracts, without including all of those under the names of "Austin, Ambrose, Barnard, and Bede," who are mentioned in the text.(1)

I begin with a few of the first items of the "Vertewis of the Mess," from a MS. of the Lowland Scotch dialect of the fifteenth century, edited for the society by Mr Lumby.

"Her begynnis the Vertewis of the mess, apprewyt be the haly wryt, baith be our lord Ihesu cristes wordes, and vthir haly sanctis and doctour's of þe cristyne faith. And fyrst and formist.

"Sanct paul sais that rycht as our lord Ihesu cryst is mar worthi and mar preciouss than ony vthir creatur that god maid,

(1) Line 95. The Harleian MS. gives the four names, "Ierome, ambroce, Bernard *and* bede," and adds, "And Austyn ouer hem Ichon."—*fol.* 74, *b*.

sa is þe mess mar worthi and mar preciouss than ony vthir oresone or sacrifice that may be said or maid in this erd.

"Item, sanct barnard sais, that It is mar spedfull, neidful, and profitable to the manis saul-heill to her mess, with clen hart and gud deuotioune, na for to gif for þe luf of god þe fee of sa mickle land as a man may ourgang quhill the mess is in doinge.

"Item, our lord Ihesu sais that quhat sum euer thing þat men with clen hart and gud deuocione askes at the mess in thar praieres It salbe grantyt thaim or elles bettir and mar prophitable thing, na thai ask hyme be mekill. Item, *quicquid orantes petitis* &c.

"Item, sanct Jerome sais that till here mess with clen hart and gud dewocioune garres the saulys that he prayes for feil na payne in purgatory quhil that mess is in doinge."(1)

Next I give the opening of Lydgate's "*Virtutes Missarum*" from the Harleian MS. 3954, *fol.* 76, *col.* 2, which, notwithstanding the similarity of name, is not to be confounded with his "Vertue of the Masse," above, p. 163.

"Augustin*us* i*n* libr*o* de ciuitate, de vij vi*r*tutib*us* missar*um*. illo die quo videt*ur* corp*us* *Christi*, victus necessari*us* t*ri*buit*ur*. ignorata iurame*n*ta dele*n*t*ur* · leuia colloq*ui*a dimittu*n*t*ur* · lume*n* ocul*o*r*um* co*n*fortat*ur* · morte s*u*bita*n*ia no*n* morit*ur* · et si q*ui*s s*u*bito decesserit, p*ro* co*mmuni*cati*one* hab*e*t*ur*.

"LOrdyng*is* dygne an dere, — Listen, Lords, and hear of a
ystyn & ȝe may here : — medicine that can
I wyl ȝou shywy*n* a medicyne, — save from hell.
þ*at* xal ȝou sauy*n* fro helle py*n*ne,
ȝyf ȝ^e^ it vnd*er*stonde aryth,
ȝe xul wel plecy*n* god al-myth.
Seynt austy*n* *in* hys boke tellys, — St Austin is
Q*uat* man þ*at* in erthe duellys, — cited as saying,
And here a masse w*i*th god wyl
Qwat mede longyt þ*er* tyl. — that a mass
Q*uat* man be clene out of sy*n*ne — heard by one
And here a masse q*uan* it be gyne, — shriven of sin,
He xal hys fode [*enjoy*] þ*at* day — ensures sufficient
Suffesantly I dar wel say. — food,
And thou*r* þ^e^ virtu of þ^e^ masse, — freedom from
Lyth othys suory*n* xul fro hy*m* passe ; — oaths lightly sworn,
Idel word*is* xul gon a-way — and forgiveness of idle words,
And be for-ȝouy*n* I dar wel say.
þ^e^ syth of hys eyn gryȝe
Xal be *con*fortyd, I ȝou seyȝe : — strengthening of
ȝyf he se þis body *in* bred, — the eyes,
It xal hy*m* saue fro sodey*n* ded ;

(1) *Ratis Raving*, E. E. T. S., 1870, p. 113.

and viaticum in case of sudden death.

And 3yf he happe þat day to dey3e,
He stant for houselyd, I 3ow seye.
þis wytnessyt seynt austyn

Witness St Austin and Lydgate.

And ledgyt hem in latyn.
Xij vertuwys þere be mo
I xal hem tellyn or I goo."

The twelve virtues follow. I add the third and sixth, as they are not often met with, and the sixth is a further example of apostolical authority being claimed. The eighth is given, *post*, p. 371.

"**Gregorius · tercia virtus est quicquid comedit in die magis conuenit nature sue post audicionem misse quam ante.**

"Sen gregory, þe good man,
The iij scyl telle can.
Quat man here messe or he dyne,
It is a good medycyne;
Hys mete xal han þ^e^ more fysoun
Afterward be resoun."

"**Paulus" vj^ta^. virtus est mulier pregnans que interest misse deuota · si parit illo die · puerum parit sine magno dolore & sine dampne.**

"Sen poule seyt quat woman with chylde
Here a masse with herte mylde
And happe to chylde þat day
Here neythyr(1) xal han no gret fray
And þ^e^ moder þ^e^ soþ^e^ to seyne
She xal han þ^e^ lesse peyne
And þis is þ^e^ vj scyl
To heryn messe with good wyl."

The medicinal effect which is vouched by St Gregory (III *Virtus*) appears under the name of St Ambrose in the *Dicta Sanctorum*, the opening lines of which are quoted, p. 370.

"Ambrosius dicit · Quicquid homo comedit aut bibit post missam)./ melius ingerit *et* prodest ei plusquam Ante missam) quantum

"Seynt Ambrose doctour · whyche Affermyd was
Oone of the foure · seythe As I shalle the telle
A man that ete or drynkethe · Aftyr mas
The mete or drynke dygestythe Alle so welle
And to hys body · As trewe as gospelle
Profytythe more · then) be fore mas to ete
Therfore here mas · or thou take drynke or mete."(2)

(1) Neither of them.

(2) Rawlinson MS. *Poetry*, 36, *fol.* 6*b*. The Virtewis from the Ratis Raving MS. (l. 3940) agrees with this in ascribing this to St Ambrose: "Item, sanct ambross sais that quhat euer met or drink a persone tak efter mess perfites hyme mar til hes heil and lang lyf, na It that he etes befor mess."

The case of the woman with child, which appears above under the name of St Paul, in these *Dicta* is assigned to St Chrysostom.

"Iohannes Crisostomus · Si contigerit nulierem (*mulierem*) parere die illa qua missam / Audierit Absque dolore magno pariet. /

"Iohn Crisostom · Doctoure of gret renowne,
Seythe yif hyt be so þat ony womane
Wythe child · to be delyuered were bowne
That day she here mas · yf hyt plese god whane
The chyld shalle be borne · wythe oute sorow thane.
Grete to þe pregnaunt · thys is a gret grace
Now here thy mas whyls þou hast tyme *and* space."(1)

The same collection also professes to give the Latin of St Austin as to the remission of the "light oaths" (perjury) and "idle words" of Lydgate (above, p. 367); and as to hearing mass standing a man instead of being houseled, or taking his "rights."

"Augustinus · Videntibus corpus *christi* in *prima* die lumen conseruatur oculorum *et* omnia Iuramenta / vana iocosa periuria vel · ignota remittur (*remittuntur*).

"Austyne þe famous doctour excelent.
Remembrythe the syghte · of Crystys bodye
That day hyt is sene · thy syghte verament
Conseruyd is · As lokynge wythe thyne Ie
An Alle veyne othes · pleyes *and* periurye.
Or vnknowyne synnes · relesyd bene they
Here mas · *and* þou mayst not mysspede *in* feye."

"Augustinus · Si quis semel missam Audierit deuote *prima* die morte subitanea non / morietur · Et si sine communione obierit per communicato habetur in ecclesia /

"The same Austyne seythe · As ye may heer se
A mas deuoutly herd · be eny man
That same day · no sodene dethe shalle haue he
And yif he dye · wythe owte hys ryghtys than
For hys howselle hyt is had · As I can.
Shewe you be wrytyng · As thys doctour wryte
Therfor here mas · *and* therto þou delyte."(2)

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(1) Rawlinson MS. *Poetry*, 36, *fol.* 7.

(2) Ib. *fol.* 8. In a Latin *catena*, "De virtutibus missæ" (Bodl. MS. 832, *fol.* 168, *b*), the Latin of St Augustine is given in another form, but I need hardly say that the reader will search the "De Civitate" in vain for anything to justify it.

"Augustinus in libro de civitate dei de interessentibus in missis publicis seu priuatis digne *et* sine mortali peccato existentibus ista sequitur commoda vbi dicit. Quod illo die quo videtur corpus *Christi* victus necessarius tribuitur · ignorata iuramenta delentur · levia colloquia dimittuntur · lumen oculorum confortatur Morte subitania non morietur. Et siquis subito discesserit pro communicato habetur."

I now give the beginning of the Rawlinson MS., from which the above quotations have been made (Rawlinson MS. *Poetry*, 36), *ff.* 6—9.

"*Hec sunt Dicta sanctorum de virtute sacramenti Altaris · Ac ffructu et effectu Misse provt infra patet.*

"As dyuers doctours hathe wryt of the vertu
In herynge of the mas · *and* eke of the syght
Off the blessid sacrament whyche dothe subdu
Alle euylle thoughtis · comaundyng be hys myghte
The ylle Aungel of man) to be At hys Flyghte.
Fro mannys sowle · that day he herythe a mas
And sethe hym) · that is · shalle be · And euyr was."

The *Dicta* as those above given follow in Latin and English, and the piece ends with the following Envoy:

"¶ Now Frende · And þou canst vndyrstand ıatyne
Rede the textys · of Alle tho holy men)
Whyche been) A boue · þou mayst se here wryten)
And yif þou vndyrstand · no latyne then)
Rede þe Inglysshe · of eue*r*y balad when)
Thou wylt · vndyr eue*r*y texte As þei stand
And þen shalt þou those textys vndyrstand

¶ And yif þou hast bene slewfulle here be fore
In heryng of mas · yyf þou rede welle þis
Hyt shalle stere the · to here mas euyr more
And so done · in feythe þou mayst not mys
To plese god · *and* to purchas hevyne blys.
To þe whyche blys · god send them) þat dayly
Wylle here A mas · And they may come therby."

Lydgate's Vertue of the Mass (above, p. 167) ends with fifteen stanzas, which are rubricated "The vertu of heryng of Masse after seynt Bernard," the several virtues being of the same character as those in the pieces above quoted, except that here he does not assign them in the same *ad libitum* fashion to inspired or patristic authority. There is no occasion to multiply quotations, but I add one stanza because I do not remember to have met elsewhere with a similar appeal to the sailor's desire for a fair wind.

Sailors have no foul winds,

the poor have needful food,

"¶ Masse herd aforne · the wynde is not contrary
To Maryne*r*s that day · in theyr sailing.
And althyng · that is necessarye
God sent to poraile(1) · that day in theyr feedyng.

(1) "sendeth to preuayle."—W. de Worde. "poraile" may not have been familiar to the printer.

Wymmen also · that gon on travelyng, and women in labour have good deliverance.
Folke wel experte · have therof a pref,
That herde masse in the mornyng
Were delyuerd and felt(1) woo no myschef."

MS. Harl. 2251, *fol.* 187, *b.*

P. 131, l. 105. *poyntep hit uch a pas.* That is, not guides or directs him, but notes and numbers each step. See the Promptorium Parvulorum (p. 406), "Poynted or prykked, *punctatus.* Poyntel, *stilus.*"(2) *To prick* is still used in this sense in the north; as, for example, "pricking the match," of keeping the score at cricket, or "pricking the bricks," of counting them and marking a stroke for each hundred.(3)

Cf. Lydgate's "Vertue of the Masse:"

"In goyng thyder · his steppis more and lesse
Bien of aungels · nombred and told."—MS. Harl. 2251, *fol.* 187.

And so too the Ratis Raving MS., above quoted: "Item, sanct augustyne sais that the gud angell that kepis þe manis saul comptis wp and wrytis al the steppis at a man makes to the mess, and fore ilkane of thaim god sal reuard her or hyme."(4)

Lydgate (see above, p. 367) is not satisfied with the name of St Austin, but assigns this virtue to an evangelist:

"Matheus · viij^{ua}. virtus est quod in eundo & redeundo ad ecclesiam, passus numerantur & deo renumerantur (*renumerantur*?).

"Matheu tellyt þ^{e} viij scyl
Þat we xulde tan hede þer tyl
Quait man in erthe here a messe
Angelis arn al redy dresse
To wrytyn hys steppus be on & on
Of al þ^{e} weye þat he hat gon
Boþin out & in as it is ryth
And presentyt þer with god al myth."

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(1) "felt no myschefe."—W. de Worde.

(2) "His felaw had a staf typped with horn,
A payr of tablis al of yvory,
And a poyntel y-polischt fetisly,
And wroot the names alway as he stood,
Of alle folk that gaf him eny good,
Ascaunce that he wolde for hem preye."—*C. T.* 7322-7.

(3) In my under-graduate days it was the custom at some, perhaps all, of the colleges at Oxford to prick a hole in the bill or list at the name of each man as he passed into chapel. At Christ Church the student, whose turn it was to do this, was called prickbill; and though the verger now "pricks" the "bill," the name of "prick-bill" still survives and is given to the senior of the students elected in the current year.

(4) *Ratis Raving*, p. 104, l. 3964.

In the Douce MS. there is a curious mistake:

"An angel payntus thi face,"

the scribe not knowing the French *pas*, or mistaking the *p* for an *f*, and so making *face* of it.(1)

P. 131, l. 107. *elde nouȝt.* The Ratis Raving MS. (above, p. 366) assigns this to St Austin: "Item, sancte augustine sais that for al the tyme þat a persone be at þe mess he standis in sted, and eildis nocht, bot haldis hym in the samyn ȝouthed he was in quhen he come to þe mess."(2)

l. 110. *not blynt.* See Lydgate, above, p. 367.

l. 112. *þorw him þat mihtes may.* The phrase is repeated, l. 136. In the Douce and Harleian MSS. we find in both places, "Forsooth I thee say,"(3) but I am inclined to think that our text preserves the original reading, and that the scribes substituted a commonplace tag because this was of unusual occurrence. Line 553, we have "þat al mihtes may;" in the Alliterative Poems (Morris), p. 55, l. 644, "þat myȝtes al weldez;" and in our B-text, *ante*, p. 18, l. 180, we have God invoked, as "of mihtes most," and frequently in the Psalter as "Laverd of mightes" (*Dominus Virtutum*, Lord of hosts). In Ps. (103) cii, 21, we have "Blisses to Laverd, alle mightes his," from the Vulgate "*omnes virtutes ejus*," where our modern versions have "all ye his hosts." *Virtutes* is the rendering of the Vulgate, and *mæhto* of the Lindisfarne gospels, for δυνάμεις, the "mighty works" of the authorised version.(4) I think therefore we shall not be very far wrong, if we understand it thus—that mights may—either as having power to do mighty works, or that possesses and weilds all powers.

l. 117. *I þe fay.* "In the true faith of God's holy name." *Burial of the Dead*, B. C. P.

l. 121. *tray or tene.* This phrase is as old as Cædmon. He makes Hagar in the wilderness tell the angel that she had fled "tregan and teónan."(5) In the *Orison of our Lady*(6) we have,

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(1) *Audelay's Poems*, p. 68. The Harleian MS., "An angel poynted every pas."

(2) *Ratis Raving*, p. 113, l. 3943.

(3) *Audelay's Poems*, p. 68 and 76. At p. 68, it is printed, "Soyle as I the say," but this must be a mistake of the transcriber for soþle, sothly, truly, or forsooth, as in the other places. MS. Harl. 3954, *fol.* 74, *b*, and *fol.* 75.

(4) St Matt. xi, 20, 21; xiii, 54, 58, &c. In St Luke vi, 5, we have both the *mihtes* and the *may*: "And ne mæhte ðer mæht ænige gewyrce." *Et non poterat ibi virtutem ullam facere.*" The *gewyrce* would not have been necessary to the sense, but was required on account of *facere* and the interlinear verbal translation.

Cf. "Prey him þat best may."—MS. Harl. 3954, *fol.* 76.

(5) *Cædmon*, Bouterwek, 2268.

(6) l. O. E. H., p. 193, l. 61.

"Muruhðe moniuold wið-ute teone and trie,"

rendered by Dr Morris "trouble or annoy."

In a poem on the times of Edward II. :

"Al þat whilom wes murthe is turned to treie and tene."(1)

The Harleian MS. here reads :

"þi mete *and* þi drynk
þou xal han w*ith* lesse swynk
W*ith*-outy*n* trey *and* tene."

And Audelay :

"And both thi mete and thi drynke
Thou schalt wyn with lasse swynk
Without travayle or tene."

P. 131, l. 125—130. The precept is made to apply to a journey,(2) but this is most probably a corruption, from the scribe not having understood the *pass* (French, *passer*, *trespasser*) in the sense of departing this life. In the Harleian MS. (*fol.* 75, *b.*) we have,

"þerfore it is god or þou passe
Eue*r*y day to hery*n* a masse
On morwy*n* ȝyf þou may.
ȝif þou may not at morwy*n*
Loke þou do at vndryn
Or ell*is* at mydday."

The scribe of the Douce MS. (Audelay, p. 75) would also have seemed to have stumbled at "*pass* :"

"Here-fore, serys, more and lasse,
Evere day here ȝour masse
On morowe ȝif ȝe may."

P. 132, l. 136. See above, l. 112.

l. 140. The doctrine of the Church has ever been that "the wickedness of the ministers hinders not the effect of the sacrament," but it is curious, and painful, to observe how many mediæval tales and legends expatiate on the benefit of masses said by priests of particular churches or at the altars of particular communities, more especially of mendicant orders, in whose interests they are written : but the distinction as to prayer, which is here drawn, ought not to be attributed to any such mercenary motive.

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(1) *Political Songs*, Wright, p. 340, l. 380.

(2) According to the Ecclesiastical Institutes (xxiv, *De Die Dominica cautius celebranda*, Thorpe, *A. L.* II, 420) a man was allowed to travel by land or by water on Sundays, "on þa ȝerad þæt he his mæssan gehyre and his gebedu ne forlæte." The Latin of Theodulphus is "ut horum occasione missa et orationes non prætermittantur."

Cf. "Neþeles þe seluyn messe
Ys noþer þe wurse, ne þe lesse;
þe sunne hys feyrnes neuer he tynes(1)
þoghe hyt on þe muk-hepe shynes,
But þe muk ys þe more stynkynge,
þere þe sunne ys more shynyngge.
Ne more hyt ys lore þe vertu
Of þe messe, but mannys pru.
þoghe þe prest be fals or frow
þe messe ys euere gode ynow;
But þe preyere haþ no myȝt
For hys lyfe ys nat clene dyȝt."—*H. S.* 2297—2308.(2)

And so Hampole of the unworthiness of the minister, and the avail of the prayers of a righteous man:

"Allswa a prest alle-if he be
Synful and out of charite,
He es Goddes minister and haly kirkes
þat þe sacrament of þe auter wirkes,
þe wilk es never-þe-les of myght,
Alle-if þe prest here lyf noght right
. . . . . .
For in Goddes name he synges the mes,
Under wham in order he es.
But speciel prayers with gode entente,
þat es made besyde þe sacramente,
Of a gude prest er wele better
þan of an ille, and to God swetter."—*P. C.* 3682—99.

P. 132, l. 141. *As Monk, Chanoun, Hermyte or Frere.*

Cf. "As ane monkis, or ane frere."
Douce MS.—Audelay, p. 72.

"As ony abot, chanoun, or frere."
Harleian MS., *fol.* 75, *b.*

These enumerations are not exhaustive, but they are all intended to illustrate the position that the ministration of parish priests or any others are not to be rejected for any supposed superiority of another class. This is in strong contrast with the line taken by the friars—except in the care of the poor—if we are to judge

(1) *tynes*, glossed "lesyþ."—*H. S.*, ed. Furnivall, p. 4.

(2) "Ne quidez mie ne purquant,
Qe le sacrement fu meinz vaillant
De eux, plus qe en bone gent;
Car de home ne prent enpirement
Nient plus que pet le fimer
Le solail qe sur li fiert cler."—*M. P.* 2685—90.

from the satires of the period. For example, the Romaunt of the Rose:

"I recke not of poore men
Her estate is not worth an hen."

But as to others:

"I make hem trow both most and least,
Her parish priest(1) is but a beast
Ayent me and my company
That shrewes been as great as I."—(*fol.* 139, *b.*)

P. 132, l. 161—172. This stanza in our MS. is very corrupt, and I find that in my side-notes I failed to catch what was most probably the meaning of the original. Audelay does not help us, for he reads very much as here, except that he ascribes this "virtue" to St Austin. The Harleian MS. reads the second line.

"A. C. M. 3yf þou wilt here,"

here being the adverb of place, and not *year*, as mistaken by the scribe of the Vernon text.

The meaning seems to be that whatever number of masses a man caused to be sung here on earth for several souls, each individual soul should have the benefit. He need have no doubt (*l.* 170) of his dole (mass-groat, *ante*, p. 243), but was to trust that each soul should have a mass, "all-whole," in contrast, that is, with two-faced or many faced masses (*missæ bifaciatæ*, *trifaciatæ*, or *multarum facierum*), for which more than one payment had been received, which though condemned as "a detestable abuse," would nevertheless seem to have been not uncommon, to judge from the censures directed against them, and the manner in which a resort to the practice is repudiated.(2)

P. 133, l. 169. *laste endynge*, i. e. of the mass. Cf. the Harleian MS. here—

"Þerfor quan þou art in kyrke
Thynk þeron *and* be not erke
On tyl þe last endyng.
Have no dowte of þi dole
Be trost þou hast a masse hole
Thour help of heuene kyng."

The Vernon scribe, though he has let *sere* (l. 161) stand, has almost altogether obscured the meaning of the original in getting rid of the northern *kirk*, and by the change of person: first he speaks

(1) See as to the jealousy between the regulars or "religious," and the secular or parochial clergy, a quotation from Friar Dan Topias.—*Ante*, p. 241.

(2) "Non auctoritas ecclesiæ sed cupiditas ministrorum instituit."—"Tanquam detestabile reprobamus."

The question, "An sacerdos non potest per unam missam satisfacere duobus stipendiis?" is answered in the negative by Dens.—*De Sacrificio Missæ*, 9, Opera V, 377.

in his own person,—I rede (*advise*); then of himself and of other clerks in the mass—our *ending;* and lastly he identifies himself and his hearers—our *doubt,* our *dole.*

P. 133, l. 176—180. This apology is not in the Douce or the Harleian MSS., and the insertion, like the example of the adder (p. 379), would seem to have been due to the controversies which had arisen when the Vernon MS. was written.

l. 188. *Confiteor.* See p. 6, B. 43; p. 90, l. 25.

l. 192. *for the prest pray.* See p. 10, B. 95, &c.

P. 134, l. 208. *syng of loue.* The song of praise here referred to is probably the *Gloria in excelsis.* See p. 14, B. 119.

l. 221. *þi drihten,* that is, a prayer beginning with *Domine.* We learn what this was from the York *Horæ* (*fol.* xiv.): "¶ *Whan thou entrest into the chyrche saye thus:* Domine in multitudine misericordiæ tuæ introibo in domum tuam: adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum et confitebor nomini tuo. Domine deduc me in justitia tua propter inimicos meos: dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam."(1)

l. 222. *deore god almihten.* I am not able to identify the prayer here intended with the same certainty as the first. It may perhaps be the "*devout prayer*" from the York *Horæ,* "O most dear Lord," quoted above, p. 248; or a Latin prayer in the York *Horæ* (*fol.* lxx. *b*): "Benignissime Domine Jesu Christe, respice super me miserum peccatorem oculis misericordiæ tuæ quibus respexisti Petrum in atrio, Mariam Magdalenam in convivio, et latronem in crucis patibulo. Concede mihi ut cum beato Petro peccata mea digne defleam; et cum Maria Magdalena perfecte te diligam; et cum latrone in cœlesti paradiso æternaliter te videam, Qui cum, &c. Amen."

l. 223. *And in Marie I me asecure,* that is, put me under the safeguard of. The devotion here referred to may be the Anthem *de Sancta Maria,* which has been quoted above, p. 342(2), "Sub tuam protectionem confugimus," &c.

l. 232. *vnkuynde creature,* contrary to nature. Cf. "A deuoute prayer in Englyshe" in the York *Horæ* (*fol.* lxxxiiii. *b*): "O glorious Jesu / o mekest Jesu / o moost swetest Jesu . . . . . I crye the mercy with herte contryte of my grete unkyndness that I haue had to the."

P. 135, l. 245—256. This prayer would seem to have been intended for clerks, or the people at the time when they took a more direct part in the mass.

l. 268. *But,* unless, and so Lydgate in his *Virtutes Missarum* uses *but* in this same connection.

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(1) It will be observed that this is from Psalm v—part of the eighth verse with a transposition of the first words, and the whole of the ninth verse.

"*Quat* soule þat tyme he prey fore,
But it be endles for-lore,
As many as he wyl for calle,
þai xul be delyueryd alle
Out of peyne, resting
Qwyl þe messe is in seyzyng."(1)

P. 135, l. 272. *non hope of hele*, and so Hampole:

"Bot til þam þat er dampned for ay
Na gude dede avayle ne help may,
Nouther almus dede, prayer, ne messe."—*P. C.* 3706-8.

In the "Tale of the Falmouth Squires," printed for this society in Mr Furnivall's collection of *Political and Religious Poems* (1866), we have, not indeed the offensive illustration of the "ded dogge," but a father in the pains of hell warns his son (p. 100):

"Thou take me never in thi prayer."—l. 230.

giving as a reason,

"For euer the lenger þu prayes for me,
My paynes shalle be more and more."—l. 233-4.

The received opinion was that the pleading of the church did not extend beyond purgatory. On the other hand we have the often-told story of Saint Gregory and his "gran vittoria,"(2) in having obtained the transfer to Paradise of the soul of the Emperor Trajan, "without singing of mass,"(3) though the legend tells us the pope was cautioned by an angel never again to pray for the release of a soul from hell.

The writer of *The Stacyons of Rome* appears to have thought it a much more simple matter. In describing the chapel of the *Scala cœli*, he says:—

"Who-so syngeþ masse yn þat chappelle
For any frend, he loseþ hym fro helle;
He may hym brynge þorow purgatory, y-wys,
In-to þe blys of paradys.
Ther sowles abyde tylle domis day
In myche Ioye, as y ȝou say."(4)

In the MS. York *Hore*, from which the *Hours of the Cross* are printed, there is a Latin prayer (*fol.* 83), which a rubric vouches as equally prevailing:—"*Cuilibet dicenti hanc oracionem, conceditur quod si esset in statu eterne dampnationis, deus transfert penam in purgatorii penam. Si vero fuerit in statu maxime purgatorii, deus*

(1) Harl. MS. 3954, f. 76. See above, p. 367.
(2) Dante, *Purgat.* x, 75, in the description of the sculptures on the marble bank of the first circle of purgatory.
(3) *Piers Plowman* (Skeat), C Text, p. 220, l. 85.
(4) *Poems*, 1866, Furnivall, p. 119, l. 172—176.

mutat hanc purgatorii penam et ipsum sine purgatorio ad eterna gaudia proculdubio perducat."

P. 136, l. 289. This story is told with some variations of St Austin of England, both in the Douce and Harleian MSS. Robert Brunne has a similar story of jangling women and the fiend in his *Handlyng Synne.*(1) He does not give a name to priest or deacon, but in the Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry in Anjou,(2) of which the French original was written much about the same time as our Vernon MS., we find the claims of local saints(3) are recognized, and St Martin takes the place of the pope, and St Brice officiates as deacon instead of our English saint.

l. 310. *As God ȝaf him þe grace.*

"þan wyst þe prest þurghe þat sy3t
þat he was weyl wyþ Gode almy3t."—*H. S.* 9306-7.

P. 137, l. 316. *race.* This word occurs as a verb active, as for example the damned in Hampole:

"þair awen flessch of-ryve and race."—*P. C.* 7379.

And Lydgate in his *Poem against self-love:*

"Lat every man doon his besy cure
To race out pride and set in first meeknesse."(4)

Chaucer in his *Boethius* uses *arace*(5) in the phrase to "arace cloutes out of clothes,"(6) and in the *Clerkes Tale:*

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(1) Ed. Furnivall, p. 287, l. 2263, 9315. There is nothing to correspond in the French original.

(2) *Translation*, ed. Wright, E. E. T. S., p. 41.

(3) St Martin was Bishop of Tours, and was succeeded by St Brice (Britius) in that see towards the end of the fourth century.

(4) *Minor Poems*, Halliwell, Percy Soc., p. 162. Lydgate continues the horticultural metaphor—rooting out—planting in.

(5) We still have this verb in the compound form. Johnson gives "erase (Fr. *raser*), to destroy, to exscind;" and Richardson, "Lat. *eradere, erasum*, to scrape out." Both give the example of the heraldic "erased," which is used in contrast to "couped," but if the word in this sense were connected with shaving, whatever may be the case when used of making an erasure, its heraldic use would not in itself imply anything different from *couped*, whereas instead of the clean cut of the couped, it means jagged, as if the head or limb of the animal had been "plucked out," as in the quotation in Richardson. This explanation would have seemed enough to suggest that the primary meaning was to eradicate, to tear out by the roots; and, *pace* the lexicographers, that both *eradicate* and *erase* had a common derivation: *eradicate* coming direct from the Latin, and *erase* through the O. F. *erracher, aracher* (arracher); Lat. *exradicare, abradicare.* See Littré: *racine*, L. L. *radicula*, Lat. *radix, icis.* Palsgrave, as Leland above, seems to have kept this etymology in view: "I pull up by the roote, or pull out by vyolence. *Je arrache, arracher, jesrache*, or *araser*, and *je desracine.* Hercules, in his furye, pulled up gret tres by the rootes: *Hercules, en sa fureur, arracha les arbres hors de terre*, or *esracha*, or *desracina les arbres.*"—*L'Eclaircissement*, 670, *a.* (6) *Boethius*, Morris, E. E. T. S., p. 11, l. 195.

"The children from her arm they gonne arace."—*C. T.* 8979.

But the verb is here used intransitively, and in the next line as a verb active, and can hardly be the word which, with the same spelling, means "to tear," or "root out." It's meaning seems to be "to stretch;" and, although I cannot refer to other examples of this use of the word, it makes sense in both places, which "rooting out" most certainly does not; and I think it is justified by the use of kindred words.

Cf. Icel. *rekja*, part. *rakinn*, "to spread out, unfold, unwind, of cloth, a clew, thread, and the like" (C-V. 492); also "*rekkja*, to strain, stretch out."—*Ib.* 493.

M. G. *uf-rakjan*, which Ulfilas uses for ἐκτείνειν, *e. g.* "ufrakei þo handu þeina," "*stretch forth thy hand.*"—St Luke vi, 10; and for ἐπισπᾶσθαι, "ni ufrakjai." Vulg. "*Non adducat præputium.*" A. V. "*Let him not become uncircumcised*" (lit. *be stretched*).—1 Cor. vii, 18.

A. S. "*ræcan*, to reach, extend, hold out, offer." Bosworth quotes "rælte forð his hand," "*put out* (stretched forth) *his hand.*"—Gen. xxxviii, 28. Bouterwek(1) quotes, "to unrihte handum ræcean, *extendere ad iniquitatem manus suas.*"—Ps. (125) cxxiv, 4.

See also the perfect "rauhte," in l. 348.

P. 137, l. 319. *marbel ston.* A touch of local colour, for according to this version of the legend the Church was at Rome.

l. 336. *I say* = saw.

"Twey wymmen Ianglede þere besyde,
Betwyx hem to, y say a fende."—*H. S.* 9279-80.

l. 338. *langare*, at a longer (greater) distance, further on.

St Augustine showed the pope where he saw the fiend sit, and, with a malediction at the mention of him, pointed to where the women sat, further off than the fiend.

The piece was intended for recitation, and was probably accompanied with a certain amount of action.

P. 140, l. 429. *To wite what þe prest seiþ.* See p. 211.

l. 445. *endauntes.* A reference to "the deaf adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer."—Ps. lviii, 4, 5.

Cf. "Als of a neddre def als-swa
þat stoppand es his eres twa,
þat noght sal here þe steven wicchand
Of hunter wichand wiseli in land."—Ps. (58) lvii, 5-6.

l. 446. This *exemplum* of the adder may probably have been added after the rise of the Lollard controversy as to the reading of scripture in an unknown tongue.

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(1) *Cædmon*, II, 236.

It may be noticed that this stanza is not corrupted by frequent transcription of scribes who wrote in different dialects.

P. 141, l. 461—72. It will be noticed that the two last tails do not rhyme with the two first. The northern *-es* in the second person singular (*ledes*, l. 469) no doubt gave occasion to a southern scribe to make the change.

P. 142, l. 512. See as to the offertory p. 230—242.
l. 519. *catel encrease.* See on "virtues" of the mass, *ante*, p. 366.
l. 521. *þus seide.* See p. 22, and note, p. 245.
l. 522. *in his honde.* See note, p. 236-7.

P. 143, l. 537. *loute.* Note, p. 252
l. 545. *sevre.* Note, p. 265.
l. 559. *stondynge*, altered from the northern *standand.* As time went on the people knelt during the canon. See p. 273.

P. 144, l. 571. *þe belle.* The ringing of a bell at the elevation was general when the original was written, if I have rightly placed the date in the thirteenth century. See *ante*, p. 280.
l. 572. *scorn.* The received doctrine as to transubstantiation or, more exactly, concomitance was not explicitly allowed by all the English schoolmen in the thirteenth century, and their opinions may possibly have been the occasion of this language. But the reference seems rather to those who gave offence by irreverent conduct than to theological dissidents. It does not look like an insertion with reference to the Lollards or Wycliffites, after enquiries had passed from the schools to the people, for what was objected against them was not so much a denial of the reality of the sacramental presence, as their assertion of the continued existence of the substance of the elements of the bread and wine.
l. 581, 582. *Flesch—blod.* This language, apart from lines 587-8, might have been written by one who did not accept the doctrine of concomitance, and may probably have come down from an earlier period. According to this doctrine the blood accompanies the body (hence the name), and the body is present in the chalice—*totus et integer Christus sub utraque specie.* The greater definiteness of later forms is very marked, "Lord in form of bread" (*ante*, p. 40, C. 237), and so forth.
l. 587-8. See before, p. 225.
l. 590. *spredes he*, "ad modum crucis," p. 108, l. 10, and note, p. 288.

P. 145, l. 605. *Whon he haþ vsed*, i. e. drunk of the chalice or communicated. The use of this verb in English, in the sense of drinking, seems to have been confined to the holy communion, not, however, invariably(1) of the consecrated elements. It was

(1) "Also he shall offre, in a cruet of gold, wyne, which he shall vse in

used in the twelfth century in France of common food and drink: "les grosses viandes user;" "del meillur vin usout (*usait*) que l'un trover poeit."(1)

It has occurred to me that the English ecclesiastical use of this word may have arisen from the Vulgate, 1 Tim. v, 23, "modico vino utere, propter stomachum tuum"—"*use a little wine for thy stomach's sake;*" and that its employment for the communion of the laity was a survival from the times before the overruling of the command that all should drink of the cup. In the *Promptorium*

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the said chalice, after he is housilled."—(*Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.*) *Rutland Papers*, S. S., p. 21.

Communion, *sub utraque specie*, was conceded to the kings of France at their coronation, but it will be seen from this extract that in this country there was no distinction of persons, and that the denial of the cup applied to the king equally with others.

The change from the previous custom of the church, in formal abrogation of our Lord's command, was very gradual, but it had become the rule in the West by the end of the twelfth century. Still, as unconsecrated wine continued to be given to the communicants in the chalice, the unlearned appear to have remained in ignorance of it; and in 1281, the date of Archbishop Peckham's Lambeth constitutions, the administration of the communion under both kinds was a practice in cathedrals and monasteries.—(*Lyndwood*, lib. 1, tit. 1, c. Altissimus, p. 9.) It is there rehearsed that in other churches (*minoribus ecclesiis*) it is permitted to the celebrant only to receive the cup (*sanguinem sub specie vini*); and parish priests are required to instruct the simple folk (*simplices*) that what is "given to them to drink in the chalice (*in calice*) is not the sacrament, but wine without water (*vinum purum*), that they may the more easily swallow the sacrament which they had received." The Roman missal of 1570, which was decreed by the Council of Trent, directs the celebrant to purify himself and the communicants (*se, et eos qui communicarunt, purificans*); but when it was revised for the first time in 1600, it was directed—and this remains, if not the practice, still the rule according to the existing missal, *Rit. Celeb.* Miss. x, 6—that the server should follow the priest bearing a vessel (*vas*) with wine and water for their purification. Gavanti gives the reason for adding the water: and the alteration from the *calix* of the mediæval constitution to the *vas* of the modern rubric, is explained in the Annotations issued by the Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, in 1612, to the clergy for the purpose of introducing the Roman rule: "In order to avoid a scandal and an error on the part of the people" (very probably as content in their ignorance as our simple folk in 1281), "the ablution," as the purification is here called, "is not to be given to the communicants according to the hitherto existing custom, in a chalice, but in a silver goblet, not made like a chalice, or in a glass drinking-cup, unlike those used at table."—*Annotationes in quibus regulæ Romano more rite celebrandi et ministrandi insinuantur.* Dilingæ, 1612, p. 12. De communicantium Ablutione.

(1) *Martyr de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry*, 93, 102, *quoted* Littré, s. v. In the *Manuel des Pechiez*, we find a similar use in respect to the sacrament of the altar:

"Ky le cors deu vodra vser
Ou le prestre qe le deit sacrer."
Roxburghe Club Edition, Furnivall, l. 7235-6.

we find it of communicating: "Vsyñ, in sacrament receyvynge, *Communico.*"(1) And so in Joseph of Arimathie:

"He vsede of(2) Goddes bord;"(3)

of communicating in both kinds, and this, when said of the celebrant, meant to the English translator(4) the whole action of the mass before (*devant*) those who heard it.

It is very constantly used in this sense, as in the *Myroure* (p. 331), "in tyme of *Agnus dei* & whyle the preste vsyth;" and so in *Langforde's Meditacyons*, of this part of the mass, "from þe sacryng unto þe using be done."(5) In the rubrics of the Hereford missal we find the same use in the Latin: "postquam dixerit orationes usque ad usum, antequam utatur, cantet vel dicat in audientia."(6)

In St Gregory's Trental we have the word used precisely as in the text:

"When þe preste hath don his masse
Vsed and his hondes washe,
Anoþur oryson he moste say
þat yn þe boke fynde he may
þe post-comen men don it call."—l. 225—9.(7)

But Myrc, in rendering the *Cautelæ Missæ*, employs "*use*" in the more restricted English sense of drinking only:

"ȝef any fly, gnat, or coppe.
Doun in to þe chalys droppe,
ȝef þow darst for castynge þere,
Vse hyt hol alle I-fere,
And ȝef þy herte do wyþstonde,
Take vp þe fulþe wyþ þyn honde,
And ouer the chalys wosche hyt wel
Twyes or thryes, as I þe telle,
And vse forth þe blod þenne,
And do þe fulþe for to brenne."—l. 1937—46.

P. 145, l. 614. *to knele hit is best.* See a similar rule, B 600, and note as to the later practice of the people kneeling before the post-common, p. 307.

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(1) P. P. 512.

(2) Of = *from off.* We may trace the use of "of" in this sense in the A. V., and, as it happens, in the same connection: "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat."—Heb. xiii, 10.

(3) E. E. T. S., 1871, ed. Skeat, p. 22, l. 660. Cf. the quotation from the Ayenbite, *ante*, p. 359.

(4) Mr Skeat gives the French of the original in his note, p. 65: "Si fist deuant nous ichel saint sacrement."

(5) MS. Wood, 17, f. 24, *b*. See *ante*, p. 168.

(6) Ed. Henderson, p. 74.

(7) *Poems*, Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1866, p. 91.

P. 146, l. 639. *bord*, of "the marriage supper of the Lamb."—Rev. xix, 9.

l. 645. *þe Inprincipio.* In principio are the two first words of the Gospel according to St John, here used for the gospel written in the first fourteen verses of the first chapter, which from the earliest times has been the gospel for Christmas-day throughout the West.(1) A superstitious belief in its specific efficacy led to a frequent resort to the hearing of this gospel in the Latin, which gave occasion to a canon which was passed in the year 1023 in a provincial council at Selingstad, or Seligenstadt, on the Main, above Frankfort, in the Diocese of Mainz: "Quidam etiam laicorum et maxime matronæ habent in consuitudine ut per singulos dies audiant evangelium *In principio erat verbum*, et missas peculiares, hoc est de S. Trinitate aut de S. Michaele; et ideo sancitum est in eodem concilio, ut hoc ulterius non fiat nisi suo tempore, et nisi aliquis fidelium audire velit, pro reverentia sanctæ Trinitatis, non pro aliqua divinatione; et si voluerint ut sibi missæ cantentur, de eodem die audiant missas, vel pro salute vivorum, vel pro defunctis."(2)

Durandus mentions this gospel as being sometimes said at the end of mass;(3) and according to the Sarum rubrics it was said by the priest *in redeundo*, whilst returning from the altar. There is no mention of this in the York or Hereford missals.

Martene finds no reference to this rite in the mediæval uses of the monastic orders, and the first mention of it, that he met with, was in an ordinary of the Monastery of Bursfeld,(4) which, as we find from Gerbert, was printed at Baden in the year 1608, nearly forty years after the insertion of the rule in the Roman Missal.(5) Gerbert appears to have found no trace of it in Germany, nor Grancolas, de Vert, Le Brun, or Lebrun des Marettes (*De Moleon*) in any French diocesan uses before the sixteenth century. In this country, however, the use of this gospel at the end of mass appears to have been the rule in the province of Canterbury in the year 1305, for in the provincial council held that year at Merton, it was decreed that no stipendiary or other priest should,

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(1) St John, i, 1—16, is the Easter-gospel of the Eastern Church.

(2) Conc. Salegunstadiense, Can. x. The sixth canon decrees that "stultissimi presbyteri" shall not throw the corporas into a fire to put it out; but Canon xiv. allows the resort to ordeal on a charge of adultery.

(3) "Quidam volentes dicere, finita missa, evangelium sancti Iohannis, vel aliud."—*Rationale*, 4, xxiv, 5. The practice, probably, like others of the more modern ceremonies, originated with the friars. Le Brun quotes from a Dominican missal of the thirteenth century, where this gospel occurs among the devotions which the priest used after mass, "ob suam ipsius peculiarem pietatem."—*Explicat.* I, 333. The ordinary of the Dominicans, A.D. 1254, specifies cases in which this gospel may be said by a celebrant when taking off his vestments.—*Ib.* n. (1).

(4) *De Ritibus*, IV, 63. (5) *Disquisit.* I, 405.

without leave of the rector, on Sundays and festivals, or at funerals, begin to say his own mass until the gospel of the principal mass was ended (*post lectum evangelium majoris missæ*), which Lyndwood (1) glosses, "non ante solemnem missam finitam," and so shows that the canon did not refer to the gospel for the day.

The rule as to saying the gospel at the end was not inserted in the Roman missal until 1570. The rubric requires it to be said at the altar, but in France in the eighteenth century it was not said at all at Lyons, and in many other dioceses it was said, as in the later Sarum use, in returning from the altar.(2) The previous rule, as already mentioned.(3) had been that the people departed at the *Ita missa est.* It was decreed at the first council of Orleans in 511 that the people were not to depart until mass was ended, and that in the absence of the bishop they were to await the blessing of the priest.(4) Within a few years (A.D. 538) this rule was so far modified that laymen were required to await the blessing of the bishop, if present, and not to depart before the saying of the Lord's Prayer,(5) which in the Gallican Liturgy was said as in the Roman rite, before the communion, except that it was said by the people with the priest.(6)

P. 146, l. 651. *þe eorþe to kis.* Myrc advises this observance as a remedy against pride:

> "Agaynes pruyde wythouten les,
> þe forme remedy ys mekenes,
> Ofte to knele and erþe to kys,
> And knowlache wel þat erþe he is."—l. 1667-70.

Lydgate explains its meaning:

> "Ye devoute peple, which kepe one observance
> Mekely in chirche to kysse stone or tree,
> Erthe or iren, hathe in remembraunce
> What they doth meane and take the moralite;
> Erthe is clere token of the humanyte
> Of Crist Ihesu; the stone, the sepulcre;
> The spere of stiele, the sharpe nayles thre
> Causide his fyve woundis, remembrid in scripture."

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(1) *Provinciale, Lib.* 3, *Tit.* 23, p. 238 (*m*).

(2) Fornici mentions that even now the Carthusians have not adopted the modern practice.—*Instit. Liturg.*, Pars. I, c. xxxii.

(3) Notes, *ante*, p. 309, 313.

(4) Concil. Aurel. I. *Can.* xxvi. (*al.* xxviii.)

(5) Concil. Aurel. III, *Can.* xxix.

(6) The episcopal benediction here spoken of was given, not at the end of mass, but before the priest and people received the communion; and this permission to depart points to the decay of the earlier discipline which forbid any to take part in the oblation who did not remain and communicate.

And he afterwards counsels this observance as in the text:

"Yowre hertis ye lyft up into the est,
And al your body and knees bowe adowne,
Whan the prist seyth *Verbum caro factum est*,
Withe al yowre inwarde contemplacioun,
Youre mowthe ferst crosse with hyghe devocioun,
Kissing the tokens rehersed here aforne,
And ever haue mynde on Cristes passioun,
Whiche for thy sake wered a crowne of thorne."(1)

The rubrics of the Sarum missal require the choir to genufleet and kiss the earth in the procession on Palm Sunday,(2) and the people to kiss their seats or the ground (*formulas vel terram*) when they rise from prostration after the solemn absolution on Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday.(3)

A like rule obtained in parts of France in the beginning of the eighteenth century. At Vienne in Lent they kissed the ground at each of the hours;(4) and at Orleans their seat.(5) The ordinary (*ordinarium*) of Rouen directed the clergy, on all the week days in Lent, to make a cross on their seat and kiss it.(6)

See *ante*, B 196, p. 18; and the note, p. 220.

P. 146, l. 657-8.

Cf. "Iesu y þanke þe of þy grace
þat þou hast lent me wyt and space
þis yn englys for to drawe
As holy men haue seyde yn sawe;
For lewede men hyt may auayle
For hem y toke þys trauayle."—*H. S.* 11292-7.

l. 659-61.

Cf. "For þis makyng I wille no mede,
But gude prayere, when ȝe it rede.
þerfore, ȝe lordes lewed,
For wham I haf þis Inglis schewed,
Prayes to God he gyf me grace,
I travayled for your solace."
Robert of Brunne's Prologue, Hearne (*reprint*), III, p. ci.

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(1) Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, Halliwell, Percy Society, 1840, pp. 60, 61.
(2) *Miss. Sar.*, 261. (3) *Ib.* 133, 300.
(4) *Voyages Liturg.* 19. (5) *Ib.* 205.
(6) "Sur leur place." *Ib.* 314. This is explained, p. 396, where it is said, "Ils baisoient chacun leur *banc*." At Frontevrauld the nuns kissed their seat (*leur siege*) both in Advent and Lent (*ib.* 109).

In this same work (p. 457) it is stated on the authority of a Syrian priest that the Eastern Christians, before receiving the holy communion, kiss their right hand on the ground; but I do not remember to have met with any mention of this elsewhere.

The writer, we may observe, though quite alive to the pecuniary "vertue" of the mass (*ante*, p. 366), most likely did not belong to a mendicant order (*ante*, p. 132, l. 141), and not improbably was a secular priest. At all events neither he nor good old Robert Mannyng seem to adopt the mercenary system of the friar in the Sompnour's Tale:

> "Thomas, nought of your tresor I desire
> As for myself, but for that our covent
> To pray for you is ay so diligent."—*C. T.* 7556-8.

P. 146, l. 665. *þreo þinges.* The mention of the "fyue wordes" (l. 674) points to the consecration of the bread as one of these exceptions: the consecration of the cup is most probably a second; but the fragmentary condition of this piece prevents our being able to find out what the third may have been, so many points in the mass being left without any notice or explanation.

P. 147, l. 674. *fyue wordes*, viz. "Hoc est enim Corpus meum" (*ante*, p. 106, l. 32), which are our Lord's words as translated in the Vulgate, with the addition of "enim."(1)

l. 674. *þat no mon but a preste schulde rede.* This may be noted as an incidental evidence of the feeling of the time, but I forbear to discuss the causes, because it would be impossible to do so without trenching on the disputed territory of religious controversy. It is, however, very evident that the reserve(2) here so openly avowed, and evidently without any fear of giving offence, grew out of the practice of saying the canon in silence, which became general in the West in the ninth or tenth century,(3) with exceptions on certain occasions, which are still recognised in the Roman rubrics. Writers in the twelfth century attributed the change to a miraculous manifestation of divine wrath against some shepherds at the time when the canon was openly recited. It was believed(4) that they said the words of consecration over

(1) The Mozarabic omits "enim" and adds "quod pro vobis tradetur." The modern Ambrosian retains only the Roman form, but it used to add "quod pro multis confringetur," and this, Mabillon (*de Liturg. Gall.* p. [xix.]) says, was no doubt the Gallican form.

(2) It is curious to think that all this mystery should not have prevented, if it did not cause, the "*hocus pocus*" of the conjuror, which I must have heard scores of times in my younger days, without a notion on my part—and no doubt the performers shared in my ignorance—of the solemn words which gave rise to it.

(3) *Ante*, p. 266(3); p. 274.

(4) "Contingit ergo ut quodam tempore pastores panem super lapidem quendam ponerent, qui dum hujus secretæ verba proferrent, in carnem conversus est, et forsitan, transubstantiatus, ut sic loquar, in corpus Christi. In quos divinitus facta est acerrima vindicta. Nam ad unum omnes percussi sunt divino judicio cœlitus misso. Ex quo quidem facto statutum fuit, ut posthac tacite et submisse diceretur."—Belethi, *Rationale*, c. xliv.

some bread—or in other accounts(1) bread and wine, which were changed into flesh and blood; and that they were thereupon struck dead to a man. Pope Innocent III. lends no credence to this legend, but more reasonably explains that it arose from the rule, instead of the rule having originated in the miracle.(2)

We meet with a very striking instance of the prevalence of this feeling something like a hundred years later than the date of our MS. John Buschk, a Canon regular, and Prior of the Monastery at Sulta, was delegated to visit and reform monasteries both of men and women of different orders; and was very much mixed up with, if not in some sort at the head of the Brethren of Common Life.(3) Writing about the year 1470, he describes his having, when only "a simple brother, called a black friar to account for having preached at Zutphen that laymen ought not to have books in Dutch" (*Teutonicales*). In his very life-like account of his discussion with the Prior of the Dominican Convent, to which the friar belonged, he tells us that when he objected that laymen had mass-books and even the canon in Dutch (*Etiam cum canone in Teutonico*), he answered that he did not allow this, and that he had himself burnt the canon when he found some nuns with it in Dutch, but that this was no argument against all, learned and unlearned alike, having and reading books for the amendment of their lives and arousing their devout feelings.(4)

In the next century "Pope Pius V. forbade the use of vernacular translations of the office of the blessed Virgin;"(5) but the most stringent exertion of the papal authority was reserved for the seventeenth century. As early as 1587 the whole missal was translated into French, and published by command of the Cardinals of Lorraine and of Guise, who were successively Archbishops of Rheims; and several other editions followed, the Latin being either on the opposite page or in parallel columns—one by Archbishop de Harlay, of Rouen, which in 1650 was approved by the Assembly of the Clergy of France. But in 1661 Pope Alexander VII. issued a bull, at the instance, as was supposed, of Cardinal Mazarin, in which he sets forth that he had

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(1) See *Gemma Animæ*, Lib. I, c. ciii. Cf. [Pseudo-]Alcuin, *De Divinis Officiis*, Ed. Froben., p. 502.

(2) De Sacro Altaris Mysterio, Lib. III, c. i.

(3) The *Fratres Vitæ Communis* took no vows, but lived according to the Augustinian rule. They flourished in the Netherlands and the neighbouring parts of Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, occupying themselves, amongst other good works, in copying religious books, especially in the mother tongue, and were among the first to establish printing-presses in their brother-houses.

(4) Buschii *de Reformatione Monasteriorum*, Lib. II, c. xvii, Leibnitz; *Scriptores Brunsvic.*, II, 927. See as to Nuns of Syon, *ante*, p. 186.

(5) Maskell, *M. R.*, II, p. liv.

heard with great sorrow that certain sons of perdition, to the ruin of souls and in despite of the practice of the Church, had reached such a height of madness as to turn the Latin missal into French, and had dared to print and retail it without regard to state or sex, "and had thus endeavoured to cast down and trample the majesty of the most sacred rite embodied in the Latin words, and by their rash attempt expose to the vulgar the dignity of the holy mysteries." He thereupon declares his abhorrence and detestation of this novelty, and for ever condemns, disallows, and interdicts any missal in French by whomsoever written, or by whomsoever hereafter to be written; forbids the printing, reading, or possession under penalty of excommunication, and requires the surrender of all copies to the ordinary or the inquisitor, in order to their being burnt.(1)

(1) I give the bull at length, as, curiously enough, neither De Vert, nor Le Brun, nor, so far as I have observed, any other of the French ritualists refer to it. It is of course in the subsequent editions of the Bullarium, and I notice an abstract in Pittoni's *Constitutiones Pontificiæ*, Venet., 1740, I, 314, *No.* 925.

"Alexander Papa VII.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Ad aures nostras ingenti cum animi nostri mœrore pervenit, quod in Regno Galliæ, quidam perditionis filii in perniciem animarum novitatibus studentes, et Ecclesiasticas Sanctiones ac praxim contemnentes, ad eam nuper vesaniam pervenerint, ut Missale Romanum Latino idiomate longo tot sæculorum usu in Ecclesia probato conscriptum ad Gallicam vulgarem linguam convertere, sicque conversum typis evulgare, et ad cujusvis Ordinis, et sexus personas transmittere ausi fuerint, et ita Sacrosancti Ritus majestatem Latinis vocibus comprehensam dejicere, et proterere, ac Sacrorum mysteriorum dignitatem vulgo exponere temerario conatu tentaverint.

§ 1. Nos, quibus licet immeritis Vineæ Domini Sabaoth a Christo Salvatore nostro plantatæ, ejusque pretioso Sanguine irrigatæ, cura demandata est, ut spinarum hujusmodi, quibus illa obrueretur, obviemus incremento, earumque quantum in Deo possumus, radices succidamus, quemadmodum novitatem istam perpetui Ecclesiæ decoris deformatricem, inobedientiæ, temeritatis, audaciæ, seditionis, schismatis, aliorumque plurium malorum facile productricem abhorremus, et detestamur.

§ 2. Ita Missale prædictum Gallico idiomate a quocumque conscriptum, vel in posterum alias quomodolibet conscribendum et evulgandum Motu proprio, et ex certa scientia, ac matura deliberatione nostris, perpetuo damnamus, reprobamus, et interdicimus, ac pro damnato, reprobato, et interdicto haberi volumus, ejusque impressionem, lectionem et retentionem universis, et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus cujuscumque gradus, ordinis, conditionis, dignitatis, honoris, et præeminentiæ, licet de illis specialis, et individua mentio habenda foret existant, sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ ipso jure incurrendæ perpetuo prohibemus.

§ 3. Mandantes quod statim quicumque illud habuerint, vel in futurum quandocumque habebunt, realiter, et cum effectu exhibeant, et tradant locorum Ordinariis, vel Inquisitoribus, qui nulla interposita mora exemplaria igne comburant, et comburi faciant, in contrarium facientibus, non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 12

This vehement denunciation appears to have been ignored almost from the first. Translations of the ordinary of the mass and the missal were published with the authority of archbishops and bishops; and at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes distributed "by thousands" among the *Nouveaux convertis.*

In 1851 the Congregation of Rites forbid "the translating, printing, or publishing of the ordinary of the mass in the vulgar tongue;"(1) and this decision appears to have been more respected by the French clergy of the present day than the Pope's bull was by their Gallican predecessors. I find that in 1860 a translation of the missal was published by the Abbé Alix, with the approbation of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, with the following notice: "*Le tradacteur s'est conformé à la défence de la Congrégation des rites en ne traduisant pas le canon de la messe;*" and in several recent missals for the laity which I have had an opportunity of examining, I observe that other devotions are inserted *sans phrase* in place of the translation of the canon.

APPENDIX V.

This piece is from Cotton, Titus, A. xxvi, in the British Museum, a paper MS. of about 1470. Mr Brock copied it for the Society, and I read the proof with the manuscript. It is one of the many productions of that most copious poetaster, Dan John Lydgate, the monk of Bury. The scribe has added the title *Merita Missæ* at the end, but it must not be confounded with the *Vertue of the Masse* (*ante*, p. 163), nor with the *Virtutes Missarum* (*ante*, p. 367) of the same author, from which extracts have been given in the notes.

I here insert a fourth piece by Lydgate, being a Venus-Mass, or parody of the Mass addressed to Cupid, "the mighty god of love," which is complete to the end of the epistle. It is taken from MS. Fairfax, 16, in the Bodleian,(2) and Mr G. Parker has read the proof

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Janu. 1661, Pontificatus Nostri Anno sexto."—*Bullarium Romanum*, Luxemburgi, 1727, VI, 138.

(1) *Dictionnaire des Décrets*, Migne, 1860, c. 1232, "Traduction." Here see also a less explicit answer as to the "abus général et invétéré, que les fideles aient entre les mains en latin et en français, non seulement l'Ecriture sainte et surtout le Nouveau Testament, mais encore l'ordinaire même de la messe littéralement traduit."

(2) This MS. also contains poems by Chaucer, Occleve, &c., and is dated "Anno 1450." On the first leaf is written:

"I bought this Att Gloucester 8 Sept. 1651.
ffairfax
intending to exchange it for a better booke.
Note y^{t} Joseph Holland hath another of these manuscripts."

with the manuscript. It is very curious as an illustration of the tone of feeling, which could sanction such dealing with holy things, and all the more curious when we remember it was the work of one who had taken the vows of a Benedictine,(1) and, as we gather from other pieces of his, was himself in priest's orders—nor is his choosing the subject less worthy of remark if, as may not be improbable, he borrowed from an Italian original.(2)

The several parts are indicated by rubrics in the manuscript, and I have added references to the corresponding places in the ordinary of the Mass.

[fol. 314]

¶ Introibo. (*Ante*, p. 90, l. 12.)

Wyth aH myñ Hool Herte entere
To fore the famous Riche Autere
Of the myghty god of Love
Whiche that stondeth higħ above
In the Chapel / of Cytheron
I wiH wytħ gret devocion
Go knele / and make sacrifyse
Lyke as the custom̃ dotħ devyse
Afor that God / preye and wake
Of entent I may be take
To hys seruyse / and ther assure
As longe / as my lyf may dure
To cont[*i*]nue / as I best kan
Whil I lyve / to ben hys man

¶ Confiteor. (*Ante*, p. 90, l. 25.)

I am aknowe / and wot ryghtꝰ well
I speke pleynly as I fel
Touchynge / the grete tendyrnesse
Of my youthe and my symplesse
Of myn vnkonyng / and grene age
Wil lete me han noon avantage
To serue loue I kan so lyte
And yet myn hert / doth delyte
Of hys seruauntys for to here
By exaumple of hem / I myghte lere

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(1) See a somewhat similar travesty by Lyndesay, *ante*, p. 319.

(2) There are hardly any poetic themes which the old monk has not handled, though whether in every case he has adorned them may well admit of question. Among his *Minor Poems* (Percy Society, p. 220) Mr Halliwell gives a "Lovers Complaint" in the person of a love-lorn maiden, beginning:

"Allas! I woful creature
Lyveng betwene hope and drede,
How myght I the woe endure,
In tendrenesse of wommanheede?"

To folowe the wey / of ther seruyse
Yif I hadde konnyng to devyse
That I myght' / a seruaunt be
A-mongys other in my degre
Havynge ful gret repentaunce
That I non) erste / me gan) avaunce
In loue court my-selfe to offre [fol. 314 b]
And my seruyse / for to profre
ffor ffer of my tender youthe
Nouther be Est / nouther by Southe
Lyst Daunger / putte me a-bake
And dysdeyn) / to make wrake
Wolde hyndre me / in myn) entente
Of al this thyng / I me Repente
As my conscience / kan) recorde
I sey lowly Myserycorde.

¶ **Misereatur.** (*Ante*, p. 92, l. 1.)

By god of louys Ordynaunce
ffolkys / that haue repentaunce
Sorowful in herte / and no-thyng' lyght
Whiche ha nat spent hys tyme aryght'
But wastyd yt / in ydelnesse
Only for lake of lustynesse
In slep / slogardye / and slouthe
Of whom) / ys pyte / and gret routhe
But when̄ / they repente hem) ageyn)
Of al ther tyme / spent in veyn)
The god of love / thorgh̄ hys myght'
Syth that Mercy / passeth̄ ryght'
The mot acceptyd be to grace
And pute daunger out of place
This the wyl of Dame **Venus**
And of hyr Bisshoppe **Temvs**

¶ **Officium.** (*Ante*, p. 92, l. 33.)

In honour of the god Cupide
ffirst that he may be my guyde
In worshepe eke of the pryncesse [fol. 315]
Whyche ys lady / and Maystresse
By grace they may / for me provyde
Humble of herte / devoyde of pryde
Envye and Rancour set asyde
With̄-oute chaunge / or doubilnesse

¶ In honour of the
ffirst that he

Ioye and welfare in euery tyde
Be yove to hem / wherso they byde
And yive to hem *grace* / on̄ my dystresse
To have / pyte / of ther hyghnesse
ffor in what place / I go or ryde

¶ In honour ffirst that

¶ **Kyrie.** (*Ante*, p. 93, l. 33.)

Mercy ⁝ Mercy ⁝ contynuely ⁝ I crye
In gret disioynt ⁝ Vp-on̄ the poynt ⁝ to deye
ffor that pyte ⁝ ys vn-to me ⁝ contrayre
Dau*n*ger my ffo ⁝ dysdeyn̄ also ⁝ whylk tweye
Causen̄ myn̄ herte ⁝ of mortal smert ⁝ dyspeyre
ffor she ⁝ that ys ; fayrest y-wys ⁝ of ffayre
Hath̄ gladnesse ⁝ of my syknesse . to pleye
Thus my trouble / double and double / doth repayre

¶ XPe.

Repeyreth̄ ay ⁝ which̄ nyght' nor day // ne cesseth nought'
Now hope / now dred / now pensyffhede / now thought'
Al thyse yfere / palen̄ myn̄ chere / and hewe
Yet to hyr grace ech̄ hour' / and space / I ha besought'
Hyr' lyst nat here / ffor hyr daunger / doth̄ ay renewe
Towardys me / for certys she / lyst nat rewe [fol. 315 b]
Vp-on̄ my peyne ⁝ and thus / my cheyne ys wrought'
Which̄ hath̄ me / bounde / neu*er* to be fou*n*de / vntrewe

¶ Kyrie.

Vntrewe nay ⁝ to se / that day ⁝ god forbede
Voyde slouthe / kepe my trouthe / in dede
Eve / and morowe / ffor Ioye or sorowe / I have behyght'
Til I sterve ⁝ eu*er*e to serve / hir woma*n*hede
In erthe lyvynge / ther is no thyng / maketh̄ me so lyght'
ffor I shal dye ⁝ ne but wer hir Mercye more than̄ ryght'
Off no decertys / but Mercy certys / my Iourne spede
Adieu al play ⁝ thus may I say / I woful wyght'

¶ **Gloria in excelsis.** (*Ante*, p. 94, l. 7.)

Worsshyppe to that lord above
That callyd ys / the god of love
Pes / to hys / seruant*es* eu*er*ychon̄
Trewe of herte / stable as ston̄
That feythful be

To hertys trewe of ther corage
That lyst chaunge / for no Rage
But kep hem / in ther hestys stylle
In̄ all man*er* wedris ylle
Pes concord and vnyte
God send hem / sone ther desyrs
And reles / of ther hoote ffyrs
That brenneth̄ at her herte sore
And encresseth̄ / more / and more
This my prayere
And aftyr wynter / wyth̄ hys shourys
God send hem cou*n*fort / of May flourys
Affter gret wynd / and stormys kene [fol. 316]
The glade son*n*e / with̄ bemys shene
May appere
To yive hem lyght' / affter dyrknesse
Ioye eke aft*er* hevynesse
And after dool / and ther wepynge
To here / the somer foulys synge
God yive grace
ffor ofte sythe men̄ ha seyn̄
A ful bryght' day / after gret reyn̄
And tyl the storme / be leyd asyde
The herdys vnder buss̄ abyde.
And taketh place
After also the dirke nyght'
Voyde / off the Mone / and sterre lyght'
And after nyghtys / dool and sorowe
ffolweth ofte a ful glade morowe
Of Auenture
Now lorde that knowest hertys alle
Off louers / that for helpe calle
On̄ her trouthe / of mercy rewe
Namly on̄ swyche as be trewe
Helpe to recure.
Amen. (*Ante*, p. 94, l. 19.)

¶ **The Oryson̄.** (*Ante*, p. 94, l. 24. [fol. 316 *b*]
Most' myghty / and most dredful lord
That knowest / hertys fals and trewe
As wel ther thynkyng' as ther word
Bothe of lovers / olde and newe
Off pyte / and of mercy Rewe
On̄ thy s*er*uaunt*es* / that be stable
And make ther Ioye / to Renewe
Swich̄ as wyl neu*er* be chau*n*gable

¶ The Epystel in prose. (*Ante*, p. 96, l. 14.)

ffrom) the party of the pore plentyff in love wyth̄ many yers of probac*i*on professyd to be trewe / To all the hȫly ffrat*er*nite and Confrary ⁝ of the same bretherhede / And to alle hospytlerys and Relygious / nat spottyd / nor mad foul wyth̄ no cryme of Apostasye nouthyr notyd nor atteynt w*i*th no double ffac*e* / of symulac*i*on nor constreyned co*u*ntenaunce of ypocrysye / To alle swiche chose chyldre of stabylnesse wyth̄-oute variaunce of corage / or of herte Ioye / E⁝the / ⁝ and long p*ro*speryte / wyth̄ p*er*fecc*i*on of p*er*seueraunce / in ther trouthe perpetually / tabyde // Experyence techeth̄ / that pilgrymes / and folk*es* custo*m*mable to vyage // Whañ they vnderfange / any long / weye wich̄e that ys laboryous // Somwhile off consuetude / and custom̄ / they vse a man) to Reste on) ther wey // Off entent to wype / and wasshe away the soot of ther vysages // And su*m* also vseñ to ley adou*n* the hevy ffardellys of ther bake // ffor to alleggen) ther wery lemys of
[fol. 317] her grete berthene // And som̄e outher vsen) to gadryn) wyne / And som̄e to drynkeñ outher wat*er* or' wyñ // of ther botet̄ or Goordys to asswage / the grete dryhnesse of ther gredy thruste // And som̄e of hem somwhile Rekn*en* and accounteñ / how myche they ha passyd / off ther Iourne / And sodeynly tourne ageyn) ther bakkys towardys / som) notable seteys Which̄ they of newe / be partyd fro / And therwyth̄ al Recordeñ / and remembreñ hem / of Cytes / Caste⁝ / and tou*n*s which̄ they ha passyd by / and nat forgete / hylles / no valeys / dygne / to be put in remembraunce of hyt / for a Memoryal / Som̄e entytleñ hem / in smale book*es* of Report / or in tabylys / to calleñ hem to mynde / whañ they sene her tyme / And som̄ ought' calleñ to my*n*de grete Ryu*er*s and smale / And p*er*eylles of the see that they ha passyd by / And whan) they hañ alle accou*n*tyd / and ageyn Rebatyd / the p*ar*tyes passyd off her Iourne / Off nowe they take to hem force / vigour / and strengthe / myghtyly Wyth̄-oute feyntyse / to p*er*forme / and manly / to acomplysshe / the Resydue / and the remnaunt' of her labour // And thus .I. in semblable wyse / al the tyme of my lyff' / ffrom) my grene tendre youthe / And tyme that I hadde / yerys of dyscrec*i*on beynge / and contynuynge / as an Erry*n*ge pylgrym / in the s*er*uyse of the myghty and dredful god of loue / how many p*er*ylous / passages / and wayes / that I ha passyd by // How ofte in compleynynge I have setyndoñ // to wypeñ away the soot of myn)
[fol. 317, b] inportable labour' / And dronkeñ e*ue*r among of my botell and Goord*es* the bytter drynkes of drerynesse / And offte sythes assayed / to casteñ adou*n* the inportable fardel / of my*n* heuy thoughtys / And amongys al this thyn)gys // lookyd bakward to consydreñ / and señ the fyñ and the ende of my worthy brethereñ / and p*re*decessours in love // that ha passyd the same pilgrymage / to-forñ // And ther I ha fou*n*den / and sey*n* the g*re*te trouthe of Troylus / p*er*seuerant' to hys lyves ende // The trewe stable menyng of penalope / The cle*n*nesse / of polycene // The kyndenesse off Dydo / queñ of cartage / And rad also

ful ofteñ in my contemplatyff medytac*i*ons The holy legende of Martyrs / of Cupydo / The secre trouthe of Trystram and ysoude And the smale Gerdou*n*s of woful Palamydes / All thyse / and an hondryd Thousand mo callyd to mynde / me semeth / amo*n*ges all I am on̄ of the most for-sake / And ferthest set behynde of grace / and moste hyndred to *the* mercy of my lady dere / Nat-wyth-stondynge the grete p*ar*ty of my pilgrymage / that I ha don*e* But that I shal e*n*ere / for lyfe or deth̄ / co*n*tynue / and p*er*seu*er*e trewe to my lyves Ende ¶ Besechynge ful lowly / to alle yow my brethere / vn-to whom̄ thys lytel Epystel ys dyrect // That yt lyke yow / of pyte / amonge your / devout obs*er*uau*n*ces to han me Recomendyd / w*i*th som*e* Especial Memorye / in yo*u*r pr*a*yers / That yet or I dye / I may su*m* m*er*cy / fynde / Or that the god of love / Enspyre my ladyes herte of hys *gr*ace what I endure for hyr sake.

P. 148, l. 10. *freer.* This is how our Benedictine answered the constant attacks which the mendicant orders levelled at the monks, whom they decried as "possessioners," or owners of landed estates. The jealousies and rivalries of their several orders(1) supplied a fruitful subject to the mediæval satirist, but they all combined to vilipend the more ancient monastic bodies and the secular or parochial clergy.

So—to give a single instance—the friar in Chaucer begging for his house:

> "Neither it needeth not for to be give
> As to possessioneres that mow lyve,
> Thanked be God, in wele and abundaunce."—*C. T.* 7303-5.
>
> "These curates ben ful negligent and slowe
> To grope tendurly a conscience."—*Ib.* 7398-9.
>
> "The clenness and fastyng of us freres
> Makith that Crist acceptith oure prayeres."—*Ib.* 7465-6.
>
> "And therfor may ye seen that oure prayeres
> (I speke of us, we mendeaunts we freres)
> Ben to the hihe God mor acceptable
> Than youres, with your festis at your table."—*Ib.* 7493-6.

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(1) The white-friar in the Ploughman's Crede (l. 380—392) thus speaks of the black and the grey friars:

> "For ry3t as Menoures · most ypocricie vse*þ*
> Ry3t so ben Prechers proude · purlyche in herte.
> But, Cristen creatour · we Karmes first comen
> Even in Elyes tyme · first of hem all.
> . . . . . .
> And *þ*erfore, leue leel man · leeue *þ*at ich sygge,
> A masse of vs mene men · is of more mede
> And passeth all praieres · of *þ*ies proude freers."

P. 148, l. 15. *sese into thi honde.* This is a translation of "*in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*"—Ps. (31) xxx, 6—Lydgate not having made the change from the second to the third person, which was necessary to fit it into its present place. Its suitableness for the last devotion before going to rest has been recognized by its insertion in this place in many forms, as, for example, in the compline service of the nuns of Syon: "Another Responce, *In manus tuas*, I betake my sowlle lorde in to thy handes. Verse. *Redemisti*, Thow haste boughte me ageyne. lorde god of trouthe."(1)

These were also the words which the priest called on the dying man to say when he saw "that he neiheth (*neareth*) the deth"—"*And sai:* Into thi handes, Lord, I betake my soule, for thou God of treuthe bou3test me. *And sei it threis.*"(2)

In the form from the Landsdown MS. printed by Mr Peacock(3) this is to be said for him if the dying man cannot say it himself: "Thanne let the Curat desire the sick persone to saye In manus tuas *et cetera* withe a good stedfast mynde and yf that he canne, And yef he cannot let the Curat saye it for hym."

P. 149, l. 25. Cf. the corresponding directions in the Festyvale (*f.* 157 *b*): "Than it is well done y^{t} of what degree or ordre or occupation thou be / saye dayly at the leest at thy rysynge . Paternoster . Ave maria . and a Credo / or elles fyue of eyther in remembraunce of y^{e} passyon of our lorde / and the grete compassyon of our lady . Ex revelatio*n*ibus sancte brigite (and crosse(4) the in the foreheed . Hec hieronimus) And folowe thou Cryste . Augustin*us* . As moche as thou mayst / of whom thou takest thy name called a crysten man. And beware that thou bere not y^{e} name voydely . And therewyth nourysse the worme of conscyence that neuer shall dye."

l. 32. *set, sc.* on knees. Cf. Primer, 1555, *sig.* ❡ i:

"¶ *How a man shal behaue him self in the morning whan he ryseth.*

¶ Whan thou risest in the mornyng loke that thou with all humbleness of mynde knele down, and lyftyng up thy hearte, thy handes, and thyne eies unto heaven unto god the father almightie, praye on thys maner."

l. 42. The pyx of ivory or metal, containing the reserved sacrament, was in this country hung by chains under a canopy in a vase

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(1) *Myroure*, 168. (2) Maskell, M. R. III, 357-8. *Ante*, p. 350.

(3) Myre, p. 65. The *Rituale Romanum* also appoints these words to be said in the ear at the last ("*in exspiratione*"), but adds to the commendation of the psalmist a prayer to the Blessed Virgin: "Tu me ab hoste protege et hora mortis suscipe."

(4) It will be observed that *cross* here takes the place of the more usual *bless* of older forms.

above the altar. Dr Rock(1) says that "the first wooden or stone tabernacle resting on the altar seen in this land was put up in Queen Mary's reign."

In France the vessel in which the pyx was hung above the altar was generally in the shape of a dove. A provincial council at Thoulouse, A.D. 1590, required the reserved sacrament to be kept "tabernaculo ligneo non pensili,"(2) but it continued to be hung above the high altar at St Denys and other churches in France, until the first revolution; and, when the writer was at Malta, was still so hung in St John's Church, Valetta.

P. 149, l. 47. *rynget the belle*, at the beginning of the service. The bell at the elevation is mentioned, line 69. Cf. Harding's Answer, "We have commonly seen the priest when he sped him to say his service, to ring the saunce (*Sanctus*) bell, and speak out aloud, *Paternoster;* by which token the people were commanded silence, reverence, and devotion."(3)

l. 52. *Thou for hym and he for the.* See form of prayer, *ante*, p. 10. So late as the eighteenth century in the diocese of Rheims the priest turned to the west before the prayer *Aufer a nobis* (*ante*, p. 92, l. 25), and said "Orate pro me fratres, et ego pro vobis."(4) In connection with this, and the many instances where, as we have seen, eastern forms survived in the Gallican Church, it is curious to notice that in this part of the service the priest in the Syrian Jacobite service turned to the people and asked their prayers for the Lord's sake.(5)

l. 58. *dredfulle*, as usually in our older English, *feeling dread* not *dread inspiring.*

P. 150, l. 67. *stylle*, secretly, as in lines 17 and 48.—See note, p. 182, B. 52.

l. 86. *gysthe.* I have given Mr Brock's suggested reading (*gyfte*), but on looking at it again, I am not at all sure that we ought not to read *gysthe. Gift* in the form *ȝifte* occurs within two lines; and though I do not find the word *gysthe*, we may very well suppose there may have been such a word. It would at all events complete the sense—You would get it neither of grace (the king's favour to you), nor gysthe (your own craving). In German we have the kindred word *geiz.* Boswell gives the verb *gytsian*, and *gytsung*, desire, craving; and quotes from Boethius, "He ne mæg þa grundleasan gytsynge afyllan," *He cannot the boundless desires fill.*

(1) *Church of our Fathers*, IV, 208.
(2) P. 2, c v, 1—Labb & Coss, XV, 1379.
(3) Quoted Jewel's *Reply unto M. Harding's Answer*, Works, I, 292.
(4) Krazer *de Liturgiis*, Aug. Vindel., 1786, p. 385.
(5) Ordo communis liturgiæ secundum Ritum Syrorum Jacobitarum, Renaudot, *Liturg. Orientat.*, II, 2. According to the Latin rite the priest did not ask the prayers of the people until later in the service at the offertory. See *ante*, p. 100, l. 20.

P. 152, l. 151. *cristende spayne.* We have already seen the curious use which Lydgate made of his knowledge of heathen mythology,(1) and the way he here brings in the gestes of the trouvères is almost equally incongruous. Charles' success against the Saracen invaders of Spain was one of their chosen subjects, and as a matter of history he did extend his boundary across the north-east of Spain, from the Bidassoa to the mouth of the Ebro.

l. 153. *bare the Floure.* Cf.

"Of alle þe clerkes of þat land; he bar þe flour."
Celestin, l. 190, *Anglia*, p. 72.

"Of Christendome he ber the prys."
Political Songs, Wright, C. S. 246.

l. 160-1. *He bare portred far and nere.* Layamon describes the shield *Pridwen*, which Arthur hung from his neck, with this precious portrait:

"He heng an his sweore ſ
ænne sceld deore.
his nome wes on Bruttisc ſ
Pridwen ihaten.
þer wes innen igrauen ſ
mid rede golde stauen.
an on-licnes deore ſ
of drihtenes moder."(2)

Nennius says that he bore the image of the Virgin on his shoulders (*super humeros suos*); and William of Malmesbury ascribes his single-handed prowess against nine hundred of the enemy at Badon Hill to this image which he had affixed (*armis suis*) to his armour.

Sir Gawayne also had the image of the Virgin on his shield.

"In the more half of his shelde hir ymage depaynted."(3)

P. 153, l. 179. *Lavncegaye*, a javelin which appears to have been very much like the *Assegay* of the Amakosa Caffres, and to have been thrown very much as they throw it. As our forefathers on actual service used crossbow, sword, battle-axe, or men-at-arms the lance, it is probable that lancegays were not such effective weapons as the seven assegais the Caffres used to carry for their whole armament in war time, before free-traders suvplied them with fire-arms and gun-powder.

Cf. "And in his hand a launcegay
A long sword by his side."—*C. T.* 15162-3.

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(1) *Ante*, p. 167, l. 39, and pages 390—5.

(2) *Ed.* Madden, 1847, II, 464, l. 10—17. Sir Frederick Madden mentions in a note that the name *Pridwen* is said to be Welsh for *the fair form*, or *that which is white*, in allusion to this figure of the Virgin.

(3) *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ed. Morris, l. 649.

P. 153, l. 190. *thou I klype the.* This thouing him was the extreme of insult, and it may be worth noting that the very phrase is still used in this part of England with the same intention. I have been told of it more than once as a matter of complaint; and I will copy what I wrote some five-and-twenty years ago, which was probably the first time that I noticed it, after I had begun my collections for an East Riding vocabulary. A man who had forbidden his mother-in-law his house said to me: "I'll not deny it. I did thou her, and sorry I is to thou my wife(1) mother, but I says to her—Thou I calls thee, and I bids thee get thee out of my house, and never again set thy foot over my freshwood" (*threshold*). I may add that as a matter of course and in all good part he would have thou-d his wife, friends, children or servants, the plural being reserved for elders, betters, and strangers, according to the received etiquette of the country side.(2)

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO NOTES.

P. 182, B. 54. *sese.* I find that the presence of *-es* in the second person singular is in no respect decisive. Dr Morris gives it as characteristic of the West-Midland dialect of Lancashire and Cheshire—*Alliterative Poems*, 1869, Preface, p. xxiii. We meet also with the northern *-s* of the verb, with an occasional southern *-th* in Robert of Brunne's (East Midland) *Handlyng Synne*, as, for example:

"þey been but as glemys
þat yn þe þouȝt lepys
A nyȝt whan þou slepys,
þat you wakyng þenkes
Before þy yȝen hyt blenkys."—l. 424-8.

"þe deuyl hyt shewyþ."—l. 498.

"Syttyþ dowyn upp on oure knees."—l. 951.

P. 214, 215. I omitted to notice the injunction put forth by Bishop Shaxton in the diocese of Salisbury in 1536; and most probably in other dioceses at the same time. It requires all having cures, every Sunday and holyday to recite and sincerely declare in the

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(1) I preserve the *-s* in the verb, and the omission of the *-s* in the genitive, as characteristic both of the existing and of the early Northumbrian dialect.

(2) See a note by Mr Skeat as to corresponding use. *William of Palerne*, p. xli. Cf. "thou thou'st him some thrice."—Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, III, 2, &c.

pulpit at the high mass time in the English tongue both the epistle and gospel of the day, if there be time thereto, or else one of them at the least.(1)

P. 225 (2). "*Sancta*" had a larger signification than I here suppose. It refers to certain relics, as it occurred in the oath tendered to the canons of Chartres on their being received: "Sic vos Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta."—*Voyages Liturgiques*, 227-8.

P. 248 (3). Maskell, M. R. III, 357, may also be referred to an addition to Ratis Raving, but I return to this note because I have since noticed that the question here quoted, or rather one to the same purport in a service book printed at Venice in 1573, has been formally condemned. I give an extract, so far as it refers to this question, from the very rare "Index Librorum Expurgatorum Illustrissimi ac Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis Quiroga, Cardinalis et Archiep. Toletani Hispan. generalis Inquisitoris iussu editus. De Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generalis Inquisit." Madriti 1584:

"*Ordo Baptizandi cum Modo visitandi*

Ex libro, qui inscribitur, Ordo baptizandi, cum Modo visitandi, impresso Venetiis, anno 1575. *Fol.* 34, *ad medium deleantur illa verba.* Credis non propriis meritis, sed Passionis domini nostri Iesu Christi virtute & merito, ad gloriam peruenire?

Ibidem, paulo post, deleantur illa verba: Credis quod dominus noster Iesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit? & quod ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit saluari, nisi in merito Passionis ipsius?"

P. 251, on C. 112. *noon.* I was at a loss to account for the apparent anomaly of this form in a northern manuscript. I find another example in the ordinances of the company of scriveners(2) of the

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(1) Burnet's *Reformation*, Part II, Records, No. 59.

(2) The late Mr Davies, Town-clerk of York, who was a most careful enquirer into all that concerned the antiquities of the city, gives many interesting particulars as to this company—the *Escriveners de text*, *Scriptores*, or Text-writers—in his work on "*the York Press*," p. 3. He copies the bye-laws in French of the date of Edward III, and the revised ordinances in English, which appear to have been confirmed by the corporation in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

As may be noticed in the extract here given, besides the text writers, the company admitted to their membership,

I. The *Limners*, or *Enluminers*, who painted the miniatures, and did the gilding, &c.

II. The *Notours*, who inserted the musical notes;

and, III, the *Turners* and *Flourishers*, who did the elaborate initial and capital letters, and the floriated borders.

Mr Davies also mentions that the York bookbinders and booksellers formed another company.

city of York, so that the occurrence of *noon* in this place was probably no more than an early instance of the southernizing tendency which became very marked at the end of the century.(1) "Noo priest having a competent salary, that is to say, vij marks or above, shall exercise the craft of text-writers, lomers, noters, tournours,(2) and florisshers for his singular prouffit and lucour, nor take noone apprentice, hired man, or othre servaunt into his service, nor make no bargains or covenantes to that intent,(3) under the pain of forfaitur of xiii *s.* iiij *d.*"

P. 338, on p. 65, l. 22. *in prison.* A passage in the Ancren Riwle (p. 126) shows that this place may be understood neither of purgatory nor a debtors' prison, as here suggested, but of the bondage of sin:

"We beoð alle ine prisune her, *and* owen God greate dettes of sunnen."

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(1) See before, page 344.

(2) Cf. "Les lettres tourneures, ainsi nommées a cause de leurs figures rondes et tournantes seroirent dans les premieres impressions aux commencement des chapitres, comme elles avoient servi dans les manuscrits."—Lambinet, *Origine de l'Imprimerie*, Tome I, 295, quoted Davies, *York Press*, p. 5.

(3) I add a note—and it is the last—to this somewhat discursive illustration, because I think it cannot be without interest to the members of a society whose *raison d'être*, if not the production, is at all events in the first instance the printing of early manuscripts. It is a covenant, such as that contemplated in the ordinance, for a service-book, most probably for use in York Minster, as it is entered in the acts of the Chapter of York.

It is curious as showing the sum that was paid for writing and limning, and also that the size of the large or uncial letters, mentioned in the last note, was not left to the fancy of the turners, but was matter of definite stipulation.

The entry is dated the 26th August, 1346, and is here printed from Raine's Fabric Rolls, p. 165-6:

"Comparuit Robertus Brekeling scriptor, et juravit se observare condicionem factam inter ipsum et dominum Johannem Forbor, viz., quod idem Robertus scribet unum psalterium cum calendario ad opus dicti domini Johannis, pro v s. et vi d.: et in eodem psalterio, de eadem litera, unum placebo et dirige cum ympnario et collectario pro iv s. iij d. Et idem Robertus luminabit omnes psalmos de grossis litoris aureis positis in coloribus, et omnes grossas literas de ympnario et collectario luminabit de auro et vermilione præter grossas literas duplicium festorum, quæ erunt sicut grossæ literæ aureæ sunt in psalterio. Et omnes literæ in principiis versuum erunt luminatæ de azuro et vermilione bonis, et omnes literæ in inceptione nocturnorum erunt grossæ literæ unciales(*) continentes v lineas, set *beatus vir*(†) et *dixit Dominus*(‡) continebunt vj vel vij lineas; et pro luminatione prædicta dabit v s. vi d., et ad colores, dabit pro auro xviii d. et ij s. pro una cloca et furura."

(*) As to these uncial or capital letters, see the last note.
(†) Psalm i. was the first for matins on Sunday.
(‡) Psalm (110) cix. was the first for vespers on Sunday.

GLOSSARY.

THE letters A, B, C, D, E, and F refer to the lines of the Texts, p. 2—60; B.P. to the Bidding Prayers, p. 61—80; H.C. to the Hours of the Cross, p. 81—89; L to Lydgate's *Merita Missæ*, p. 148—154; P to Appendix III, Preparation for communion, p. 122—127· V to the Vernon MS., p. 128—147; and "p." to all other pages.

For abbreviations used in referring to quotations, see p. 469.

When two numbers have "/" between them, the first refers to the page, the second to the line. A second number within ( ) refers to a footnote on the line thus marked.

The * refers to a note on the line thus marked.

A, *interj.* Ah! P 124/31, 127/7.

— *indefinite article*, B 19; C 19.

— one contrasted with another, B 173. *Note*, p. 215.

— one, of the Divine Unity, B 180. *Note*, p. 215, 218.

— the same, the like, C 332. *Note*, p. 216. Cf. "Two of a size," "Both of an age."

— one in number, B 157; B.P. 65/25, 70/14; p. 360.

"For better es a dai dwelland
In thi porches ouer a thousand."
Ps. (84) lxxxiii, 10.

See ANE.

ABOUNE, above, B 38.

"Our Loverd in manhed sall þan sitt
Aboune þe synful."—P. C. 540-5.

A-CORDE, accord, harmony, B 541.

"Þis acorde and anehede sall never cease."—P. C. 8465.

AFT, afterwards, E 502. See EFT.

AFTER, AFTUR, after.

— of time, B 200, 241, 263.

— according as, B 8.

— in proportion to, B 412; V 146/635.

"Efter þe workes þat þu has don."
P. C. 2455.

Cf. "Deal not with us after our sins, neither reward us after our iniquities."—*Litany*, B. C. P.

AGAYNE, *adv.* again, B 252, 579.

AGAYNES, *prep.* against, B 350.

AGHT, 3 *sing.* ought, B 167.

AGNUS, the anthem so called, B 508; p. 112/21.

AL, *adj.* all, B 2, 259, 260, 316. *Note*, p. 157.

— *adverbially*, wholly, *omnino*, B 33, 210, 606.

ALKYN, ALKYNS, of all kinds, B 120, 256, 467, 589.

ALLE, *sing.* B 43; *dative*, C 2, 121, 122, 144.

— *pl.* 3*, 39, 251, 430, 456.

ALLE BIDENE, B 104. See BIDENE.

ALLE IF, *conj.* although, P 126/21.

ALMOUS, an alms, any work of charity, an alms-deed, p. 157.

ALONE, B 142; where C, AL OON.

AL-ONELY, all one, only one, alone, B 210.

ALS, also, B 124, 597.

"Myȝt *and* als bewté."
Alliterative Poems, Morris, 23/765.

—, as, B 54, 64, 85, 178, 303, 442, 562.

ALS-SO, also, B 25.

ALS SOO, B 355.

ALS SWA, also, C 25, 173.

ALTAR. See AUTER, WYVEDE.

ALWAYE, B 507.

AMENDE, *v. a.* to amend, to mend, B 259, 283; roads or bridges, B.P. 65/13. See MENDE.

AMENDMENT, B 188.

AMYTE, the amice, *amictus* or *galea*, and in O.E. *heued-line* = head-linen (*O.E. Homilies*, II, 163), the linen cloth, first put on the head, and then on the shoulders around the neck, whence sometimes called *humerale*, p. 167.

AN. See AND.

AN, one, C 252.

AND, if, B 447; V 130/88, 131/114; p. 370/15.

"We use many times and in the stead of if."—Palsgrave, 872 *b*.

"Yhit suld him thynk, and he toke kepe,
His lyfe noght bot als a dreme in slepe."
P. C. 8075-6.

ANE (*used substantively*), one, a man, B 17, 424, 425. *Note*, p. 168.

— *numeral*, one, p. 275/3.

— *adj.* any, p. 274/28.

ANEHEDE, *s.* unity, p. 218.

ANES, *gen. sing.* one time, once, p. 118/5.

Cf. "Bot ȝe most come to ȝour curatures (*curates*) be the comen lawe
And schryve ȝoue sothely of ȝour synne at the lest onus a ȝere."
Audelay, p. 43.

ANOON, at (*one*) once, anon, P 126/21, 25.

"But herkneth me and stynteth buta lite,
Which a miracle bifel anoon."
C. T. 2676-7.

AN OÞER, one other (of the same kind), B 159.

ANOÞER, one of another kind, B 174.

ANOURMENT, *s.* ornament, B.P. 65/4, 71/20; [ornament, B.P. 76/13.]

ANSWERE, to answer, B 274.

APAYRE, APERE, *v. a.* to impair, O.F. *empeirer*, Lat. *impejorare*.

APECHING, *part. pres.* accusing, p. 241.

"I apeche, I accuse, *Jaccuse*."
Pals. 433.

APPEL, *s.* apple, V 141/488.

AR, 3 *pl.* B.P. 71/14. Cf. er, es. *See* ARE.

— *conj.* before, V 136/293. See ARE.

ARE, 2 *pl.* V 130/82.

— 3 *pl.* B 122.

— *adv.* just now, ere, of yore, p. 275/7. A.S. *ær*, Icel. *ár*, M.G. *air*.

"As I sayd are."—E. M. H. 77.

ARLY, early, C 303. See ARE.

ARTE, technical skill, B 12.

ARUN, 3 *pl.* are, E 290; where B are, C er, F ben.

ASCH, *v. a.* to ask, V 142/510 (rhymes with wasch).

"Kyndly þou asches."—M. A. 343.
"To worshyp me as I wylle asse."
Town. 58.

ASCHELER, Ashlar, stone worked square for the straight face of a wall, &c., V 138/364.

ASEURE, *v.* to assure, V 134/223.

ASKE, *v. a.* to ask, B 448.

ASSENT, *s.* B 542.

ASSOYLE, *v.* to absolve (of sin), to solve (a doubt), B 49.

"This is my drede, and ye, my bretheren twye
Assoileth me this questioun, I yow preye."—C. T. 9527-8.

ASTATE, *s.* estate, state of life, B 533.

"Men schulde wedde aftir here astaat."
C. T. 3229.

Cf. "All estates of men in thy holy church."—B. C. P.

AT, *sign of infinitive*, to, C 278*, p. 118/6. *Note*, p. 295.

"At midnight I ras to þe at shrive."
Ps. (119) cxviii, 62.

— *pron.* that, p. 371/18.

"To me be turnand dredand þe
And at knewe þi witnesses to se."
(*et qui noverunt testimonia tua*)
Ps. (119) cxviii, 79.

— *prep.* to, according to, *secundum*, V 132/137.

"We take our leave at lesse and more."
Sacrament, 966.

"this is nedeful at all that cristen liffes." Abp. Thoresby's Catechism, *f.* 296, *b.*
"And serued hym at all hys will."—*Met. Hom.* 71.
Cf. Icel. "*At landslögum*, by the law of the land."—C-V. 28, VI.

AT, *prep.* (of time) at, B 308, p. 118/6.

— *conj.* that, B.P. 66/11.
"bytwen þe payne of helle namly
And þe payne of purgatory
Es na difference bot at þe tane
Has ende, and þe tother has nane."
P. C. 2740-3.

— *conj.* when, "ut," V 138/377.
"þai come telle him þat ilk niȝt
atte þai sulde on þe morne fiȝt."
Holy Rood, Morris, 109/41-2.

AUE, the Ave Maria, or Hail, Mary, B 60, 82; C 56.

— *instead of* ane, B 425. *Note*, p. 183.

AUMBRY, *s. almariolum*, a cupboard, p. 165-6.

AUOKET, advocate, B.P. 66/11.

AUTER, altar, B 33, 264.

— corners of, apparently of north and south sides, p. 333 (6).

AUTERCLOTHE, B.P. 76/12. AWTER-CLATHE, B.P. 71/20. *Note*, p. 332.

AUTER-END, B 36. *Note*, p. 159.

AUTER-MYDDIS, B 302.

AUTER-NOKE, the horn of the altar, or end of the west side; and sometimes of the narrow (north and south) sides of the altar, p. 333 (6). See ENDE.

— NORTH, B 156.

— SOUTH, B 88, 579.

AUTER-STON, V 145/631.

AUTERE, L 149/41.

A-WAY, B 517, "do away."

AWBE, the *alba* or alb, a white linen vestment, used also of the close fitting vestment worn by the officiants at mass, of black or other colour according to the suit, p. 167.

AWE, *v. impers.* and *pers.*
"For we awe to trow."
P. C. 2510.

AWEN, *poss.* own, B 403; C 336. But B 565, OWNE.

AWGHEN, *poss.* own, C 222.

AWTER. See AUTER.

AWTER-CLATHE, B.P. 71/20.

AWTER KYSTE, A 24/*n*. See *Note*, p. 264.

AWTIER, altar, p. 168/2; p. 165/21. See AUTER.

AY, *adv.* aye, always, for ever, B 111, 296, 501.

— *for* a, one, the same, B 561*.

— *for* a, one (of number), C 101, where ay whil, *for* a (*ane*) whil, one while, sometimes; *but* ay whils = ever whilst. See *Note*, p. 228.

— = a, one (of kind), B 561.

— ever, B 296. See EUERE.

AYE, ever, B.P. 69/2.

AYTHER, either one of two.
"And noght anly of ayther by þam-self þan."—P. C. 5980.

— both of two (*uterque*), B 542, C 313. [E eyþur, F eythere.]
"Ayther worlde now waxes alde."
P. C. 1511.

AY-TO, ever until, until, B 481.

BALAD, O.F. *balade*, 1. a piece in verse divided into stanzas with the same refrain; 2. here used of the several stanzas which, as may be observed, p. 369, end with "here mas," &c. p. 370/19.

BALDLY, *adv.* boldly, confidently, V 131/119.

BALE, *s.* evil, woe. A.S. bealu, Icel. böl, B 170*, 141/489; V 131/35, 139/418.
"I mac unhale men al hale
And def men I bete of bale."
E. M. H. (Small), 35.

BALEFUL, *adj.* evil, B 404.

BANDES, *s.* bonds, B 404. Cf. BONDES, B 477.

BANES, bones, B.P. 72/23.

BASON, to receive the offerings, p. 236.

"bacyns pur l'autier d'argent susorrez."—Will of Edmund, Earl of March, 1380; Nichol, *Royal Wills*, 106.

Cf. "decent basen to be provided by the parish."—B. C. P.

BE, *prep.* by, B 528, 573; C 76, 339; V 138/358; H.C. 65/15; p. 337/28; 370/9; p. 371/28. Cf. our "be(*by*)-cause."

"If he be not promoted be thos forsaid parochinars."—*Wills and Inventories*, S. S. I, 118.

"Offrande of lof godes, and righte
Sal worschip me, be day and night."
Ps. (50) xlix, 23.

— *imper.* be, B 182, 256; V 131/130.

— *subj.* be, B 6, 529, 605; C 330.

BE-COME, *perf.* became, B 216.

BEDE, prayer, F 8; V 130/64.

"þanne he hauede his bede seyd."
Havel. 1385.

BEDES, beads on which repeated bedes (or *prayers*) were told, p. 203(2).

BEDLEM, Bethlehem, C 109.

BEETE, V 141/489. See BETE.

BEHALDE, *v. a.* to behold, B 406; C 226.

BEHOUES, *imper.* B 521.

BELIUE, BELYUE, quickly, forthwith, H.C. 84/29; B 49.

"Bylyue," "ad tost" (aussi-tôt).—H. S. 8857.

Cf. our "Look alive!" = Look sharp!

BELLE, B 401; V 144/571; L 149/47. See CROS-BELLE, LITEL BELL.

BEN, *pp.* been, B 231, p. 121/10; 1 *pl.* P 126/30; 3 *pl.* F 116.

— *inf.* to be, P 126/26.

BENEDICAMUS, said at the end of mass, B 605, p. 117.

BEO, be, B 131/129. See BE.

BESY, diligent, P 123/23.

BESYNES, BESYNESSE, diligence, P 122/29; p. 253. See BUSYNES.

BETAKE, to commit, commend, p. 396/8.

"Yn-to þy kcepyng y here (*her*) betake."
Bonaventura's *Meditations* (Ed. Cowper), 695.

"Here biteche I þe mine children alle þre."—*Havelok*, 384.

See SESE, TAK.

BETE, *v. a.* to better, to amend, to make amends for, to expiate, B 170. A.S. bétan, *amelior.*

BETHLEM, Bethlehem, B 247.

BI, *prep.* by, B 85, 108 [C be]. *Note*, p. 198.

BI, *imper.* be, B 181; but "be," B 182, and C 99.

BIDDIS, 3 *pers. of* BID, to ask, pray, command, 303.

"Byddyn, Mando . . . Oro."—P. P. 35. Cf. the phrase "bid the bedes."

BI-DENE, BY-DENE, thereby (of time or place), at (*by*) once, together, besides, B 104. See *Note*, p. 194; p. 173; p. 237.

BIDS, 2 *sing.* B 448. See BIDDIS.

BIG, to build, B.P. 65/2.

BIGYNNE, *v. a.* and *n.* B 41.

BIHOLDE, *v. a.* B 417. See BEHALDE.

BILLE, a formal document, a letter, V 144/580.

Cf. A.V. "take thy bill." St Luke, xvi, 6.

"And whan sche of this bille hath taken heede,
Sche rent it al to cloutes atte laste."
C. T. 9826-7.

BINETHE, beneath, B 57.

BIRD, *impers.* ? *pret.* of bos (*or present*). Cf. Icel. ber, *oportet*, C-V. 60; bera, C. III; p. 331(1).

"we ne standenn nohht
Swa summ uss birrde standenn."
Orm. 11469-70.

"Thus was Crist offered for our hele,
Forthi bird us be til him lele,
Of us self bird us offerand mak."
E. M. H., 158.

BISET, *part.* bestowed, V 142/516.

"I in fewe yeeres
Haue spendid upon many diuers freres
Ful many a pound, yet fare I never the bet,
Certeyn my good have I almost byset."
C. T. 7531-4.

BISYDE, beside, besides, B 54, 195.

BISYLY, *adv.* diligently, earnestly, "*soigneusement*," B 124*, p. 197. See BUSYNES.

BLAK, *used substantively*, black, of the prayers, B 282.

BLAK LETTER, written in black and contrasted with rubric, B 440.

BLAME, *v.* to blame, B 73.

BLESSE, *v. a.* to bless, to praise, to confer a blessing on, B 124, "*benedicamus.*"

— *v. refl.* to bless, pray a blessing for oneself, to sign with sign of the cross. B 618; L 149/35. *Note*, p. 311.

"fingres .... *þat* tu þe mide blescest ant makest þe marke of þe deore rode." —*Seinte Marherete*, 13.

"Lifte up thyn handes and with thy fingres blysse."—*Lydgate*, M. P. 45.

"Then blysse you and go to bed."—*Myroure*, 169.

BLESSID, *pp.* blessed, B 429; where C, blessed.

BLESSYNG, *s.* blessing, signing with sign of the cross, B 619; where C, the northern *blissinge*.

BLIS, BLISSE, *s.* bliss, glory, B 323; V 146/636.

"Som sal noght deme, bot demed be
Til blis, als men of grete charite."
P. C. 6049-50.

"And yates of ai up-hafen be yhe
And king of blisse in-come sal he."
Ps. (24), xxiii, 7.

"And þair blisse turned þai ('*et mutaverunt gloriam suam*')
In likness of a kalfe etand hai"
Ps. (106) cv, 20.

"Our perfect consummation and bliss."—B. C. P. *Burial Service.*

BLISSYNGE, C 366. See BLESSYNG.

BLODE, *s.* blood, B 236, 409; C 167; F. 145.

— used of persons of high qualities, or high breeding, L 153/166.

"Gaf he Sara, ðat faire blod."
G. and E. 1192.

"And stande lyke lusty bloudes
Adventuring lyfe and goodes."
Upcheering of the Mass, 1547.
Mr Huths' Reprints.

"These were 17 giants bold of blood."
Percy Folio, I, 97/181.

BLYNNE, *v. a.* & *n.* to cease from leave off, stop, V 144/586.

"ȝyf þy wraþþe þou wilt not blynne," glossed "leue."—H. S. 119/3738.

"ȝyf þou wylt of oþys blynne
þan wyl y pray for þy synne."
H. S. 25/747-8.

"Blinne fra wreth" (*desine ab ira*).
Ps. (37) xxxvi, 8.

BLYNT, *adj.* blind, V 131/110.

BLYSSE, to bless, C 365. See BLESSE.

BODILE, *adv.* of corporal reception of the sacrament of the altar, V 145/630.

BODY, B 303, 539.

BOGHT, redeemed (of Christ), B 184, 348.

BOKE, BOKES, *s.* book, B 3, 155, 202; C 17.

— a formal document, p. 338. See BUKE.

BONDES, bonds, bands, B 477. See "band."

BONE, petition, boon, V 130/64, 132/143; L 149/29, 150/92.

"Listes þe bon þat scho him bad."
C. M. 20590.

BORD, a table, a feast, V 146/639.

BORDE, GODDES, God's board, the Lord's table, 121/18, 233/20, 382/3. *Note*, p. 358.

BORNE, born (of birth), B 247.

BOS, *impers.* it behoves, B 174.

"For allgate buse me."—E. M. H. 80.

"Me bos telle."
Allit. Poems, Morris, 56/687.

"To do þi will I am redy
But þe bus teche me þe way."
Morris, *Holy Rood*, 65/127.

See *Note*, p. 216. See BIRD.

BOSTE, noise, boast, arrogance, strife, L 153/177.

"þan is þere chydyng and boste
þere is nat þe holy goste."
H. S. 62/1900-1.

BOT, *conj.* except, B 9.

— unless, without, B 201, 448.

"And but freres ben first y-set · at sopers & at festes,
þei wiln ben wonderly wroþ · ywis, as y trowe."
Ploughmans Crede, 21/554-5.

"What so ȝe doo, if ȝe gyfe all þat ȝe hafe un-to þe nedy, bot ȝe lufe þe name of Ihesu, ȝe trauelle in vayne."—Hampole, *English Prose*, Perry, 4.

BOT, but, B 171, 174, 202.

BOTHE, *numeral*, both, B 35, 284.

— *conj.* both, B 236.

BOUNE, ready, prepared, F 9. See BUN. See *Notes*, p. 161, 341.

"I am boune" (*paratus sum*).
Ps. (119) cxviii, 60.

BOW, *v. a.* to bow, B 585.

BOWNE, *adj.* p. 369/7. See BOUNE.

BRED, bread, B 500. See "housel."

BREDE, HOUSEL-, the consecrated bread ministered at Communion, B 597. See *Note*, p. 308.

BREDER, brethren in a religious corporation, brothers of natural relation, B.P. 66/13. See also BRETHER.

BREST, breast, B 268.

BRETHER, B.P. 66/28. See BREDER.

BREÞER (*the northern plural*), B 468; but later, C 257, brother; E, brodur.

BRIGGES, bridges, B.P. 65/12.

BRIGHT, *adj.* of B. V. M., B 66.

"Moder, quod sche, and mayde bright, Marie."—C. T. 5261.

BRING, *v. a.* B 397.

BROÞERE, *sing.* B 565. See BREÞER.

BRUKEN, *v. a.* to use, to partake of, p. 359/2; where of receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. See USE.

BUKE, book, C 20 (but "Boke," C 17); B.P. 71/19.

BUN, *pp.* bound, ready, B.P. 70/7, —71/28. See *Note*, p. 341; cf. BOUNE.

John Percy, of Scarborough, in 1500, provides an obit

"for my saule and all my kyne saulez and goode doers, and in general for all these saulez for whom by any titell or reason I am bon to pray fore."—*Test. Ebor.* III, 184.

"The soules that we ben bound to pray for."—Hearne, *Robert of Gloucester*, p. 625.

"For all yes and oyer (*oþer*) yt we are bonded to pray for."—*Ib.* p. 682.

"Man! beþinke þee what / þou art
From whens þou come, and whider þou art boun."
Poems, Furnivall, 167/110-11.

BURYELLES, *s. pl.* burial rites, burial, p. 121/12.

BUSYNES, *s.* diligence, of earnest, serious purpose. Cf. A. V., Rom. xii, 11, "not slothful in business." (*τῇ σπουδῇ*, Vulg. *sollicitudine.*) H.C. 86/77. See BISYLY, and *Note*, p. 197.

— the matter about which men are diligent.

BUT, unless, V 135/268. *Note*, p. 376.

"Hym byhoves knaw himself with inne."
P. C. 147.

BUT IF, unless, p. 121/12. See BOT.

"Forrþi þatt nohht ne meȝȝ ben don
Allmahhtiȝ Godd tocwenne
But iff itt be wiþþ witt *annd* skil
Annd luffsummlike forþed."
Orm. 1660-3.

BY, B 493. See ÞERBY; see BE.

BYFALLE, *v. i.* to happen, fall out, B 590.

BY-FORNE, *prep.* before, B 248.

"For þat I herd me bi-forne
Micel snibbing þam amange."
Ps. (31) xxx, 14.

BYHOUES, *impers.* it behoves.

BYLYVE. See BELYVE.

BY-TWIX, betwixt, B 539.

CAN, *v. a.* to know by heart, p. 222. See CON.

— to know, absolutely, L 148/7.

"Swylk men had nede to lere
Of other men þat can mare þan þay."
P. C. 155-6.

— of knowledge of a particular subject, C 83; F 64. See *Note*, p. 293.

— to can, to be able, V 141/475.

CANDEL, *s.* wax light on the altar, p. 173.

CARE, sorrow, distress, B 478; L 153/162.

"Care, thought—*chagrin.*"—Pals. 202.

"Careful herte him ouȝhte come
þat þencheþ vpon þe dredful dome."
C. L. 453-4.
"God sente on him sekenesse and care."
G. and E. 775.
"Elles suld þe hert, thurgh sorow and care
Over-tyte fayle, warn some hope ware."
P. C. 7263-4.
"Kare com to his hert."
W. of P. 743.

Cf. "Be careful for nothing."—Phil. iv, 6.

CATEL, CATELL, *s.* property, chattels, V 142/519. O.F. *catel.*

"Catell in cofers."—*Ploughm. Crede*, 11/183.

"Wel can Senek and many philosopher
Bywaylen time, more than gold in cofre.
For loss of catel may recovered be
But loss of tyme schendeth us, quod he."—C. T. 4445-8.

— cattle, B.P. 79/1.

CAYFACE, Caiphas, L 148/22.

CERTENLY, without question, B 522.

CESE, *v. i.* to cease from, B 508, 548. See SESE.

CHALES, CHALYCE, CHALICE, *s.* the chalice, B 399; B.P. 65/3, 71/19, 76/12.

CHANOUN, canon, V 132/141.

CHARGE, *s.* primarily load of a carriage (Fr. *charge*, Ital. *carica*, L.L. *carricare*, from *carrus*), care or cure (of souls) undertaken, B.P. 74/7, where "cure" is used as an alternative; trust conferred, B.P. 74/9.

"That have charche of ȝoure soule in here kepyng."—Audelay, p. 43.

Cf. Moses "laid his hands upon" Joshua "and gave him a charge."—Num. xxvii, 25.

"Set the priests in their charges."—2 Chron. xxx, 2.

CHARITE, CHARYTE, B 333, 511, 513, 519.

CHAST, chaste, B 215.

CHASTISE, *v. a.* to correct, restrain, set right. O.F. *chastier*, Lat. *castigo.* V 138/369.

CHAUNCE, *s.* that which falls out unforseen, B 594.

"Be nat sorowful to do penaunce
Y am with þe yn euery chaunce."
H. S. 5367-8.

O.F. *cheance*, from *cheoir*, Lat. *cadere.* [Cf. Germ. Fall, Zufall, from *fallen* and accident, in the sense of casualty, also from *cado.*]

CHAUNGE, *v. a.* to change, B 427.

"Vche day chawnge þyn ost."
Myrc, 60/1948.

CHERE, face, countenance; and so of the welcome to a petitioner or guest expressed by it. O.F. *chère*, L.L. *cara*, Gr. κάρα, caput, V 133/185.

"God haue merci on us and blesse us: liȝtne he his chere on and haue mercy on us." Ps. (67) lxviii, 1. Mask. M.R. II, 17.

"His port, his chiere, and his figure
Bien ever present in my sighte."
Lydgate, *M.P.*, 221.

Cf. Italian proverb: "La vivanda vera E l'animo e la cera."—*Vocab. della Crusca*, s. *Vivanda.*

CHESE, *v. a.* to choose, B 190.

"For to chesenn himm an folk
Off all mannkinn."
Orm. 11234-5.
"And þare-with he gaf hym a fre wille
For to chese, and for to halde
Gude or ille, wether he walde."
P. C. 78—80.

CHESEPULL, chasuble, E 36. *Note*, p. 185.

CHESIBLE, chasuble, p. 167, 168.

Wyclif, Ex. xxv, 7, has *chesiple*, where Vulg. and A.V. "ephod."

"Chesypylle, chesible, *casula.*"
P.P. 73.
"Chesabyl.e, *casula*, *infula.*, *planeta.*"
Cath. Angl., *ib.*

CHEWE, *v.* to eschew, L 153/183.

CHILDE, *sing.* child, B 216; *pl.* CHILDER (*the northern form*), B 370; B.P. 69/7; B.P. 71/29.

"þe wande, he ('*Salamon*') says, of disciplyne smert
Sal chace foly out of þe childes hert.
þerfor maysters som tym uses þe wand
þat has childer to lere undir þair hand."
P. C. 5878-82.

CHIRCHE, church, *kirke* of earlier forms, B.P. 75/9, 20, 26. See *Note*, p. 344.

CHOLLE, jowl, V 137/318.

CHOPPE, *v. a.* to strike, hit, *also* to chop, V 137/18

CHYLDE, *v. n.* to give birth to a child, p. 368/23.

CLANNESSE, V 135/251. See CLENNES.

CLENE, clean, pure chaste, B 94, 100, 103.

"And of chastite of virgyns clene
Þat chast and haly av has bene."
P. C. 3828-9.

CLENLY, *adv.* sinlessly, B 383.

CLENNES, *s.* purity of life, B 15; C 15.

CLERE, *adj.* clear, of heart and conscience, B 94, 557.

CLERK, *s.* scholars, learned men, B 7, 173; V 140/435. *Note*, p. 157.

"He was a bysshope and ful gode clerk
Þat shewe hys bokys of hys werk."
H. S. 8823-4.

"Euesque esteit et ben lettre,
Ce unt ces liures ben proue."
M. P. 6757-8.

"Bathe klerk and laued man."
"lered and laued bathe."
E. M. H. 4.

— of the minister or server to the priest in the mass, B 578.

— *pl.* the *clerici* or song-men, B 45. *Note*, p. 181.

CLERKES, in contradistinction to priests, B 362, 611; B.P. 64/10, 69/3, 75/26.

CLOTHE, garment, vestment, chasuble, B 36. *Note*, p. 177-8.

"clath." "On bak ne bed."
C. M., Cotton, 6799—6801.

"Hiss claþ wass off ollfentess hær."
Orm. 3208.

CLOUT, *s.* a blow, V 137/321.

COME, *v.*, B 302.

COMEPELYN, *s.* compline, the last of the canonical day hours, H.C. 86/68.

COMLY, *adj.* (*from* come) comely, convenient, becoming, as applied to act, or circumstance, or person, B 132. *Note*, p. 198. Cf. Fr. *convenant, convenable.*

CON, *v. a.* to know by heart, B 491.

— to get off by heart, B 265; *perf.* COUÞE, V. 140/451. See CAN. *Note*, p. 312.

— to be able, B 442, 531. See "may."

— *auxil.* B 339. See *Note*, p. 293.

— (= gone, C 4), B 4. See GONE.

"How þe Maudalan sore cone grete."
C.M. 189.

CONFORTED, *pp.* comforted, p. 367.

CONFORTH, *v. a.* to strengthen, comfort, B.P. 65/20.

"And gret comforth and solace it es to me."—P. C. 8877.

"Bot ogayne þat dred yhit might he
Thurgh hope of hert conforted be."
P. C. 1642-3.

CONSAYUED, *pp.* conceived, B 340.

CONTRE, a country, B 252.

CORAGE, heart, spirit, not merely of bravery in actual combat or bodily danger.

"He hathe no corage of a man truly
That seechith pleasaunce worshippe to despise."—*Poems*, Furnivall, 64/381.

CORNER, of altar. See AUTER.

COSTE, coast, border, frontier, not necessarily the sea-board; also of a country, L 153/176.

"This bethe the wordes of cristeninge
Bi thyse Englissche costes."
W. de Shoreham, P. S. p. 10.

COSTERS, curtains hung at the north and south sides of altar; from Fr. *coste* (côte), Lat. *costa;* side, p. 174.

"Cortinæ a lateribus altaris utrinque appendantur."—*Statuta Synodalia Eccles. Leodiensis* (A.D. 1287), xi. Martene & Durand, *Nov. Thes.* iv, 838.

"ii cortinæ pro lateribus altaris."
Inventory, Bp Hatfield, A.D. 1381.—*Wills & Invent.*, S.S. I, 37.

COUÞE, *pret.* of CON, to ken, V 140/451, 141/474.

— to can, be able, V 141/475. *Note*, p. 293.

CRAFT, CRAFTE, *s.* power, intellectual ability, skill, art, handicraft, B 371; C 12. *Note*, p. 161.

CRAUE, *v. a.* to crave, to ask, B 447, 512. A.S. *crafian*, Icel. *krefja*.

CREDE, creed, B 61, 197, 204, 423; V 140/451.

CRISTEN, *adj.* Christian, B 112, 456.

— *v. a.* to baptize, C 80.

— to convert to Christianity, bring within christendom, L 152/151.

CRISTENDAM, the profession of a Christian as undertaken in baptism; baptism, V 128/7; p. 330/19.

CRISTENDOM, baptism, B.P. 65/19, 71/31; p. 330/13.

"þe crystendome at hym he toke."
H. S. 7878.

"le gyu (*Jew*) deuient chrestien."
M. P. 6178.

"þe sacrament of cristendom."
Wyclif, *Works*, III, 285.

CRISTYNDOME, christendom, the aggregate of Christian nations, L 152/153.

CRISTYNMEN, Christian men, B.P. 74/10.

CROS, *s.* the Cross on Calvary, B 219.

— Sacrifice of the cross, H.C. 82/20.
Cf. "By thy Cross and Passion."
B.C.P.

— the sign of the cross, B 196.

CROS-BELLE, rung at the elevation of the host, L 150/69.

CROSE, *s.* cross, B.P. 68/12.

— *v. a.* to sign with the cross, p. 385/6.

CUMBRE, *v. a.* to overwhelm, V 139/412.

"And his sergant that cumbered was
Wit parlesi (*palsy*), al had he rase."
E. M. H. 129.

CUN, *v. a.* C 370. See CON.

CURE, pastoral charge, B.P. 68/22, 74/8, 75/20.

CURET, CURATE, *s.* clerk having pastoral care, whether rector, vicar, or stipendiary, B.P. 68/24; p. 121/14.
Cf. "Bishops and curates."
B. C. P.

CURTEYSE, courteous (of God), P 127/8.

"And God is curteys, and wul wele
Forȝyue þe þy trespas euery dele."
H. S. 7334-5.

"Curteis Crist."—*Plow. Crede*, 6/140.

— — (to God), 163/10.

DALTE, *pf.* of deal, to divide, distribute, V 130/74.

DAM, a title of respect, B 18; Dane, E 18. *Note*, p. 169.

DAY, B 207, 224; V 131/116.

DEBONERLY, *adv.*, Fr. *Débonnaire, de bon aire*, kindly (of superiors), mekely (of inferiors), P 126/15.

"To tellen to debonere men he sent me" (ad annunciandum mansuetis misit me).—Wyclif, Isaiah, lxi, 1.

DED, *adj.* dead, B 231.

DED, *s.* death, H.C. 84/28; p. 299/24.

"Ded es þe mast dred thing þat es."
P. C. 1666.

DEDE, *s.* death, F 214; V 129/58, p. 169; p. 350/16.

DEDE, *adj.* dead, B 455.

DEDE, *s.* action, deed, B 97*, 534*, 591. See DEYD.

DEED, *adj.* dead, B 219.

DEEDE, *s.* death, C 238. See DED, DEDE.

DEGRE, rank, station, B 332, 533.

DEKEN, deacon, B 153.

DEKNE, deacon, V 136/300.

DELE, *s.* part, portion, B 304*, 526*.

DELE, to deal with, V 135/274.

DELITE, *s.* delight, B 71.

DEME, *v. a.* to judge, B 229, 411; V 146/635.

DEORLICHE, dearly, V 135/254.

DERE, *adj.* dear, beloved, B 166, 468.

— *adj.* dear, of high price, costly, B 184, 348.

DERLY, *adv.* dearly, with feeling, with devotion, B 464.

"derely hym þonkeȝ."—*Sir Gaw.*, 1031.
"siþen hor diner watȝ dyȝt & derely serued."—*Ib.* 1559.

DESERIT, *pp.* dispossessed, deprived of property in possession or inheritance in expectation. *Note*, p. 278.—B 379. See DISHERITE.

DESESE, *v. a.* to disquiet, vex, trouble, E 376. *Note*, p. 279. See DYSEASE.

DETTE, IN, in duty bound, V 142/515.

— in debt, of unfulfilled spiritual requirements, B.P. 65/22, 70/8, 76/26. *Note*, p. 338, 401.

DEUOCION, DEUOCIOUN, DEUOCIOUNE, devotion, B 285, 329, 453.

DEUOCYON, C 14.

DEUOUTE, *adj.* devout, B 19.

DEYD, deed, H.C. 84/23 (*of good deed*); 24 (*of evil deeds*).

DIGHT, *pt.* made ready, arrayed, B 33.

"Abraham . . . diȝt his asse."
Wycliff, Gen. xxii, 3.
"Nothing diȝt with sour douȝ."
Ex. xii, 19.
"What kyn paynes in helle er dight."
P. C. 6432.

DISHERITE, *v. a.* to dispossess, p. 340.

DISHERYD, *pp.* C 199. See *Note*, p. 278. See DESERIT.

DIȝE, to die, V 130/72.

DO, *v. a.* B 24, 444.

— to offer, p. 357.

— *pp.* done, transacted, B 591. See DON.

— ON, to put on, don, F 12.

— OPON, to put on, B 38.

— OUT, to excommunicate, p. 118/8.

DOLE, portion, deal, V 133/170.

DON, DONE, *pp.* done, B 443.

— ended, B 194, 195, 606.

"Til al the noyse of the pepul was i-doo."
C. T. 2536.

DON, put to death, B 219, 408; B.P. 75/12; B 408.

"þou was ordained to be done to deed."
Nassynton, 232.

DOS, DOSE, 3 *plural*, do, B 16, 46; C 16; E 16.

— 3 *pl.* B.P. 69/31.

DOUN, *adv.* down, B 281, 585.

DOUTE, *s.* doubt, fear, B 546, C 317.

DRAW, *v. a.* to render, translate, B 32. Also of original composition.

"In other Inglis was it drawin,
And turnid Ic haue it til ur awin
Language of the Northin lede,
That can na nother Inglis rede."
E. M. H. p. xxii.

DREDE, fear, dread, doubt, B 422.

"Redeth Senek, and redith eke Boece
Ther shuln ye se expresse, that no drede is,
That he is gentil that doth gentil deedes."—C. T. 6750-2.

— *v. a.* of godly fear, p. 248/31.

DREDFULLE, *adj.* respectful, feeling dread or respect, L 149/58.

[Love] "makeþ þe herte milde and dreduol."—*Ayenb.*, 144.

The later use is rather of inspiring dread, or worthy of respect, in which sense it was also used, p. 393/27.

"Dredefulle. *timidus, pavidus.* Dredefulle and vggly. *Terribilis, horribilis.*"—P. P. 131.

"a best / þet com out of the ze . . . to moche dreduol."—*Ayenb.*, 14.

DREDFULLY, respectfully, "as to a kyng," L 150/76. Cf. "Most dread sovereign,"—Dedication, A. V.; and the use of φόβερος in Greek liturgies. "Most dread liege."—Shak. *Henry VIII*, v, 1. The notary in the Latin attestation of the French will of Edward the Black Prince, A.D. 1376, styles him "*princeps metuendus*" (Nichol, *Royal Wills*, 76); and *Metuendæ majestatis* is very common.

DRES, DRESS, *v. a.* to dress, straighten, set in order, direct, C 243; F 221; p. 371/27. *Note*, p. 290.

DRYUE, *pp.* driven, H.C. 84/28.
"þat neȝh is driue to þe deþ."
W. of P. 39/978.

DUNT, *s.* dint, blow, V 138/353.
"deaðes dunt," a death blow.—A. R. 274, 366.
"And with hamers gyf swa gret dyntes þat alle to powdre moght stryke hard flyntes."—P. C. 7017-8.

DURST, *perfect of* DARE, B 447.

DYED, *perfect of* DIE, B 349.

DYSEASE, *s.* and *v.* of perplexity of mind or vexation of spirit; *malaise*, E 376; p. 277. *Note*, p. 279.
"that ben in all disease."
(*qui in omni pressura sunt.*)
Wycl., II Cor. i, 5.

EFTER, *prep.* after, B.P. 69/12.

EFT-SONE, EFT SONE, *adv.* soon after, again, forthwith, B 506; F 253; p. 220.
"Bote a man, ore louerd seide,
Eft sone i bore beo,
He ne mai neuere for no þing
þe blisse of heouene seo."
Leben Jesu, 289-90.
"Alas! he seyd, what have y wroghte þat y shulde euere hym (*God*) forsake þat ys so redy me eft to take."
H. S. 252-4.

EKE, *v. a.* to add, to increase, B 60; E 192.
"And eke over al þi loof sal I."
"*Et adjiciam super omnem laudem tuam.*"
Ps. (71) lxx, 14.
"Eke mote Laverd over yhou."
Adjiciat Dominus super vos.
Ps. (115) cxiii, 14.
"to eke þair paynes."—P. C. 6817.

— *conj.*, p. 370/7; also, *insuper*, "also, *aussi*."—Pals. 877. Cf. Germ. *auch*.

ELD, ELDE, *s.* age, 118/4; p. 275/2.

ELDE, *v. i.* to age, grow older, V 131/107.

ELDIRS, *gen. pl.* forelders, ancestors, B.P. 66/29.

ELLIS, *adv.* otherwise, B 7, 87, 201.

ELS, *adv.* else, C 7.

ENCENTYNGE, inciting, excitement, P 125/35.

ENCHESON, ENCHESOUN, *s.* cause, occasion, motive, purpose, P 123/18, p. 279. O.F. *achoison*, Lat. *occasio*.

ENDAUNT, *v. a.* to charm, bewitch, tame, V 140/445. O.F. *dompter*. "*To dawnte*, blanditractare."—*Cath. Anglic.* P.P. 115, where Mr. Way quotes the reference in *Piers Plowman* to the dove which Mahomet had trained to come to his ear for food:
"Thorugh his sotile wiltes
He daunted a dowve."
Ed. Skeat, B. xv. 392.

ENDE, AUTER-, the north or south end of west side of altar, B 36. *Note*, p. 179.

— LEFT, at which the gospel is read, p. 179.

— *s.* end, B 240.

— *v. a.* to end, B 623.

ENDLES, *adj.* eternal, endless, B 211.

ENDYNG, *s.* hour of death, H.C. 84/25.
"bai sal finnde at his last endyng."
P. C. 2228.

ENGLISHE, B 32, 199, 495.

ENGLYS, E 199.

ENGLYSHE, B 204.

ENSAMPILL, ENSAUMPLE, example, C 23; L 150/80.

— also in sense of advice, *Piers Plowman*, Skeat, A, x, 106-7.

ENSENSE, *s.* incense, B 249.

ENTENT, intention of worshipper, B 15, 416; L 153/169.

— intention of priest, B 100. *Note*, p. 193.

— diligence, purpose, endeavour, B 543; C 21; F 3. See TENT.

ENTENTLY, *adv.* diligently, "*diligenter*," 125/24.

EORÞE, earth, V 146/651.

ER, *conj.* ere, before that, V 130/75. See ARE.

— 1 *pl.* are, H.C. 84/26.

— 3 *pl.* are, C 141, 202; p. 118/7.
"Tylle heven, whare alkyn ioyes er."
P. C. 7981.

ERE, 3 *pl.* are, B 588; H.C. 84/28.

EREN, *pl.* ears, B 585.

ERKE, *adj.* weary, 375/30.
"to calle to god for grace looke *thu* neuer be irke."—*Sacrament*, 917.

ERLY, *adj.* early, B 532. See ARE.

ERT, ERTE, 2 *sing.* art, C 171; F 26.

ERTHE, earth, B 121, 207, 392.

ERTHLY, *adj.* earthly, B 161.

ES, 3 *pl.* are, B.P. 66/30; H.C. 82/8.

— 3 *sing.* is, B 235, 413.

-ES, *pl. of nouns*, B 7, 369, 454, 455, 456, 554.

-ES, 2 *pers. sing.* B 139, 245, 271, 303, 413. See -IS.

ESCHEWE, *v. a.* to eschew, shun, B 535 [enchewe, F 282].

ESSE, 3 *sing.* is, B 462.

ETCHEWE, B 358. See ESCHEWE.

EUEN, evenly, impartially, indifferently, B 411. *Note*, p. 284.

EUENE, *s.* smooth surface, V 138/364.

EUENKYN, *adj.* of like kind, H.C. 72/22. Cf. "Even-cristen," fellow Christians.

EUERE, ever, C 142; for *ay* of B and F.

EUERILK, EUERILKE, every, each and all, B 526; C 297.

EXILDE, *pp.* exiled, B 379.

EYINE, *s. pl.* eyes, L 151/110. Cf. Eyne, *Myroure*, 249; Eghen. P.C. 575.

FADER, father, *acc.* B 205; *gen.* B 227, 468; B 468.

FADIR, *gen.* B 134, 139.

FADRE, *s.* father, B 68, 145.

FALL, *v. n.* to fall, L 149/82.
"Suffre al þat fallip to him."
Wyclif, I, 346.

FALLYTHE, *impers.* L 149/50. 150/83.
"Him falles serve himself that has na swayn."—C. T. 4025.
"Fallyn or happyn. *Accidit, evenit.*" P.P. 148.

FANELLE, *s.* the maniple, p. 168.

FARE, *adj.* fair, B.P. 68/8.

FARE, *v. i.* to fare, go, journey, B 441.

FAST, *adv. of place*, close, B 241.

—, FASTE, *adv. of time*, soon, B 310; C 56; L 150/65.

— *adj.* quick, rapid, V 137/311.

FAY, *s.* faith, V 131/117.
"For they nolde not forsake here trw fay
An byleve on hys falsse lay."
Masonry, 520-1.

FAYN, FAYNE, *adv.* fain, V 133/183; L 153/164. See "fyne."

FAYS, *pl.* foes, H.C. 84/52.
"And hethen men fra synne ras
That before was Criste faase."
E. M. H. 77.

FEL, *adj.* stern, fierce, E 223; V 136/287. *Note*, p. 233.
In a good sense.
"That the mayster be both wyse and felle."
Masonry, Halliwell, 194; *ib.* 785.

FELAWES, fellows, companions, C 326.

FELE, many, V 128/9, 146/658.

FELICHYP, *s.* fellowship, company, B.P. 68/8.

FELLE, *s.* skin, B 223; V 135/269. *Note*, p. 223.

FELOUSE, *s.* fellows, equals, B 555. See FELAWES.

FENDE, *s.* fiend, the devil, L 154/198.

FER, *adv.* far, B 556.

FERDNES, *s.* fear, B 447.
"Thurg thretynges þat þai sal mak
And thurg þe ferdnes þat he sal tak."
P. C. 2230-1.

FERE, *s.* companionship. A.S. *fera*, *gefera*, one journeying (*faring*) with another, a companion, p. 181. See F 236, and *Note*, p. 292.
"Of o dysshe þey etyn yn fere."
Meditations on the Supper, 3/68.
"And whan assembled was this folk in fere."—C. T. 4747.
See FARE.

FESTIS, holy days, B 115. O.F. *festes*.

FETE, *s.* feet, B 84, 577.

FIFT, fifth, B 11.

FLEMED, *pp.*; FLEME, *v. a.* to banish, V 146/636. A.S. Fleon, *v. n.* to flee. Flyman, *fugare*, to make to flee.

FLESSHE, *s.* flesh, B 223, 236, 239.

FLETTE, *s.* floor, p. 162.

"Clived mi saule to þe flet."
Adhæsit pavimento, Ps. (119) cxviii, 25.

FLYTTE, *v. a.* to remove (of priest or clerk removing book on altar), B 155, 579; also as *v. n.* of changing abode, or the shorter flights of a bird.

FOLK, *s.* the people or congregation, "*populus*" of old rubrics, B 43.

— *s.* the people, distinguished from rulers, B 367.

FOLKE, *s.* all Christian people, B.P. 65/24.

FOLOUSE, 3 *sing.* follows, B 199.

FOLY, *s.* foolishness, sin, uncleanness, B 384. See *Note*, p. 278.

"folye,
As ryot, nasard, stywes, and taverns."
C. T. 13880.

FOLYS, *s. plur.* fools, L. 153/167.

FONDYNGE, *s.* temptation, V 139/411. See FOUNDYNGE.

FOR, *conj.* B 7; P 126/12.

— *prep.* notwithstanding, B 12.

— for the sake of, B 79, 91.

— in behalf of, B 49.

FOR-DO, *v. a.* to do away with, to forgive, destroy, B 257*. Cf. "to do for." "fordon" occurs in the Egerton MS. of the E. E. Psalter for "*confundantur*," Ps. (35) xxxiv, 4, where the Cottonian MS. reads "schent." *Note*, p. 251.

FORGETE, *v. a.* forget, B 194, 272.

FORGYFNES, FORGIUENES, FORGYFNESSE, forgiveness, B 81 110, 237.

FORLORNE, *pp.* utterly lost (of final perdition), C 240; H.C. 82/17.

FORME, *adj.* First of time and quality (*positive of* former, foremost), p. 384.

"Hit arn fettled in on forme, þe forme & þe leste."—A.P., 90/38.
"our forme fader Adam."—P.C., 483.

FORNE. See BY-FORNE.

FORSOKE, *pf.* refused, B 250. *Note*, p. 249.

FORTHE, forth, B 581.

FORTHE-AFTER, B 202.

FORÞI, for that, therefore, B 273, 334, 416.

FOR-TO, with purpose, B 218, 280.

Cf. "For this cause I raised thee up for to shew in thee my power."—Ex. ix, 15.
"For to do."—Acts iv, 28.

FORÞECTES, *part. used substantively*, rejected, abject, F 302. *Note*, p. 300.

FOUL, *s.* filth, V 138/362. A.S. *Fúl*.

FOUNDYNGE, *s.* temptation, B 504.

FRA, *prep.* from, 69/25.

FRAM, *prep.* from, F 20.

FRE, *adj.* noble, generous, frank, B 134. *Note*, p. 198.

— free, V 142/496.

FREMDE, not of kin, B 108.

FRENDES, friends, B 455, 555.

FRENDIS, B 559.

FRERE, friar, member of a begging order, V 132/141; p. 339.

"I speke of us, we mendeaunts, we freres."
C. T. 7494.

FRO, from, B 96, 505.

FROW, *adj.* light, loose (in conduct), p. 374/9.

"fals and mereuh and frouh" (of worldly love).—O.E.M. 94/44.

FROYTS, fruits, B 392. C, frute.

FUL, *adv.* full, fully, B 24.

— *adj.* full, B 65.

FULFILLE, FULFYLLE, *v. a.* to bring to full end, to complete the number, to satisfy, B 99; B 534.

"For God sal fulle-fylle alle þair lykyng."
P. C. 8497.

FULLUHT, cleansing (from sin), the sacrament of baptism, B.P. 62/23. Cf. fullere; Lat. *fullo*, one who cleanses or whitens cloth, a fuller.

"þatt borenn iss þurrh Hali3 Gast
þurrh fulluhht *annd* þurrh læfe."
Orm. 17300-1.

FURST, *adv.* first, E 490; V 134/236.

— *adj.* first, E 518; V 143/536.

— *s.* prince, E 543; where B, C, F, prince. Cf. Germ. *Fürst.*

FYNDE, *v. a.* to find, B 17.

FYNE, *adj.* fain, glad, B 561.

"Red letter in parchemin
Maketh a child good & fyne
Lettrys to loke & se."
Poems (Furnivall), p. 244, l. 12—14.

Cf. "My lips will be fain."
Ps. lxxi, 21, P. B. V.

See FAYN, *adv.*

FYSOUN, *s.* great plenty, p. 368/16. O.F. *fuison* (*foison*), Provenc. *fusion*, Lat. *fusio*, a pouring out (of abundance).

GA, to go; B.P. 65/11; gas, 2 *sing.* V 131/104; gas, 3 *pl.* p. 275; gane, *pp.*, B.P. 65/11. See Go.

GAF, *pret.* gave, B.P. 65/5.

GAINSTANDINGE, . withstanding, B.P. 69/12, 76/9.

GAN, began, V 136/291. *Note*, p. 160. See GONE, GUN.

GANE, *pp.* See GA, GAS.

GAS. See GA.

GAST, GASTE, ghost, B 213; C 129, and *passim.* See GOST.

GASTLY, spiritual, B 68; C 40.

GATE, *s.* a way by which men go; a street; "fen of gates." *lutum platearum.* Ps. (18) xvii, 43. Journey which men go, B.P. 65/11, 69/36. See GA.

GEF, 3 *sing. subj.* give, B.P. 69/11. See GIF.

GENTYLLES, gentlefolk, B.P. 74/15. "Gentry, of norture and maners, *Comitas.* Gentry of awncetre [*ancestry*], *Ingenuitas*," P.P. 190.

GERTE, *pret. of* GAR, to cause, H.C. 84/43.

"And then gar him kisse the boke," of oath to suppliants for sanctuary at Beverley.—*Harl. MS.* 4292.

"Gar any man lose his wardly gudes."—*Great Cursing MS., York Manual*, where the printed Manual reads "causeth . . . . . worldly goodes."

"Fra dede of synne to life of grace
That geres us fle the fendes trace."
E. M. H. 77.

"He gert thaim sit down."
E. M. H. 90.

GESSE, *v. i.* to suppose, P.P. 190. "*Estimo, arbitror, opinor*," but Palsgrave, 591, "*je deuine*," B 85, p. 337(3).

GIF, GIFE, *v. a.* to give, C 53, 347; B.P. 65/18. See GEF, GYF, GYUE, 3EUE.

GILT, *s.* guilt, of sins of omission, B 572.

GO, *v. n.* to go on foot, as opposed to riding, B 592; L 152/133. See GA, GOON.

GOANDE, B 592. See GO.

GODE, *adj.* good, B 21, 64, 192; C 77. See GUDE.

— *s.* the good, B 190, 321.

— *s.* good gift, benefit, grace, B 339; B.P. 71/24.

"Geuer of all goddes."—*Myroure*, 68.

GODES, *s.* goods, property, B 354.

"No mannys gode shalt you stele."
H. S. 66/2048.

"God 3eueþ ofte times to goode men goodes and myrþes."
Chaucer's Boethius, Morris, 132/7, 8.

GODHEDE, goodness, B.P. 71/15. *Note*, p. 342.

GODNESSE, *s.* goodness, B 1, 366; E 1. See GUDNES.

GOD SPELLE, *s.* Gospel, V 146/642.

GODYS, good gifts, F 151. See GODE.

GOLD, *s.* B 249.

GON, *inf.* to go, V 138/370.

GON, *pp.* gone, V 128/16, 137/346, 136/295, 137/325, 138/361. See GONE.

GONE, *pret.* did, 130/87; began, did, C 4. *Note*, p. 160.

GONNE, V 136/304. See GONE. *Note*, p. 160.

GOOD, *s.* (in singular) property, chattel, goods, B.P.V. 76/16; cf. B.P. iii, 71/24. See GODE.

GOON, going, L 151/114.

GOONE, 2 *pl. of* GO; *v. n.* to go, walk, in contrast with riding, L 152/133.

GOONGE, *s.* "preuy, *cloaca, latrina.*" PP. 203.—P 125/11.

GOSPEL, GOSPELLE, GOSPLE, the portion of the gospel appointed to be read at mass, B 153, 194; V 136/301.

GOST, *s.* ghost, B 233, 275. See GAST.

GOUVERNYNGE, *s.* governance, B 528.

GRACE, *s.* grace, B 106, 127, 160, 358, 458; B.P. 68/18; V 136/310.

— *s.* pardon, B 81; V 131/113; p. 391/30. See *Note*, p. 189.

GRAME, *v. a.* and *n.* to grieve, anger. *Subs.* C.T. 13331. A.S. *grama.*

GRANE, *v. n.* to groan, the reading in MS. Harl. for GRONE, V 137/325, where Audelay, p. 77, has GRAME.

"He is oft seke and ay granand."
P. C. 798.

"granen iþe eche grure of helle (*groan in the eternal horror of hell*)."—*Hali Maidenhad*, 47.

GRAS, *s.* grace, B.P. 74/8.

GRASE, *s.* grace, B.P. 69/11.

GRAUE, *s.* grave, B 220.

GRAUNT, *v.* to grant, B 258, 353, 460, 500.

GRETE, *adj.* great, C 23, 170; of storms, B 390, "great storm of wind;" of weighty examples, B 24; of men, B 372.

GRETT, *adj.* great, B 23.

GREUE, to grieve, V 137/335, 139/389.

GREYTHE, *s.* preparation, p. 284. Cf. A.S. "geræde, trappings, *phaleræ.*"

"Wen hit wat3 fettled & forged & to þe fulle grayþed."
Allit. Poems, p. 46, 343.

GRONE, *v.* to groan, *altered from* "grane," V 137/325. See GRANE, GRAME.

GUDE, *adj.* good, C 21, 28; *passim.*

GUDE, *s.* good gifts, gifts of grace, C 158, 173. *Note*, p. 276.

"Of al gudes þat God has gefen þam here
Als of gudes of kynde (*nature*) and gudes of graces;
And gudes of hap þat men purchases."
P. C. 5895-7.

GUDE-FREND, *s.* benefactor, B.P. 72/22.

GUDES, *s.* goods (of commerce), B.P. 70/6.

GUDNES, goodness, C 1, 186. See GODNESSE.

GUN, began, H.C. 84/40, 86/54, 57; V 138/370, 382. See GAN, GONE.

GYF, *v. a.* give, E 81; B.P. 68/23.

GYFTES, gifts, B 430.

GYLT, guilt, B 356.

GYSTHE. See *note*, p. 397.

GYUE, *v. a.* to give, B 28, 81, 435, 450.

GYUYNGE, giving, B 347.

HACELA, a chasuble, p. 335.

HAFE, 1 *sing.* have, C 166.

HAFES, 3 *pl.* have, B.P. 69/10.

HALD, *v. a.* to hold, B 40 (haldes), B.P. 65/21.

HALD ON, *v. n.* to hold on, B.P. 65/7.

HALE, *adj.* whole, *integer*, 118/3.

HALOUSE, *s. pl.* saints, B 67, 75, 104.

HALY, *adj.* holy, B 75; C 3, *passim.*

— *adv.* wholly, C 166.

"Gifes noght the tendes haly withouten any withdrawing."—*MS. York Manual.*

A mason, on the "werk of þe kyrk of Sanct Petyr" (*York Minster*), swore "upon þe boke *that* he sall trewli and bysyli at his power . . . hald and kepe haly all *the* poynts of *this* forsayde ordinance in all thynges *that* hym touches."—*York Fabric Rolls*, 183.

HALY BRED, holy bread or holy loaf, blessed with an appointed prayer and given to the people on Sundays and other holy days instead of the Sacrament, B.P. 65/5. *Note*, p. 336.

HALY DAYES, B 115.

HALY KYRKE, C 3, 180.

HALY MEN, C 4.

HAM, *acc.* them, F 97.

HAME, *s.* home, C 114.

HAN, 3 *pl.* have, V 132/148.

HANDE, hand, B 139, 241; V 144/568. See HENDE.

HANDES, *pl.* B 58, 405. See HENDE, HONDES.

HARDE, *pp.* heard, B.P. 70/12.

HAS, 1 *sing.* I have, B 443.

HAS, HASE, 2 *sing.* hast, B 83, 344, 438, 452; C 161, 162, 351.

HAUES, 2 *sing.* hast, H.C. 82/20.

HAW, to have, F 48, 56.

HE, *adj.* high, B.P. 70/2.

HE, *pron. pers.* B 20.

HEDDE, *perf.* had, V 129/42; V 137/344.

HEDE, *s.* heed, B 154.

HEDE, B 230. See MANHEDE.

HEF, *v. a.* to heave, raise, V 143/552.

"I þe messe hwon þe preost hefð up Godes licome."—*Ancren. Riwle*, 32.

"When sche hef hir heued heyer, sche perced þe selue heuene."
Chaucer, *Boethius*, Morris, 5/43.

HEGH, *adj.* high, B 115, 484.

HEGHEST, *superl.* highest, B 143.

HEGHLY, *adv.* B 101.

HEILL, *s.* health, of body or soul, B.P. 69/26, 71/17.

HELE, *s.* that which hides, covers, defends, B 467. *Note*, pp. 290, 292.

"Forthi thet Godd Naaman helid
Toc thou gift, and sithen it heled."
E. M. H. 131.

— *s.* health, B 375. See SOULHELE.

— *v. a.* to heal, 275/32.

HELEFUL, healthful, B.P. 75/23.

HELLE, *s.* hell, B 221. *Note* 291(2).

HELPE, *s.* help, B 256, 294, &c.

HELY, holy, B 474.

"Seint Aeldrede of heli god mayde was and hende."—*Vernon MS.*, *f.* 38.

HEM, *gen.* of them, E 150.

— *dat.* to them, F 233.

— *acc.* them, E 251.

HENDE, *pl.* (*northern*) hands, B 35; B 284; V 145/607. See HANDES.

— *adj.* handy, ready, courteous, V 144/595.

HEO, she, V 134/224, 140/441.

HER, their, E 363.

HERE, *v. a.* to hear, B.P. 82/10; C 61; B 459, 586.

— *adv.* here, B 203, 204.

— *s.* host, army, company, B 67; C 39. *Note*, p. 188.

"A mikell here off enngleþeod" ("*a multitude of the heavenly host*").—(St Luke, ii, 13), *Ormulum*, 3370.

— *pron. poss.* their, F 163.

HEREN, 3 *pl.* hear, B 173.

HERERS, hearers, B 163.

HERIS, 2 *sing.* hearest, B 604.

HERKEN, *v. a.* to harken to, B 486.

HERKNYNGE, *s.* harkening, B 28.

HERT, *s.* heart, B 277, 304, 316.

HERWE, *v. a.* to harrow, to sack a stronghold, ravage a country, V 142/502.

HERYNGE, hearing, B 10.

HESSE, *poss.* his, B 619.

HETHEN, *adj.* heathen, 68/13; B.P. 75/13.

HETHEN, *adv.* hence, B 295; p. 280/27.

HETHYNG, mockery, scorn, H.C. 84/41.

HEUEN, *s.* heaven, B 207, 225. HEVENE, C 272.

HEUEÞ, V 143/540. See "hef."

HEW, *v. a.* to lift up, to raise, F 11.

"hewys hys handys on heghte."
M. A. 4156.

HEXTE, highest, V 130/68, 77.

HEYLFULL, *adj.* healthful, wholesome (of doctrine), B.P. 69/1.

HIE, *adj.* high, loud, B 274.

"Þe angell answered him in hy."
Holy Rood, Morris, 69/278.

"þey brought hym to pylate and cryed an hy."—*Med. Soper.* 534.

HIGHT, *s.* heighth, loud voice, B 482.

HIR, *pr. poss.* her, B.P. 66/12.

HIS, *poss.* B 18.

HIT, *n.* it (the aspirate being preserved), B 24, 105, 272, 489; V 145/606, 615.

HOKER, scorn, V 144/578.

HOLD, HOLDE, *v. a.* to hold, B 58; B 445.

HOLI, *adv.* wholly, F 144. See HOLLY.

— *adj.* holy, B 233, 234, 568, 587.

— -WRIT. See WRIT.

HOLY, B 3, 4, 213; H.C. 82/20. See HALY.

HOLLY, *adv.* wholly, B 347.

"Alle holy oweþ þy shryfte be doun."
"*Ta confessiun deit estre enterre.*"
H. S. 11820.

— *adj.* holy, B 141; E 75.

HOLY WATER, L 149/38.

HOM, *pron. dat. pl.* them, to them, B 14, 46, 251, 386, 476. HORNE, L 153/171.

— *pron. acc. pl.* them, B 384, 477, 502.

HOM, HOME, *s.* home, B 252; F 332.

HONDES, *pl.* hands, B 40. See HENDE, HANDES.

HONOURE, *s.* honour, worship, B 380.

"Offred and honoured at þe hiȝe auter."
Sir Gawayne, 592.

HOOL, *adj.* whole, 125/21.

HOPE, *s.* B 273.

HOR, *pr. poss.* their, B 117; B 387, 476.

HORE, *pr. poss.* their, B 110, 198, 366, 464, 466, 477, 558; E 252, 462, 477. See ÞERE.

HORNE, *s.* horn, wind instrument, L 153/171.

HOSLED, *pp.* L 151/128. HOUSELED, V 146/664. See HOUSEL.

HOU, *adv.* how, V 129/23, 29, 33.

— to think, consider, heed. A.S. *hogian*, Icel. *huga*, V 139/395.

"umbe þe bota ne huȝað—takes no heed of the amendment."
O. E. H. I, 113/3.

[To how is still used in the East Riding. I heard it for the first time in the phrase "Let us how it a while," and the explanation that was given on the instant—"studying how"—was perhaps more ready than etymologically correct.]

HOUSE, of York Minster, B.P. 71/12; of Beverley Minster, B.P. 71/12. See *Note*, p. 326.

HOUSEL, *s.* sacrifice, host of bread and wine, consecrated in the Eucharist. A.S. *Húsl*. M.G. *hunsl* (= *θυσία*, 1 Cor. x, 18, &c.; *λατρεία*, St John, xvi, 2), B 235. Here of the kind of bread, but the wine hallowed in the chalice is called húsl; Canons under King Edgar, xli.; Thorpe, A.L. II, 252.

"He bletsode hlaf and win to husle."
Canons of Ælfric, xxxvi.; Thorpe, A.L. II, 360.

HOUSEL, HOSEL, *v. a.* to housel, to administer the communion; *pass.* to receive the communion, V 131/118; p. 238, 241; p. 368/2.

HOUSEL-BREDE, *s.* the host, here the *viaticum*, B 597.

Cf. "Gange se preost syððan to þam Godes weofode mit þære husel-lafe þe he hadȝode on Ðunres-dæg."—*Ælfric's Canons*, xxxvi. (as to Good-Friday); Thorpe, A.L. 2359.

"Housil of Goddes body."
P. C. 3402.

How, *adv.* in what manner, B 26.

Howsilling, *s.* ministration or reception of the Eucharist, p. 239(4).

How3ell, *s. & v.* L 151/126. See Housel.

How3elyed, *pp.* houseled, L 151/123. See Housel.

Hus, *pro. pers.* us, B.P. 66/12.

Hy, *v. n.* to hie, H.C. 82/5.

Hym, probably a mistake for thyn, C 201.

— *dat.* to him, C 273, 274, 277.

— *acc.* him, C 364.

I *for* In, *prep.* V 131/117; V 137/320.

I, *s.* eye, 127/10.

"þat sight he sal se with gastly eghe."
P. C. 2234.

Ianglyng, Iangelynge, *s.* prating, chattering, B 22; C 22.

"Iangelyn, iaberyn, *Garrulo, blatero.*"
P. P. 256.

"Nay, quod the fox, but God give him meschaunce
That is so indiscret of governance,
That jangleth, whan he scholde holde his pees."—C. T. 12919-21.

"She jangleth like a jaye." *Elle jangle* or *cacquette comme ung jay.*—Pals.

"Whether any do use to commune, jangle or talk at the time of divine service."—*Articles of Enquiry*, 1547. Cardwell, D. A. 29/28.

"Sweet bells jangled out of tune."
Hamlet, III, 1.

Iape, *s.* jest, ribald joke, L 153/191. "Iape, *Nuga, Frivolum, scurrilitas,*" P. P. 257; where see Mr Way's note.

Iesu, *nom.* Jesus, H.C. 84/33, 86/54.

— Iesuys, *gen.*, H.C. 86/69; H.C. 84/36. See Ihesu.

I fere, together, in general, F 236. *Note*, 292. See Fere.

Ihesu, *nom.* B 315.

— *voc.* B 318, 322, 432, 446.

Ilk, Ilke, each, B 266, 331, 332, 421, 627; C 150, 151, &c.

Ilke an, Ilkane, each one, C 252, 327.

Ilk one, each one, B 463, 556.

Ille, *adj.* of actions, wicked, bad, B 24; B 376, 535; C 196, 306.

— of persons, B 51; p. 374/26.

— *s.* evil, B 190, 272, 544; C 315; V 134/210.

Icel. *Illr.*, C-V. 318. See *Note*, p. 172. See Ylle.

In, *prep.* of place, B 3.

— of motion, into, B 504.

Inquart, B.P. 69/26. See Quart.

Intil, *prep.* into, unto, B 32, 479.

"It suld frese and turn al in-til yse þar."
P. C. 6644.

See Til, Until.

Ioy, *s.* joy, B 114, 397; B.P. 71/30.

"He preched on sa fair maner,
That it was joi for to her."
E. M. H., 90.

— glory, B 119, 126, 128, 142, 146, 182; H.C. 84/29, 82/7. *Note*, p. 196.

Ioying, glorying, B 432. *Note*, p. 287.

Ioyntly, of the hands clasped in prayer, B 58.

Is, 2 *sing.* art, B 102, 496. *Note*, p. 294.

-is, 2 *sing. of verbs*, B 604. See -es.

-is, -ys, *plural of substantives*, B 98, 225, 558, 559.

I-sought, *pp.* sought out, discovered, V 132/148.

It, *shortened form of the neuter pronoun* hit, C 24, 61, 63, *passim.* See Hit.

I-whils, I whyls, whilst, B 245, 575. See Whiles.

I-wis, *adv.* truly, in truth. Cf. Germ. *gewiss*, V 136/288.

Kan, C 83. See Can and Con.

Kare, C 267. See Care.

Ken, *v. a.* to make to kan (know), to teach, to show, B 147, 490; V 141, 475; p. 275. See *Note*, p. 200, 293.

"I can fynde in a felde · or in a fourlonge an hare
Better than in *beatus vir* · or in *beati omnes*
Construe oon clause wel · and kenne it my parochienes."
Sloth in *Piers the Plowman*, B, v, 424-6.

"Thaim I suld bathe lere and kenne."
E. M. H. 85.

KEPE, *v. a.* to keep, to watch for, B 189; B.P. 64/10, 68/21.

"Againe þe comyng of Ihesu Criste
To kepe him when he doun sal come."
P. C. 5028-9.

KEPE, *s.* charge, care, heed, B 267, 305.

KEPE, *pp.* kept, F 171.

KEPED, KEPYD, *pp.* kept, B 363, 374; C 182, 194.

KEPTE, *pp.* kept, E 371.

KEUERE, *v. n.* to recover, V 131/124.

KID, KIDDE, *perf. of* KITHE or CUÐEN, *v. a.* to show, manifest, B 471; C 467.

"þat so muche loue hi*m* kuiþe wolde."
—— 590.

"Whatt gate þiss maȝȝ ben þatt tu
O Godess hallfe kiþesst."
Orm. 2451-2.

"The kyndenesse þat myne euene—cristene · kidde me fernyere
Sixty sythes, I, sleuthe · haue forȝete it sith."
Piers the Plowman, B, v. 439-40.

KIRC, KIRK, KYRC, B 3, 234, 413.

KIRK WARKE, building or reparation of churches, B.P. 71/25. *Note*, p. 342.

KISTE. See KYSTE.

KLYPE, *v. a.* to call, L 153/190.

"And eek ye knowe wel, how that a jay
Can clepe Watte, as wel as can the pope."—C. T. 644-5.

KNAPYS, *s.* knave, L 153/190. A.S. *Cnápa, cnáfa*, son, boy; Icel. *knapi*; Germ. *knabe*.

"þaȝe he be a sturn knape."
Sir Gawayne, 2136.

KNAWE, to acknowledge, confess, C 37. See KNOWE.

KNEES, *s. pl.* F 10.

KNELANDE, *part.* kneeling, B 53, 405.

KNELE, *v. n.* to kneel, B 150, 281, 328, 515, 600.

KNELEN, 3 *pl.* kneel, B 39.

KNELLE, V 144/571.

KNESE, *plur.* knees, B 53, 150.

KNOC [on þi brest], B 268.

KNOW, KNOWE (*Novi*), B 31, 339. (*Agnosco*), B 51, 65.

"Of these and of all other, as far as god knawys me gyltye, I knawe my selffe gylty."—*Form of Confession.* Maskell, M.R. II, 281.

KUYNDE, *s.* kind, kin, nature, V 134/203. See KYNDE.

"þe body es dedly here thurgh kynde."
P. C. 1717.

KUYNDELICH, *adv.* kindly, natural to the kind, with natural affection, V 143/531.

"Bodily ded, þat is kyndely
Es twining betwene þe saule and þe body."—P. C. 1686-7.

See UNKUYND.

KYD, *pp.* of cyðan.

KYNDE, *s.* kin, kind, relationship, B 108.

— nature *as opposed to* grace, p. 276.

— *adj.* natural, kind (*pius*), L 151/107.

KYNG, KYNGES, B 248, 428, 429.

KYNS, kinds, sorts, B 520; al kyns, 106; alkyns, 120, 589. See KYNDE.

KYRC, KYRKE, church, B 3; C 3.

KYS, *v. a.* to kiss, B 196.

KYSTE, *pp.* kissed, A 24, *n.* 1.

— *s. Cista*, kist, chest, p. 265.

KYÞE, *v. a.* to make to know, V 128/18.

LÆNE, *adj.* lent, precarious, transitory, frail, lean, B.P. 62/4. Cf. "lêhni fehu," *Heliand*, 1550. See *Note*, p. 322.

LAGHE, *s.* law, p. 275/29, 277/13.

LARE, *s.* learning, the northern form of lore, teaching, V 130/79, 275/6, 22.

LARGELY, *adv.* greatly, B 69.

LASCH, *v. a.* and *n.* to loosen, give way, V 138/350. O.F. *lascher* (lâcher), to slacken.

"Lask his peynes."—Myrc, 1736.

LASSE, *adj.* less, V 128/4, 5.

LAST, *v. n.* to last, to endure, B 111, 296, 386, 479.

LAT, to let, permit, C 315. See LET.

LATE, *adj.* late, B 532.

LATEN, Latin, B 494.

LAUATORIE, a *piscina*, the ceremonial washing, V 145/606; L 152/135.

LAUDE, *adj.* lay, p. 173.

LAVNCEGAYE, javelin, assegay, L 153/179. *Note*, p. 398.

LAYDE, *pp.* laid, B 220.

LECHE, *s.* physician, P 125/20; p. 275.

LEDE, *v. a.* to lead, B 504.

— *v. n.* to be leader, V 130/62.

— *s.* people, V 141/473. A.S. *leod*; Germ. *Leute*.

LEEDE, *s.*, V 134/209. See LEDE, *s.*

LEES, V 133/176. See LES.

LEETE (INTO), to light on, come to, V 129/36. See LIGHT.

LEEUE, *v. a. pf.* LAFTE, to leave, to relinquish, to leave undone, B 190; p. 229.

"As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth."—*The Book of Common Prayer*, 1549.

"When he had left speaking."
St Luke, v, 4.

"Lest my father leave caring for the asses."—1 Sam. ix, 5.

— *v. n.* to remain, B 243. See *Note*, p. 230.

— *v. a.* to believe, p. 120/16, V 140/419.

LELE, *adj.* loyal, faithful, V 134/208, 136/280. O.F. *leal*, *leial*, *loyal*.

LELY, *adv.* loyally, obediently to law, B.P. 64/23, 69/28.

LEN, LENE, *v. a.* to grant, to lend, B.P. 64/13; V 146/640; p. 173/16. *Notes*, p. 275, 322.

LEND, LENDE, *v. n.* to go ashore, to abide, to last, B 386; H.C. 84/31. *Note*, p. 280.

LENE, *v. n.* to remain, V 136/291.

LENGE, *v. a.* and *n.* to lengthen, to remain, V 130/62.

LENT, *pp.* lent, B 342. *Note*, p. 275. See LON.

"Þe gudes spendid þat God had þam lent."—P. C. 5993.

"Truly y desire as nout nothinge ellis, but þat y might geue to my Lorde his oune gode, þat he haþe lent me: þat is to sey my body, my tyme, and alle my wyttis."—Arundel MS., 197, *quoted*, Thomson's *Te Deum*, p. 54.

LEO, *s.* lee, shelter, defence, cover. A.S. *hleó*. Icel. *hlé* ("fara i hlé, *to seek for shelter*," C-V 270). V 130/62.

"of hleó sende" (*into banishment*).
Cædmon, 102.

"earmra hleó," *protector of the poor*.
Ib. 4104.

"in lee of leudeȝ."—*Sir Gaw.*, 27/849.

"We lurkede undyr lee."
M. A., 43/1446.

LERE, *s.* learning, that which is taught, doctrine, manner of teaching, B 174.

— *v. a.* to make to learn, to teach, V 133/186, 145/625; p. 337.

— to learn, F 1; p. 239.

"Bot nou er yong men sa bald,
That thai will lere bathe yong and ald,
For ar thai kann thaimselven ken,
Wil thai wisdom lere other men."
E. M. H. 110.

LERED, learned, taught, B 50.

LERER, *s.* teacher, B 164.

LERING, *s.* teaching, B 172.

LES, *sing.* and *pl.* falsehood, H.C. 82/14. See *Note*, p. 349. A.S. *leas*, false,—*bútan leáse*, without concealment, deceit; whence "leasing," Ps. iv, 2; v, 6.

LESE, *v. a.* to loose, B 404; C 267.

"A, Loverd, lese mi saule" (*O Domine libera animam meam*).—Ps. (116), cxiv, 4.

LESSE, *adj.* less, B 44.

LET, to hinder, p. 170/5.

— LETE, LETTE, *v. a.* & *n.* to fail, let be, cease, omit, leave, F 85; V 132/139; p. 170/8.

"At Cristes lar will thai noht lete
That sat mekeli at maisters fete."
E. M. H. 110.

"þan may he nat hys bedde lete."
H. S. 4260.

"þou lewede man knowest also
What ys to lete, what ys to do."
H. S. 7414-15.

— to let, permit, B 544.

LETTER, THE LETTRE, LETTERS, literature, book learning, written matter; C 83; *Note*, p. 200. See CLERK.

"Mony excuson ham by defaute of bokus and sympulnes of letture."—*Festial, prefacio*, sig., A. ii.

"And alle þe toþer beþ þe better
þat heren þys tale or reden þys lettyr."
H. S. 10074-5.

— the text, B 157.

— BLACK, in contrast to the rubrics, B 440.

— ENGLISHE, *query*, black-letter in contrast to rubric; *or* in English and not in French or Latin? B 199. Johanna de Walkyngham in 1346, bequeaths "psalterium meum cum littera grossa et quemdam librum scriptum littera anglicana."—*Test. Ebor.* I, 17.

LETTIR, the text, B 426.

LEUACIOUN, elevation of host, B 406.

LEUAND, *part.* living, H.C. 84/22.

LEUE, *adj.* dear, pleasing, B 166.

— *v. a.* to leave, p. 121/20; V 129/38; p. 299/23.

— *v. a.* to believe, p. 276.

— *v. n.* to remain, p. 120/13. See LYUE.

— *v. n.* to live, p. 159/8.

— *s.* leave, V 130/65.

LEWDE, lay, illiterate, 148/3.

"Whether þou be lered or þou be lewed."
P. C. 2444.

LEWED, *adj.* ignorant, lay, 'ιδιώτης, B 50, 173, 491; V 133/183, 186; 140/436; p. 385/30.

"This every lewed vicory or parsoun
Can say, how ire engendreth homicide."
C. T. 7590-1.

See under PARISCHEN.

LEYN, *v. a.* to conceal, V 143/538.

LIGHT, *v. n.* to alight, to descend, B 275. Icel. *létta*. *Note*, p. 258.

Cf. A V. "Neither shall the sun light (πέσῃ) on them, nor any heat."—Rev. vii, 16.

— *v. a.* to lighten, *illumino*, p. 261.

LIȝTELOKER, *compar.* lighter, p. 124/21.

"And ȝe shul lepe þe liȝtloker."
P. Plow. B. v., 578.

LIST, *v. n.* to like (*velle*), F 85. See LYST, *impers. libet*.

LITEL-BELL, a hand-bell, B 401. "Lytell bell, *sonnette, campane*," Pals. 239.

LITEL, *adj.* little, B 301.

LOG, *v. n.* to lug, V 138/350.

LOKE, *v. a.* to see, regard, look at, B 271, 280, 624.

— to look upon, B 413.

— *v. n.* to look to yourself, take care, B 198, 278, 311.

LOMER, *s.* illuminator of manuscripts, p. 401(3).

LON, *s.* loan, V 138/376; V 146/640. See LENE.

LONDE, *s.* land, B.P. 76/4, 5.

LORD, LORDE, B 211, 255.

— of lay hearers or readers, p. 385/30. See LORDYNG.

LORDYNGS. Used in addressing an audience, as now "Gentlemen," p. 367. See SIRES, note, p. 362. Cf. Jack Cade's "Fellow Kings." 2 *Henry* VI, IV, 2.

LORE, *pp.* lost, p. 374/7.

LORNE, *pp.* forlorn, F 216.

LOS, *s.* praise, p. 284. O.F. *los*. Provenç. *laus, lau*. Lat. *laus*.

"So schaltow gete god los."
V. of P. 5132.

"Hui perdra Charles de son los grant person (*portion*)."—Ronc. 59. "Jà n'i croistra vos los ne vos honors."—Couci, vii. (Littré).

LOVE, *s.* love, B 520, 522, &c. A.S. lufe. See LUF, LOW.

— *v. a.* to love, B 523, 527, 547.

"I sal love þe, Laverd."—*Diligam te Domine*; Ps. (18) xvii, 1.

"þe way of mekenes principaly,
And of drede, and luf of God almighty
þat may be cald þe way of wisdom."
P. C. 141-3.

A.S. *lufe*, love; *lufian*, to love.

— *v. a.* to praise, B 123 (where Latin *Laudamus te*).

"Offrande of lof," *sacrificium laudis.*
Ps. (50) xlix, 23.

"In din of beme him love yhe;
Loves him in harpe and in sautre."
(*Laudate eum in sono tubæ*),
Ps. (152) cl, 3.

A.S. *lof*, praise; *lofian*, to praise. Cf. Germ. *loben;* and Portug. *louvar*, Ital. *lodare*, Lat. *laudare.* See LOS.

— *v. n.* to render praise, B. 169.

LOUED, *pp.* loved, B 567.

— *pp.* praised, B 428.

LOUH, *perf.* laughed, V 137/324.

LOUING, LOVYNGE, *s.* praise, B 278, 325; B 436; C 132; B.P. 64/16; B.P. 71/17. See *Note*, p. 342, 346. See LOWYNGE.

"loved his loving"
"laudaverunt laudem ejus."
P. C. 317, 321.

LOUTE, *v. a.* 1. to bow down to, to do reverence to, B 263; 2. to reverence, B 627.

"The first commandment charges us and teches
That we leve ne loute nane false goddys."
Thoresby's *Catechism*, *f.* 295 *b.*

"ymagis and crosses ben lowtid of men."
Pecock's *Repressor*, 562.

— *v. n.* to make obeisance, to kneel, V 133/189, 143/537; p. 163/5.

"lowting or bowing downe, or kneling to images."—*Injunctions*, Archbishop (Lee) of York, 1536.

LOW, LOWE, *s.* love, C 296, F 356.

— *v. a.* to love, F 274, 294 (but *loue*, 298, 299, &c.).

LOWSE, *v. a.* to loosen, F 244.

LOWYNGE, *s.* praise, C 117. See LOUING.

LUF, *s.* love, C 307, 317.

— *v. a.* to love, C 298.

LUSTE, *impers.* it pleases, E 243. See LYST.

LUYTE, *adj.* little, V 144/585.

LUYTEL, *adj.* little, V 145/618.

LYF, *s.* life, B 240.

LYG, *v. a.* and *n.* to lie, to lay, B 593.

LYGHT, *v. n.* to alight, B 215. See LIGHT.

LYKE, *impers.* it pleases, p. 284.

LYKYNGE, *s.* enjoyment, E 343; where B, LYUYNGE.

LYMMES, limbs, B 342.

LYST, *impers.* it pleases, B 243; C (LISTE) 105; but F 85, as a *verb personal*, THU LIST.

LYÞE, to hearken, V 128/17; V 146/664. Cf. Icel. *hlýða messu*, to hear mass, C-V 274.

"Helde þi nere (*aurem tuam*) to me and liþe."—Ps. (31) xxx, 3.

LYUE, *s.* life, B 342, 346, 357, 375; V 135/242; p. 119. See LYF.

LYUEN, 3 *pl.* live, B 293 (where C 139, LEVES).

LYUYNGE, living, B 346.

LYVE, *v. n.* to live, B 357.

— *s.* life. V 142/501.

— *v. n.* to remain, C 356. See LEVE, LEEUE.

MA, *compar.* more, C 153.

MAGESTE, majesty, B 227.

MAKE, to make, B 449; C 94.

MAKYNG, *s.* versifying, p. 385/28.

MAN, *s.* man, C 19; P 126/3. See MON.

MANERE, *s.* manner, way, B 25, 173, 177, 421.

MANHEDE, manhood, B 79, 230.

MANKYNDE, mankind, B 409.

MANY, *s.* a number, multitude, H.C. 84/48.

— *adj.* many, B 63. C 6, *passim.* See MONY.

MARCHANDES, traders, shopkeepers, B 371.

MARE, *adj.* greater, B 44, 126; V 130/85. *Note*, p. 184.

MARKETH, F 40, for MEKETH.

MASTE, *superl.* of MA, greatest, C 1.

"þou bethleem iuda,
þof þou be noght þe mast cite
þou es noght lest of dignite."
C. M., 11466/9.

MATIR, matter, subject, B 171.

MAWNDE, *s.* the maundy, *Cœna Domini*, or last passover with the Twelve, F 360. See Skeat, *Notes to Piers Plowman*, B XVI, 140, p. 379.

MAY, *pres. ind.* 1, 2 and 3 *pers. of* MOWE, to be able, to have might, *pollere.* B. 516, 550; V 132/136, 143/553. See MIHTES.

"And pray we God þat alle þyng may."
H. S. 952.

MAYDEN, *s.* maid, virgin, B 215.

MAYN, *s.* main, V 129/52; V 143/544. Cf. "with might and main."

MAYNTENANDE, *part.* maintaining, B 365.

MAYSTER, master in sense of gaining the mastery, V 130/59.

ME, *poss.* my, C 296.

MEDE, meed, reward, B 13, 466, 473; C 51.

MEEDE, V 128/20. See MEDE.

MEER, *s.* Mayor of Corporation, B.P. 69/17.

MEID, B.P. 69/30. See MEDE.

MEKE, to humble oneself, to genuflect, B 42; P. 126/15. *Note*, p. 180.

— to humiliate, to make humble, P. 126/2.

MEKENES, MEKENESSE, meekness (*Divine*), B 213; P 124/14.

MELE, *v.* to speak, V 146/656. Icel. *mæla.*

"vuldorgâst godes vordum mælde."
Cædmon, 2906.

"þe blod on his face con mele
when he hit schulde schewe, for schame."—*Sir Gaw.* 2503-4.

"Thane laughes syr Lottez and alle one loude meles."—M. A. 382.

MEN, *pl. of* MAN, B 39.

— *indefinitely*, as we now use *one* or *they* for want of it, B 116, 197, 303, 401; p. 251. Cf. the GERM. *man* and Fr. *on* (homo). In the A.V. *men* is used indefinitely, St John, xv, 6, "men gather them, and cast them into the fire;" where the nom. is not expressed in the Greek, and if it were, would hardly be *ἄνθρωποι.* Robert of Brunne uses both the Teutonic and the Romance:

"Men wete never what nede one has."
H. S. 9595.

MENDE, to mend, amend, B 238.

MENES, *gen. pl.* men's, B.P. 68/14.

MERCI, MERCIE, *s.* mercy, B 78, 273, 443, 446.

MERK, to mark, write, B 426.

MES, mass, B 92.

MESCHIEF, *s.* mischance, a coming short of purpose. O.F. *mes* (Lat. *minus*), and *chef*, head, p. 229/22.

"In siknesse ne in meschief to visite."
C. T. 495.

Cf. *Achever*, to bring to an end (head), to finish.

MESSE, mass, B 9, 291.

MICHILHEED, *s.* greatness, P. 125/27.

MIGHT, power, might, moral strength, B 188, 451.

MIGHTES, *pl.* powers, mights (*with* most), B 180; V 147/684; p. 218/15.

— (*with* may), V 131/112, 132/136, 143/553. See MAY.

MIKEL, *adj.* great, many; *adv.* much, very, B 160. See MYKEL.

MILDE, merciful, pitiful, B 213.

MINISTER, *s.* of the priest who celebrates mass, p. 374/17.

MINISTRE, *v.* to administer (the sacrament of the altar), P 123/29. See MYNISTRE, PARISCHYNS.

MINNE, to minish, lessen, V 145/599. See MYNNE.

MOCHE, *adj.* much, in sense of great, L 152/192.

"Gode of his myche mercy."—*Bidding Prayer, Dio. London.* Henderson, *York Manual*, 223*.

MOD, mood, V 137/329 (anger, 1 O.E.H. 67/215).

MODER, MODIR, MODRE, mother, B 66, 103, 148, 468.

MODERKIRKE, mother church, the cathedral church, B.P. 71/11.

MON, *s.* man, B 19, 146, 161, 211, 564, 612.

— *indef.* V 128/2. See MEN.

MONE, *auxil. v.* must, B 415. Icel. *muna* (older form), *mon*, shall, will. *Hodie*, E. Riding, *mun.*

"Bot he þat his wille til God wil sette,
Grete mede þarfor mon he gette."
P. C. 95-6.

— *s.* complaint, moan, V 137/328; L 148/14.

MONK, V 132/141.

MONNES, *gen.* man's, B 266.

MONY, B 5, 70, 388. See MANY.

MOO, *for* MA, B 354.

MORĔ, *adj.* greater, B 126, 136, 146. See MA, MOST.

"A more maister wolde I beo."
Celestin, 147, *Anglia*, I, p. 71.

MORNETYDE, "*hora matutina*," the morning, H.C. 82/13.

MOROWE, the morning, L 149/25.

MOST, *adj.* greatest, B 143, 180; P 124/13; V 130/59, 147/684. See MAST.

"For þys is one þe most synne
þat any man may fallyn ynne."
H. S. 159-60.

MOT, *pres.* may, might, B 319, 571 (where C MOWGHT); V 145/604.

MOWNE, *subj.* might, P 127/12.

MYCHE, *adj.* much, great, P 124/15.

MYCHE, *adv.* much, P 124/21.

— *s.* great part, L 152/147.

MYDDIS, *s.* the middle, the midst, B 302.

MYGHT, strength, B 65, 528; H.C. 86/62.

MYKEL, *adv.* greatly, B 283, 441.

MYKILL, *adj.* great, B.P. 72/26.

MYLDE, mild, V 133/185.

MYN, *poss.* mine, B 533.

MYNDE, *s.* memory, memorial, B 185; B 618; V 128/22.

MYNE, *poss.* mine, after the substantive, B 187, 560.

MYNISTRE, *v. a.* to administer the sacrament, P 123/21. See MINISTRE.

MYNNE, *adj.* less, B 136. Icel. *minnr, minnst*, less, least; M.G. *mins.*

— *v. a.* to mind = remember, keep in mind; to remind, bring to mind; to make mention of, V 130/66, 133/193, 139/391, 141/456.

MYRK, *adj.* dark, B 415; H.C. 86/57.

MYRRE, myrrh, B 249.

MYRTHE, gladness, mirth, B 120. See *Note*, p. 197.

MYS, *s.* misdeed, B 259. *Note*, p. 251.

MYSCHEF, MYSCHEFE, L 151/118, p. 371/4. See MESCHIEF.

MYSCOUNFORTH, need of comforting, discomfiture, B 377. See CONFORTH.

MYSDEDE, misdeed, B 82, 501.

MYSTIME, to come unready, or when cut short in preparing, H.C. 84/38.

NA, *adj.* no, C 22.

NAME, *s.* name, B 179, 293.

— *v. a.* to name, call upon, B 133.

NAMELY, NAMLY, *adv.* especially. "*Precipue*," P.P. 351, like the German *namentlich*, B 548; P 124/1; p. 275.

"For a man excuses noght his unkennyng,
þat his wittes uses noght in leryng,
Namly of þat at hym fel to knaw."
P. C. 169-71.
"And helpes sinful men biden,
But namlic helpes scho tha,
That turns noht thair lof hir fra."
E. M. H. 163-4.

NE, *conj.* nor, C 89; p. 121/6; P 122/12; p. 245/7.

— *adj.* no, none, p. 225/7.

NEDDRE, adder, viper, V 140/439. M.G. *nadrs*, A.S. *nædre*, Icel. *naðra*.

NEDE, *s.* need, B 164, 260, 490.

NEDEFUL, necessary, B 537.

NEDLYNG, *adv.* of need, of necessity, B 521.

"þan nedly behoves be punyst syn."
P. C. 2864.

NEDLYNGES, C 292. See NEDLYNG. This and other adverbs in the same form, as *hardlings*, *mostlings*, are still in general use in the East Riding.

NEGHE, *adj.* nigh, H.C. 84/51.

NEGHTBUR, neighbour, B 547, 554.

NEIȝ, NEIH, to draw near to, P 122/23; p. 396/11.

NEMENE, to mention, V 138/361.

NEMPNE, *v. a.* to name, V 135/263. A.S. *memnan*, Icel. *nemna*.

NEODEþ, *v. impers.* there is need, V 140/422.

NERE, *adj.* near, B 400, 556.

NEUEN, *v.* to name, utter, give utterance to, Icel. *nefna*, B 120, 132, 146, 161 (*of reading gospel*), 309, 497.

NEUER, *adj.* never, B 6.

NEWE, *adv.* now, B 172.

NEXT, B 57, 246, 345.

NEY, *adj.* near, F 195.

NIGHT, B 207.

NIS = ne is, is not, V 133/195.

NO, *adj.* B 22. [C na.]

NOGHT, *adv.* not, B 270, 415, 602; H.C. 84/25.

NOGHT, *s.* nought, nothing, B 208.

NOKE, corner, nook, of the *cornu altaris*, used of both ends (north and south) of the west side of the altar, and also of the north and south sides, B 88, 156, 579. See on END, p. 179. The modern use of nook appears to be confined to a recess or re-entering angle.

NOMELY, especially, B 615. See NAMELY.

NON, no one, B 201, 250; F 252.

NOON, southernizing form of NANE, none, C 112. See *Note*, p. 400-1.

NORTH, B 156.

NOþELESS, not the less, nevertheless, V 145/626.

NOY, *v. a.* to hurt, B 98.

"And if thei drynke any venym, it schal not noye hem."—St Mark xvi, 18.

NYGHT, B 525. See NIGHT.

OBAC, *adv.* aback, B 37.

OBLEY, of bread; or OBLEY, the host or wafer, p. 238.

"þe paste of þe vble nat ne oghe
Be made of any maner of soure doghe."
H. S. 10098-9.
"Le uble ne est fermente
Qe le prestre ad sacre."
M. P. 7388-9.

OEN, ought, B 197. See OWE.

OF, *prep.* by, B 17, 141, 344, 610; p. 121/5.

— from, B 162. *Note*, p. 209.

— for, B 339, 609, 614.

— by reason of (grace), 344 (godnesse), 352.

OFFER, *v. a.* B 243.

OFFERANDES, offerings, oblations, B.P. 64/24, 69/29.

OFFERD, *perf.* offered, B 248.

OFFERTOUR, the offertory, the anthem so called, p. 319/6. See p. 98/23, p. 232(2).

OFFERYNGES, B.P. 78/25, where *Offerandes* in the older forms.

OFFICE, *s.* "of messe," the *officium* or anthem so called, the Roman *Introit*. B 86. *Note*, p. 190.

OFFICE, the whole office or order of mass, B 581. *Note*, p. 308.

OFFRANDE, offertory, the anthem so called, B 242. *Note*, p. 228.

— offering, thing offered, B 253. Derived from the Latin *Offerenda* or French *Offrande*, and not from the northern participle.

"Offryng, *offrende*."—Pals. 249.

OFT, B 193.

OLDE, old, B 370.

ON, one in number, E 180; F 78.

— one in substance, V 144/588. See A, ANE.

— AL ON, all one, all at one, at peace, V 145/634.

Cf. "Lo, eche thing that is ooned (*united*) in himselve
Is more strong than what it is to-skatrid."—C. T. 7550-1.

Cf. B 541, of one a-corde.

— *prep.* in, B 173, 177, 421, 563.

ONY, any, B 471, 590.

OON, a southernizing form of ANE, one, the like, C 313. See *Note*, p. 400-1.

OPEN, *prep.* upon, B 159. See OPON.

OPPON, OPON, OPONE, *prep.* upon, B 36; B 227, 349, 378, 413, 436. See UPON.

OR (*of time*), ere, before, B 41, 48, 61, 508, 603.

"We, or ever he come near are ready to kill him."—Ac. xxiii, 15.

— *conj.* or, B 151, 605; OR ELLIS, B 87.

— *poss.* our, H.C. 86/64.

ORDAYN, to ordain, of God's ordinance, B 393.

ORDEN, *v. a.* to ordain (of resolves of council), B.P. 69/12.

ORDINER, *s.* ordinary, having ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, B.P. 64/12.

ORESOUN, orison, B 286.

ORISON, prayer, B 452; E 286, 448.

ORNAMENT, *s.* B.P. 76/13, replaces "anourment" of earlier forms.

OÞER, other, B 563. AN OÞER, B 159.

OTHER, *conj.* or, p. 240. See OUTHER.

— either, p. 171/31.

OTHERE, *acc. sing.* other, B 564.

OÞERWAYSE, otherwise, B 595.

OUERSE, *v. a.* to look over, p. 215(2).

OUNDRON, *s.* the hour of tierce, H.C. 84/40. See UNDERN.

OURE, *poss.* our, B 172, 256, 395.

OUTE OF, not in (charity), B 511.

OUTHER, either, *with* or, B 116.

— or. See OTHER.

OUT-TAKE, *v. a.* to except, make exception of, V 146/666.

"He outtoke nothing but a tre."
Holy Rood, Morris, 63/51.

OWE, *impers.* B 338.

— *personal*, owe, ought, P 122/14. See OEN, AGHT.

OWNE, *poss.* own, B 565. See AWEN.

OYN, one, F 209, 210.

OYSE, *v. a.* and *n.* to use, to be accustomed, B 401.

"To mych to oys familiaritee
Contempning bryngith."
Lancelot, Skeat, 1701-2.

"That (*wisdom*) God hauis giuen us for to spend
In god oys til our liues end."
E. M. H. 3.

PAI, *v. a.* to please, 245/6. See PAY.

PAPE, pope, C 181; B.P. 64/6*. *Note*, p. 330.

PARDONE, C 137. See PARDOUN.

PARDOUN, *s.* indulgence or remission of temporal punishment on earth and in purgatory, B 13, V 146/649.

PARECHEN, *s.* parishioner, B.P. 69/23.

PARELS, perils, B.P. 69/25.

PARFITE, perfect, B 521.

PARICHIN, parish, B.P. 71/29.

"I Iohn hedworth esquier of haverton within the parishinge of the College

Kyrke of Chester in the strett."—*Wills and Invent.* S. S. I, 112.

PARISCHYNS, parishioners, B.P. 65/15.

"And also" [*ben accursed*] "alle the men of religion, whether they be monk or chanon, or frere of any ordre, that ministre or 3eue any other mennes parichenes, either lered or lewed, any of these .III. sacramentis . . . of housling, or of anoynting or elles of weddyng; but if thei have special leve ther to of hem that kepe the soules of tho parishens."—*The Great Cursing, Manual. Sar.*, 1510, *ap.* Henderson, *Man. Ebor.* p. 91*.

PARLYMENT, parley, conversation, V 136/382.

PARSON, person (of Trinity), p. 223(1).

Cf. " in proper parsoun."
P. C. 4958.

PART, PARTE, share, part, portion, B 11, 463, 542; B 542.

PAS, a pace, step, V 131/106. Fr. *pas*.

PASKES, Easter, p. 118/6.

PASSAND, *part. pres.* the passing souls, or "agonizantes" at the point of departure, E 112. *Note*, p. 195.

PASSE, *v. n.* to pass from this life, p. 373/16; from purgatory, B 477. Fr. *passer*.

— (PASSE), to give heed, to weigh, to take into consideration, p. 364/34.

"I peyse, I waye, *Je poise*" (Je pèse). —Pals. 655.

"It moste be considered, trusteth me,
For gentil mercy aughte pass right."
C. T. 3090-1.

"But I passe not at all," 'Αλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιοῦμαι.—Ac. xx, 24. (Genevan) Barker, 1607.

"As for these silken-coated slaves, I pass not;
It is to you, good people, that I speak."
Shaks. 2 *Henry* VI, iv, 2.

"a stone of such a paise
That one of this times strongest men, with both hands, could not raise."
Chapman, *Iliad.* xii.

Cf. Ital. *pesare*, "Se tu per tanto la precienza di Dio . . . . pesare vorrai." —*Boezio della Consolazione* de B. Varchi, Firenze, 1551, v, 6.

PASSED, *pp.* past, departed, deceased, B 112. Cf. Fr. *les trespassés*.

PASSYD, C 80. See PASSED.

PAST, *pp.* B 295.

"I passe, I dye, *Je trespasse.*"—Pals. See under TITTER.

"Disturb him not, let him pass peaceably."—2 *Henry VI*, iii, 3.

PATER, Pater-noster, the Lord's Prayer, B 60.

PATER-NOSTER, B 152, 261, 398, 423, 480, 485, 494, 574, 601.

PAX, the pax-brede, or *Osculatorium*, B 514. *Note*, p. 295.

PAY, PAYE, *v. a.* to appease, to please, to pay, B 246, 530; V 131/106; p. 379, 245/6. See *Note*, p. 244.

PAY, *s.* good pleasure, satisfaction, B 383.

PAYDE, *pp.* satisfied, "well-pleased," B 617.

— paid, bound by payment received, B 445.

PENAUNCE, penance, 121/11.

PENY, penny, of the offering at mass, V 142/515; p. 241, *n.* 6.

"The lord marques [*of Dorset*] being chief mourner . . . . . offered a piece of gold of ten shillings for the maspeny."—Funeral of K. Henry VIII, Strype, *Mem. Reform.* Orig. Edw. VI. p. 15.

PEREL, PERIL, *s.* peril, B 257, 345.

PERIS, *s. pl.* peers, B.P. 69/8.

PER OMNIA SECULA, the end of the *secreta*, or beginning of preface, p. 54.

— B 482; p. 102/11. *Note*, p. 270.

PERSON, rector of parish, *vulgo*, parson, B.P. 64/9, 68/20, 75/20. *Note*, p. 330. See PARSON.

PES, *s.* peace, C 320, 322.

PESE, *s.* peace, B 111, 121, 509, 510, 521, 549, 551.

PHANON, *s.* the maniple, p. 167.

PINE, torment. See PYNE.

PISTILLE, the portion of Scripture appointed for the epistle, C 85.

PITE, PYTE, pity, B 68; C 50.

PLACE, *s.* B 345, 459.

— in service, B 300; C 143. Cf. "stede," B 454. *Note*, p. 288.

PORAILLE, *s.* poor people, p. 370(1). Cf. Ital. *poveraglia*.

PORE, *adj.* poor, B 372.

PORTESSE, *s.* the *portiforium* of the Anglican and Gallican churches, a service book containing the Canonical Hours, and corresponding to the Roman Breviary, p. 194.

PORTRED, *pp. of* PORTRAY, used of sculpture as well as of painting, L 152/160.

POSTCOMVNE, POST-COMEN, the *Post-communio* (p. 117, 307), or Postcommon, and in older MSS. *ad complendum*, p. 308/22, 382/19.

POUNCE, Pontius, B 217. *Note*, p. 223.

POUSTE, power, B 226. *Note*, p. 224.

POYNT, *v. a.* to prick, to note, to number, V 131/105. *Note*, p. 371.

PRAIE, PRAY, PRAYE, to pray, B 29, 74, 244, 270, 271, 292, 464; V 143/556.

— used of saying the creed, V 140/453.

PRAIERES, prayers, B 254.

PRAYANDE, *part. pres.* praying, B 299.

PRAYERES, B 454.

PRAYERS, B 266, 279, 459.

PRAYDE, *pp.* prayed, B 616.

PRAYSED, *pp.* praised, B 5.

PREFACE, of the mass, C 154.

PRESENCE, *s.* presence, B 403; C 222; F 198.

PRESENSE, *s. pl.* presents, F 92*. *Note*, p. 251.

PRESENT, *used substantively*, of actual presence, or present time, B 569.

PREST, *adj.* ready, B 532.

"At all seasons prest and ready."
Roy's *Rede me*, Arber, p. 92.

PREST, *s.* priest, B 279, 289; V 134/206.

PRESTE, priest, B 27.

PREY, to pray (for), V 134/206. PREYE, V 129/24. See PRAY.

PREYERS, prayers, V 122/20, 129/24.

PREYEÞ, 2 *plur. imperat.*, pray ye, V 143/544.

PRINCE, "of pese," B. 549.

PRIS, *adj.* precious, choice, V 128/11.

"Þe kinges price stede."
Chev. Ass. 279.

Cf. "Arthur was knyghtly and Charles of grete prys." — Lydgate to K. Henry IV. *Political Poems*, Wright II, 141.

PRISON, B.P. 65/22. See *Note*, p. 401.

PRISONDE, imprisoned, prisoners, B 378.

PRIUE, *adj.* private, secret, B 536.

PRIUELY, *adv.* B 313, 492.

PRIUETE, *s.* privacy, unheard by the people, B 29.

PRIUEY, *adj.* B 280.

— *adv.* "*secreto*," B 299.

PROFER, *v. a.* to offer, B 254.

PROFET, *s.* benefit, B 10.

PRONE, PROSNE, *Præconium* or *Procœmium*. The bidding prayer and sermon, or other pastoral instruction in the mass of the Gallican Church, p. 316.

PROPIRLY, *adv.* B 538.

PROVINCIALL, the superior of an order within his province, p. 338.

PRU, *s.* profit, advantage. O.F. *prue*. p. 374/8.

"Vauntage—*preu, auantaige*."—Pals. 284.

"Moche good do it you: *bon preu vous face*."—Ib. 523.

"Þat turnd is til vr gretter pru."
C. M. 1442/25196.

"But þys ys for þyn owne prow
Þat I have teche the now."
Myrc. 548-9.

PURCHASE, *v. a.* to get, acquire otherwise than by birth—not merely of buying with a price. O.F. *pourchasser*, of eager pursuit. "*A pied sans chausses pourchassant sa vie de maison en maison.*" — Commines, III, 4 (Littré): *Pour*, prefix in sense of thoroughness and *chasser*, to hunt. p. 276/26.

Cf. "purchase to themselves a good degree."—1 Tim. iii, 13.

"I purchase. I get the propertie or possessyon of a thyng. *Je pourchasse.*"—Pals. 670.

PURGATORY, B 472.

PURUAYDE, *pp.* provided, B 424. See VN-PURUAYED.

PURYFYING, churching of women after childbirth, B.P. 71/31.

PUT, *v. a.* to add, V 129/49. Cf. the phrase "put two and two together."

PYNE, *s.* punishment, pain, torment, B 472, 478.

"þus sal þai dyghe and heuen bliss tyne
And be putted til endeles pyne."
P. C. 2053-4.

— *v. n.* to pine, languish.

— *v. a.* to punish, torture. PYNED, *pp.* tormented (of our Lord's passion), B 217.

'Ki fu de la nette pucelle nee
E pur nus en croix pene."
M. P. 7241-2.

PYNEFUL, *adj.* painful, full of torment, F 214.

PYNSTAL, *s.* the place of execution. A.S. "*Stal, Steal, Stœl.* Stall, place, stead," H.C. 84/43.

"ȝyt aftyrwarde he lete hym slo
Wyþ ful vyle deþ and pynyng wo."
H. S. 9911-12.

"Si cruelment en croiz penez."
M. P. 7220.

PYTE, pity, B 77, 585.

QUART, *s.* good heart, well-being, B.P. 69/26, 70/6.

— *adj.* hearty, safe, prosperous. *Note*, p. 341.

QUENE, *s.* queen, B 364.

QUOD, *pret.* quoth, said; *cwœð*, pret. *of cweðan.*

QWEN, *adv.* when, H.C. 86/57.

QWHEN, *s.* queen, H.C. 82/11. [Ctr. "Where" for Quire, A.D. 1519, *York Fabric Rolls*, 267.]

QWYK, *adj.* quick, alive, B 231.

RACE, *v. a.* to pull, to tear, V 137/317.

— *v. n.* to tear, V 137/316. See *Note*, p. 397.

RADDE, *pret. of* REDE, to read, V 136/302.

RADLI, *adj.* readily, vehemently, V 137/315.

RANSAKE, *v. a.* to make a thorough search. Icel. *rann-saka*, properly, to search a house, *rann*, house, C-V 483; V 124/7.

"Seli þat ransakes witnes hisse." *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia ejus.*—Ps. (119) cxviii, 2.

RATHE, early. A.S. *rhœð.*

"þou languisset for desyr of þi raþer fortune."—Chaucer, *Boethius*, 39/735.

RAUHTE, *perf. of* RECHE, to reach, lay hold of, lay violent hands on, V 138/348. See *Note*, p. 379.

"þe wilk reches fra þe begynnyng
Of mans lyfe until þe endyng."
P. C. 553-4.

"Ful semely aftur hire mete sche raught."—C. T. 136.

"þat what rink (*warrior*) so he rauȝt
he ros neuer after."
W. of P. 1193.

"And he raht til her at the laste
And droh the serge, and scho held fast."—E. M. H. 162.

RECHELESLY, *adv.* carelessly, negligently. A.S. *reccleas, rece*, to reck, take care for, P 128/8.

"Yhit sons and doghters þat unchastyd war
Sal accuse þair fadirs and modirs þar,
Forþi þait þai war rekles and slawe
To chasty þem and hald þem in awe."
P. C. 5544-7.

RECORDE, *v. a.* to con, get off by heart, F 346. O.F. *recorder*

RED, to advise, V 135/272. See REDE.

REDE, *v. a.* to read, to read without (*singing*) note, B 153 165 439; V 136/301.

— *absolutely*, of officiating clergy, B.P. 69/4, 75/26.

— to advise, B 245, 416; V 136/275; L 150/87, 439, "I rede þou rede."

REDER, *s.* reader, *lector*, B 163.

REDY, *adj.* ready, B 311, 352, 552.

REFRAYNINGE, restraining, B.P. 76/9.

REHERCE, *v. a.* to repeat, B 152, 193.

REISE, *v. a.* to raise, of the elevation, V 144/581.

"Ne Iesu was nat þe oble
þat reysede was at the sacre."
H. S. 339/10006/7.

"Quant le prestre en mains le teneit
E al people mustreit
Ceo qe il a la messe sacreit."
M. P. 7272-4.

RELIGYUS, *s.* a man or woman bound by a private rule, B* 19. *Note*, p. 169. See under PARISCHYNS.

RELYGION, RELYGYON, *s.* the rule of an order or community, B.P. 68/18, 19; 75/18. See RELIGYUS.

RELYGIOUS, *adj.* according to the religion, religious, B.P. 75/19.

REM, *s.* realm B.P. 69/14. See REUME.

REMEMBER, *v. a.* to recal to mind, to put on record, p. 369/20.

REMOW, to remove, B 301.

"I am remewed fro þe citee."
Chauc. *Boethius*, 19/441.

RESAYUE, *v. a.* to receive, B 287. RESCEYF, C 133. RESCEYUE, P 122/7. RESAYUED, *pp.* B 340. RESCEYVED, C 159.

RESCEYUYNGE, *s.* receiving (*of the sacrament*), P 122/2, 123/11.

RESOUN, *for* orison, B 286.

REST, B 551, of eternal rest, B 296.

RESTIT, *pret. Query*, rested, arrested, stayed, *or* raised, elevated? O.F. *arrester*, Ital. *arrestare*, L 150/73. See REISE.

RESTRENING, restraining, B.P. 69/15. See REFRAYNINGE.

REUERENCE, reverence, B 402.

REUEST, *pp.* F 39. See REUYSHT.

REULE, to rule, B 277, 367.

REUME, *s.* realm, B.P. 64/18.

REUYSHT, *pp.* vested, O.F. *revestut*, *pp. of revestir*, of the putting on of ecclesiastical vestments by one already vested in his common clothes, whence also *revestry* for *vestry*, B 34.

REWE, to rue, to make to rue, to grieve, to be sorry for, to take pity, B 359; V 129/54, 136/280; p. 393/33.

"Alle daie he rewes," *tota die miseretur*, "is merciful." — Ps. (37) xxxvi, 26.
"Drihhtinn ræw off mann."
Orm. 14326.
"Moysæs ræw off þatt follk."
Orm. 14782.
See RUE UPON.

REWERENCE, *s.* reverence, L 151/100.

RE-WESSHUT, E 34. See REUYSHT. *Note*, p. 185.

REYGNE, realm, B.P. 74/11, 74/14. See REM, REUME, ROYALME.

RIBRUSCH, rubric, F 345. See *note*, p. 318.

RICHE, *adj.* rich, B 372.

RIGHT, *adj. of the right side*, B 227.

— *of sound mind*, B 343.

— *adv.* B 34, 276. See *note*, p. 257. RIGHT SO, B 253, 503. RIGHT SONE, B 607.

RIGHTS, taking, of receiving the holy communion, p. 239(4).

RIGHTWIS, *adj.* righteous, B 599.

RIGHTWISNESSE, righteousness, righteous judgment, B 367.

RINSYNGE, *s.* the ceremony of rinsing the chalice, the ablution, B 571. *Note*, p. 301-6.

ROBRIK, ROBRYK, rubric, B 57; B 624. See RIBRUSCH.

Rod, *s.* rood, H.C. 86/61.

Rode, *s.* rood, cross, but differing in its use from that of "cross" in this, that cross is used both of the material and a transient cross; whereas rood is used of a material cross, or with reference to the Cross of Calvary, "tacn pære halgan rode," B 349, 434; H.C. 84/47; "done on rode," B 408.

— *s.* rod, wand of office, p. 168.

Rogge, *v. a.* to lay violent hands on, to pull at, to tug. Cf. Icel. *rógr*, strife, warfare, V 137/315.

Wild beasts "worow men belyve,
And rogg þam in sonder and ryve."
P. C. 1229-30.

See Rauhte, and cf. Icel. *rögg*, and the phrase "synd rögg af ser," C-V 507.

Roode, cross (of Calvary), V 147/677. See Rode.

Roos, *s.* praise, boast, V 141/468. Icel. *hrós*.

"Ne be nat proude þoghe þou weel dows
Yn þyn herte to make a rous."
H. S. 5159-60,

where glossed "boste."

Ros, *pret.* B 410. See Ryse.

"All idell ȝellp *and* idell ros."
Orm. 4910.

Royalme, realm, B.P. 75/8. See Reyne.

Rue upon, to take pity on, P 126/11. See Rew.

Ryde, *v. n.* to ride, contrasted with to go (*on foot*), B 592; L 152/133. See Go.

Ryme, to compose in metre, V 145/624.

Ryng, to ring, B 401.

Rynsande, *part. pres.* rinsing, B 570.

Ryse, to rise, B 61.

-s, 1 *sing.*, V 137/177.

-s, 2 *sing.*, B 139, 245, 393, 413, 443, 448; V 131/104. See *Note*, p. 399.

-s, *plural of verbs*, B 16, 47, 105, 116.

Sackles, without cause, guiltless, H.C. 82/15. See Sake.

Sacrament, generally of the whole office of mass, B 16, 99.

— the sacrament of the altar, L. 153/168.

— consecrated host, B 568.

— also used particularly of the consecration as distinguished from the sacrifice or oblation of the unconsecrated gifts, B 417.

— of the canon, p. 273(1).

— to receive, P 122/3.

— to minister (*administer*), P 123/21, 29. See Parischyns.

Sacre, to consecrate, p. 121/6. *Note*, p. 268.

Sacrifice, B 288*, where used of the offering of the unconsecrated gifts. See *Note*, p. 268.

Sacrynge, consecration, C 219.

"A prest sacriþ Goddis body and maketh breed and wyn turne into Cristis flesch and his blood bi vertue of his ordre and Goddis wordis."—Wyclif, *Works*, Arnold, III, 285.

"Of ancient times all the bishops of Scotland were sacred, and confirmed by the Archbishop of York."—4 *Inst.* (Coke), 346.

Sadli, *adv.* gravely, soberly, H.C. 86/71.

"But teche hem alle to leue sadde."
Myrc, 260 (of "*solid belief*").

Saide, *pp.* said, B 600.

Saie, *v. a.* to say, to say aloud (the creed, pater-noster, agnus), B 197, 198, 484, 508. *Note*, p. 171.

Saies, 3 *sing.* says, B 27. Saith, p. 315(1).

Sake, cause (in the cause of, because of), B 456. A.S. *sacu*, trial, cause, sake; Icel. *söc*, gen. *sakar*, a charge, the crime (*crimen*), M.G. *sakjo* (μάχη, 2 Tim. ii, 23).

"In her senvolle sake."
Shoreham, 66/4.

"Withouten skil sake or any" (*sine causa*).—Ps. iii, 8.

"Sle þu man wiþ-outen sake."
C. M. 6833.

See Sackless.

Sakering, *s.* consecration, V 143/

558, where used for the whole Canon Missæ.

SAKRING, *s.* consecration, B 292, 400.

— elevation, B 292. See *Note*, p. 268.

"Sacryng or levation."—Becon, Display, *Works*, III, 276.

SALDE, *pp.* sold, B 407.

SALL, shall, H.C. 82/2. SALLE, C 61. See SHAL, SCHAL.

SANCTUS, B 308, 326; C 147; E 305, 323.

SARY, *adj.* sorry, B.P. 65/20.

SAT *for* SUTH, *conj.* since, F 267.

SAUE, *adj.* safe, B 449.

— *v. a.* to save, B. 218.

SAUMPLE, *s.* example, the "narratio," or forbesne of Old English sermons and tales, B 23.

SAUȝ, 3 *sing. perf.* saw, V 136/308. See SEȝE.

SAY, *perf. of* SEE, *v. a.* saw, V 137/336.

"And whan þou say hem sette in þe court."—Chauc. *Boet.* 37/958.

"Of saul herde þei wel þe steuen
But nouȝt þei say þat coom fro heuen."
C. M. 19643-4.

"Nay I say him nat here wirche
Syn Satirday."—C. T. 3664.

"His Godhed may not be sayne
With no fleschle eyne."
Audelay, p. 45.

SAY, *v. a.* to say, B 222, 281; V 129/31, 132/160. See SAIE, SAYE, SAIDE, SEI, SEY, SEþ.

SAY OR SING, B 27. *Note*, p. 171.

SAYANDE, B 298, 481.

SAYDE, *perf. of* SAY, B 200, 438.

SAYE, B 177, 245, 261; C 271. See SAY.

SAYES, 2 *sing.* sayest, B 286.

— 3 *sing.* or *plur.* B 116. See *Note*, p. 196.

SAYING, *s.* that which is said, B 582.

SAYN, *v. a.* to sign (with the sign of the cross), V 143/541. *Note*, p. 207. SAYNANDE, *part. pres.* B 399.

SAYNT, saint, B 74; B.P. 78/17, 18.

SCHELD, *v. a.* to shield, H.C. 84/52. Cf. B.P. 62/5. See SHELD.

SCHENDE, *v. a.* to put to shame, disgrace, ruin, A.S. *scendan*, L 154/199. See SENCHYP.

"Be I not schent withouten ende" (*confundar in eternum*).—*Te Deum*, Maskell, M. R. II, 14.

SCHEU, *v. a.* to show, B.P. 64/14.

SCHEWE, *v. a.* to eschew, C 236.

SCHOP, *perf.* created, V 135/250.

"The king that al this world scheop."
O. & N. 79/25.

See SHOOPE.

SCHRIFT-SILVER, the money paid to the schrift-father or confessor, p. 241, *n.* 8. See p. 239(4).

SCHRIFTE, *s.* confession, P 124/10. See SHRIFT.

SCHRIUE, *used absolutely*, to confess, V 135/243.

— OF, to rid, clear (by confession), V 133/190, 134/227. See *Note*, p. 350-1.

SCLAUNDER, B 377, "*scandalum*," shame, evil fame, matter of reproach.

"No sclaunder is to hem."—Ps. (119) cxviii, 165. *Prymer*, Maskell, M. R. II, 170. *Non est in illis scandalum.*

"In þam in na shame."
E. E. Psalter, S. S.

"If any . . . repreve another of her contre, or kynrede, or of any other sclaunderouse fortune or chaunce fallen at any time."—*Addition to Rules, Syon*, Aungier, 259.

SCOURGED, *pp.* B 408.

SCYL, *s.* reason, p. 368/13, 371/24. See SKILL.

SE, *v. a.* to see, B 178, 292.

— *pp.* seen, V 131/111, 115.

SECRE, the *secreta*, or prayer *super-oblata*, V 143/545. See *Note*, p. 266.

SECUNDE, *adj.* second, B 536.

SEDE, *s.* seed, offspring, B 232.

"Abrahame and his sæde."
"To Abraham and his seed."
St. Luke, i, 55.

SEE, *s.* sea, B 378.

SEES, 1 *sing. northern*, I see, V 133/177.

SEI, *v. a.* to say, V 144/596. SEID, SEIDE, V 142/52, 146/657. SEIENDE, F 262. See SEY.

SEIDEN, 3 *pl. perf.* said, V 138/378.

SEIÞ, SEITH, 3 *sing.* saith, F 321; V 141/478. See SEÞ, *Note*, p. 314.

SEIZ, 3 *sing.* sees, V 137/323.

SEKE, *adj.* sick, B 378.

SEKIRLY, surely, securely, C 254, where probably by mistake.

"For þai salle be þare syker and certaine."—P. C. 8559.

SELLE, L 151/100, perhaps for FELLE. See FALL.

SELUE, *adj.* same, B 563.

— self, B 142, 557, 562.

SEN, since, C 160. See SYN, also SYTH, SETTHE, SITHEN, &c.

"For sen Crist, als I sayd befor, had dred
Of þe ded, thurg kynd of his manhede."
P. C. 2212-3.

SENCHYP, disgrace, punishment, from SCHENDE (*which see*), rather than from *senchen* (A.S. *sencan*), to make to sink, B.P. 69/14.

"Our shenshyp and oure shame."
H. S. 256/8251.

"For þai suld have þan þe mare shenshepe,
And þe mare sorow."—P. C. 381-2.

"Til bair grete shenshepe and repruve."
P. C. 6221.

"And yhit seven schendsschepes wille I neven
þat er even contrary tylle þa seven" (*blisses*).—P. C. 8181-2.

"Ffor þai salle on nathyng have meneyng,
Bot anely on þair awen wicked lyfyng,
And on þair sorow with-outen ende
And on þair wrechedness þat salle þam schende."—P. C. 8371-4.

SENDE, to send, B 260, 276. SENT, B 343.

SEO, 2 *pl.* ye see, V 136/285.

SERE, several, separate, B 70, 345, 420, 469; E 70; C 42; V 128/12, 132/161; p. 173/6, 10; p. 276. See *Notes*, p. 188, 275.

SERGE, *s.* (*cierge*), large wax candle, to be set on pricks, B.P. 71/26.

"ilk serge contenand two ponds of wax."—Will of Richard Shirburn, 1436; *Test. Ebor.* II, 75.

SERLY, *adv.* diversely, B 465. See SERE.

SERMON, *s.* a discourse not delivered in church, p. 362/14.

— (SARMON), a sermon, a homily, p. 365(2).

SERUANDES, servants, B 554.

SERUE, to serve, B 543.

SERUICE, SERUYCE, *s.* service, B 287, applied to the whole office of mass.

"Ad missam, de quocunque fiat servitium."—*Miss. Sar.* 386.

— of life-long obedience to God, B 387.

— of the priest's part in worship, B 580; C 346; B 580.

— of the layman's part in worship, V 129/23.

SERWE, *s.* sorrow, V 137/326, 337.

SERYS, p. 273/24. See SIRES.

SES, 3 *sing. of* SESE, C 280; F 256.

SESE, *v. n.* to cease, V 142/518. See CESE.

— *v. a.* to seize, yield the possession of, commend, L 148/15.

"I put in possession, *Je saisis.*"
Pals. 673.

"Sesyn or ȝeue sesyn in lond or oþer godys, *Sesino.*"—P. P. 454.

— 2 *sing. of* SEE, thou seest, B 54.

SESONABLE, seasonable, B 390.

SEST, *pp.* ended, B 602. See SESE.

SET, *v. a.* to insert, B 425.

— yet, L 149/32.

SEÞ, 3 *sing.* saith, V 143/548. See SEIÞ.

SETHEN, afterwards, then, C 144. See SITHEN.

SEÞÞE, then, afterwards, V 134/217, 237, 143/549, 144/563, 567.

SETTE, to set (of kneeling on the knees), F 10; p. 162.

"Sytteþ dowyn vpp on oure knees."
H. S. 951.

SETTE, to sit (on seat), L 151/96.

SETTHE, since, F 138.

SETTIS, 3 *sing.* he sets, B 23.

SEUER, *v. n.* to separate, part company, B 396.

SEWE, to make suit for, L 150/87.

SEY, to say, F 252; F 354, 356; V 129/23. See SEI. SEYE, P 124/35, 126/6, 127/10; V 129/23. See SEÞ. I-SEID, *pp.*, V 141/476. SEID, *perf.*, V 142/521. *Note*, p. 314-15.

SEYINGE, the saying, p. 120/15.

SEYS, 2 *sing.* seest, C 213.

SEȝE, 1 *sing. perf.* I saw, V 138/356.

SHAD, *perf.* shed, B 409.

SHAL, shall, B 357, 448.

— 2 *sing.* shalt, B 402, 453.

SHAME, *s.*, B 294.

SHAPPER, shaper, Creator, p. 258. Icel. *Skapari*, used only of the Creator, C-V 538. See SHOOPE.

SHEW, *v. a.* "*anuncio*," to make known, shew forth, p. 439/17.

Cf. A.V. "Ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."—1 Cor. xi, 26.

SHILD, to shield, protect, B 505.

"Fra whilk payne and sorow God us shilde."—P. C. 9471.

See SCHELD.

SHOOPE, *perf. of* SHAPE, to shape, form, create, A.S. *scyppan*, *scóp*; Icel. *Skapa*, *skóp*; M.G. *gaskapjan*, *gaskop* (Marc, xiii, 19); Germ. *schaffen*, *schuf*, L 148/1. See SHAPPER, SCHOP.

"He þatt all þiss weorelld shop." *Orm.* 3678.

SHRIFT, SHRYFT, *s.* absolution or confession, B 597; P. 121/10.

SHRYUE, *v. a.* to confess sin with an accusative of the person opening his sin, the persons to whom confession is made in the dative, and the sin governed by of, as, the priest shrives him of his sins to all the folk. See B 43-4.

"And ga to þe prest hym to shrife
And tak his penaunce in his life."
P. C. 3508-9.

SHRYUE, to absolve of sin (of the priest), B 35.

"þe preost me walde eskien on esterdai hwa me scriue."—O. E. H. p. 25.

SHRYVEN, *pp.* absolved upon confession. See SCHRIUE and *Note*, p. 350-1.

SHULD, should, B 622. SHULDE, B 21, 244.

SIB, *adj.* related, of natural or spiritual relationship (godsybbas, B.P. 62/13), B 108.

SIBMEN, relations, kinsmen, B 368, 469, 553.

SIGGE, to speak, V 138/356, 139/383.

SIKIRLY, surely, securely, C 297. See SEKIRLY, SYKERLY.

SING, *v. a.* B 435. See SAY.

SIRES, sirs, V 135/257. Cf. "Sirs," Acts xxvii, 10, 21, 25.

SISTERS, B 469.

SITE, *v. n.* to sit, V 137/336. SITEN, *perf.* V 138/378

SITHE, F 322. See SITHEN.

SITHEN, since then, afterwards, B 159, 264, 307, 408, 490.

SITT, *v. n.* to sit, B 593. See SETTE.

— *v. n.* to abide, B 415.

SKILL, *s.* skill, discernment, reason, a reason, cause. A.S. *scylan*, to divide, separate; Icel. *skilja*, to cut, part. "The original sense, viz. *to cut*, Lat. *secare*, appears in Gothic *skilja*, a butcher," C-V 546.—B 626; C 221; V 139/405; p. 299. See *Note*, p. 214.

SKILWISE, *adj.* reasonable, p. 118/9.

SMALLE, *adj.* small, B 372.

SO, B 235, 558.

SOCOURE, *s.* succour, B 102, 260.

SODAN, *a.* sudden, B 594.

SOLEMPNE, solemn, B 288.

SOM, some, B 197.

SOM-WHERE, somewhere, B 195.

SONDRY, sundry, B 420.

SONE, the sun, H.C. 86/57.

— *s.* son, H.C. 84/22.

— soon, B 84, 150, 196, 258, 577.

SOTHE, truth, B 222.

SOTHEN, sudden, L 151/125.

SOTHFAST, true, faithful, B 180.

SOUERANLY, *adv.* supremely, above all things, B 527, 530. SOUERENLY, B 523.

SOUERAYNE, *s.* supreme lord, B 102.

SOUEREYNE, *adj.* sovereign, superior, supreme, of dominion, P 125/15.

— supremely salutary, P 123/14, 126/13.

-SOUHT, I-, sought, V 132/148.

SOUL, B 105, 221. SOULES, B 112, 295, 456.

SOULDE, should, C 11, 21.

SOUL-HELE, soul's health, B 105.

SOUTH AUTER NOKE, the south or epistle end, B 579. *Note*, p. 205-6.

SPACE, of time, B 188.

— of place, B 301.

SPECIALY, B 374.

SPED, *pp.* helped forward, prospered, B.P. 70/12, 76/30.

SPEDE, *v. n.* to speed, to succeed, B 62, 158.

SPEKE, to speak, B 20; C 20.

SPEKING, *s.* speaking, B 277.

SPELLE, to tell, to teach, V 142/508.

SPENDE, *v. a.* to spend (of time), B 622.

SPICERIE, fragrant spices, H.C. 86/70.

"Spyce, *espices.* a kynde, *espece.*"—Pals. Lat. *species.* Cf. Fr. *épicier*, grocer. Ital. *speziale*, druggist.

SPILLE, to spoil, destroy, cast away, kill, B 545.

"Welthes (*man's*) lif trobles and droves
And the saul of man may lightly spille."
P. C. 1319-20.

SPILT, 2 *sing. perf.* spilledst, B 433.

SPIRITIS, spirits, B 98.

STANDANDE, *part. pres.* standing, B 261.

STANDE, to stand, B 84, 507, 593.

— UP, B 303. See STONDE.

STATE, condition, B 361.

— "degre," B 332.

— rank, B 366.

STAWNCE, L 152/151; *Query*, a stop, a pause? Cf. F, *stance;* Ital. *stanza*, a stop, halt, from Latin *stare.* "*La stance* (strophe) *était ainsi dite parce que c'est une sorte d'arrêt,*" Littré.

STEDE, place. See *Note*, p. 288; B 454, 596.

"To I find stete to Laverd."
"Donec inveniam locum domino."
Ps. (131) cxxxii, 4.

STEERE, *v. a.* to stir, 123/14.

STEGH, *pf.* went up, A.S. *stigan. Note*, p. 224; B 225.

STERVE, *v. n.* to die. "Steruyn *idem quod* Deyyn," PP. 474.—p. 392/31. Cf. Germ. *sterben.*

STERYNGE, *s.* stirring, 125/35.

STEUEN, *s.* voice, *stefen*, O.G. *stœfn* (stemn) B 265, 312. STEUENEN, H.C 82/10. STEVEN, C 271 *passim.*

STIFFELOKER, *adv. compar.* more stiffly, firmly, P 123/34.

STILLE, silent, B 52, 265, 312.

— motionless, B 487, 507.

STONDE, *v. n.* to stand, B 39, 445.

STONEY, *v. a.* to bewilder as by a flash of lightning, to stun, V 138/354. O.F. *estonner* (*étonner*). Lat. *attono.* L.L. *extono.*

Cf. A.V. "The king was astonied."—Dan. iii, 24.

STORNE, probably for TORNE, to turn, 24/A(1).

STRETES, streets, B.P. 65/12.

STRYUE, strife, B 377.

STUNT, *v. n.* to stint, stop, stop short, stand still, V 138/354.

"Heo ne stunteþ neuere."
C. L. 894.

STUR, *v. a.* to stir, disturb, V 140/427.

SUBGETTES, SUBGETS, *s.* Persons committed to the charge of a spiritual pastor, B.P. 75/22, 23, 24, 75/24.

SUCCHE, such, F 191, 203. See SWILK.

SUE, to follow, to ensue.

SUGETE, *s.* feudal or other subordinate, an inferior, B 554.

"Selle no parte of thyne heritage vnto thy bettyr, but for the lesse pryce selle yt to thy subiecte."—Proverbys, *Poems*, Furnivall, E. E. T. S. 1866, p. 32.

SUGETTES, of those placed under pastoral teaching, B.P. 69/2.

SULOKER, *adv. compar.* (?) surloker, more surely, P 124/21.

SUNNE, *s.* sin, V 129/31, 130/70. See SYNNE, V 129/38.

SUSTEND, *pp.* sustained, B.P. 65/5.

SWA, so, C 329.

"And þarfor ligges þou sorowand swa
Bot say to me and I sall ga."
H. R. 63/29-30.

SWETE, *adj.* sweet, B 325, 449; F 191.

— *as substantive*, B 169.

SWILK, SWILKE (*northern*), such, B 394, 418, 457, 566; C 127, 214.

SWYNK, to work, labour, V 131/119.

SWYTHE, quickly, forthwith, F 124.

"This mai ran tille hir moder swithe."
E. M. H. 39.

"Yhouthede passes swithe."
P. C. 5713.

SYDE, *s.* side, B 227.

SYKERLY, surely, securely, B 526. See SIKERLY.

SYLE, to strain, p. 307(1).

SYN, since, B 171, 341. See SEN.

SYNFUL, sinful, B 462.

SYNGYNGE, *s.* singing, B 9.

SYNN, SYNNE, *s.* sin, B 46, 55; V 129/38.

SYTH, thereafter, then, E 337. See SEÞÞE.

T. þ.

TAK, *v. a.* to show, B.P. 64/14. *Note*, p. 331.

TAKE, to give, B 21, 175, 305.

"And till ȝoure moder he toke þat tide
Bath þe west and þe south syde."
Holy Rood, Morris, 63/57-8.

"He took Serapion's lad the sacrament in his hand." *'επίδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ.—Apology Private Mass*, 1562, printed P. S. 1850, p. 28.

"Þo ten pownd y take þe here."
H. S. 5761.

TAKE, to take, B 138, 419.

— receive (*of sacrament*), p. 118/11, 239(4).

"un-worthile haue i husel tane."
C. M. 1555/28303.

TAKEN, *pp.* H.C. 82/13. See TAN.

TALDE, *pp.* told, C 9.

TALE, *s.* the act of telling or counting, that which is told, the number, a story, F 170. A.S. tellan, *numerare*. "Tale of mi daies," "*numerus dierum*," Ps. (39) xxxviii, 5. Cf. A.V. "I may tell all my bones," Ps. xxii, 17. "Tale of bricks," Ex. v, 8.

"swa many sternes smale,
þat na man may þam telle bi tale."
P. C. 7705-6.

See *Note*, p. 279.

TAN, TANE, *pp.* taken, B.P. 68/22; H.C. 86/65; V 128/7.

TARYINGE, tarrying, B 334, 582.

TECHER, spiritual master, B.P. 69/1.

TELLE, to tell, B 8, 13, 25; C 13. TOLDE (*perfect*), B 9. TALDE, C 9. See TALE.

TEMPTACIONS, B 96; B 488.

TENANDES, tenants, B 369.

TENDES, tithes (tenths), B.P. 64/24, 69/29, 78/25. See TIGEÐINGE, 62/16.

"Abram gaf him ðe tigðe del."
G. and E. 895.

TENE, injury, V 131/121. A.S. *teona*.

"Ne do ic þe nænne teonan." "*I do thee no wrong.*"—St. Matt. xx, 13.

"To wrekenn hire tene" (to avenge her vexation).—*Orm.* 19900.

TENT, heed, attention, intention, B 21, 175; V 130/73, 137/341, 139/384. See ENTENT.

"And men þarto toke mekill entent."
H. R. 82/708.

"Now to the helme will I hent
And to my ship tent."
Towneley, 31.

TEXT, the words of the spoken or written original as distinguished from comment, paraphrase, or translation, V 145/627; p. 366/1, 370/16.

ÞAI, *nom.* they, B 11, 48, 51.

ÞAIRE, *pron. poss.* their, B 12, &c.

ÞAM, *dative*, to them, C 255.

ÞAME, THAME, *dat.* to them, C 14, 265.

— *acc.* C 265, 266.

THAN, ÞAN, then, B 330; C 2, 30, 143, 219, 283; D 37/(3).

— than, *in comparisons*, C 158. See THEN.

THANK, THANKE, ÞANK, *v. a.* to thank, B 127; C 361, 362. THANKED, 357, 358, 359. See THONK.

THANNE, then, F 195.

ÞARE, there, of place, B 43. See ÞERE.

ÞAT, *demons.*, B 8, 147.

— *conj.* that, B 22, 395.

— *relative sing.* that, who, whom, which, B 105, 247, 382, 502; C 4, 75, 109, 202.

— *for* then, C 125.

ÞATE, *rel. accus.* whom, B 4, 93, 107, 465.

ÞAUH, though, V 135/261.

ÞAY, THAY, *nom.* they, C 11, 331; F 151.

ÞE, THE, *definite article*, C.E. and F *passim*. See ÞO.

— THE, *pron. pers.* thee, B 275, 276; F 48. See ÞU, ÞOU.

— *pron. poss.* C 69, 71. See ÞI, ÞY. *Note*, p. 195.

THE, *pron. rel.* who, F 119. See *Note*, p. 269.

ÞEI, they, V 141/475*.

ÞEIȝ, though, V 132/154.

ÞEN, therefore, *ergo*, B 628.

— then (of time), *tunc*, B 35, 265, 269, 281, 306, 400.

— when, *quum*, B 279.

— than, *quam*, B 146, 339, 595; V 147/671.

ÞENK, to think, B 184, 269, 361.

-ÞENK, ME-, methinks, B 164. See THYNKE, THOUGHT.

ÞENNE, then, P 123/1. See ÞEN.

ÞER, there, *before verb substantive*, B 379; V 141/477; V 146/665.

— *adv.* where, V 140/439, 446.

ÞER-BY, thereby, together with, B 493.

ÞERE, there, of place, B 41 (cf. "ÞARE," B 43), 514.

— *pron. poss.* their, C 78, 185, 265, 266. See HORE.

ÞERETO, ÞERTO, thereto, B 23, 292, 445; C 23; F 3.

ÞERFOR, ÞERFORE, for (*instead of*) that, F 64; C 36.

ÞERFORE, therefore, for reason of this, B 53, 540. See FORÞI.

ÞER-WITH, therewith, B 423.

THES, *pl.* these, them, F 151, 177. See THIS.

ÞESTERNES, darkness, V 142/503.

"*And* heffness lihht bishineþþ all
Mannkinne þessternesse."
Orm. 18851-2.

ÞEÞIN, thence, Icel. *þaðan* or *þeðan*, B 229.

"Forswa pured and fyned never gold was
Als þai sal be, ar þai þeþen pas."
P. C. 2720-1.

ÞI, *pron. poss.* (*before consonant*), B 271, 454, 455, 458. ÞIN, *before vowel or aspirate*, B 101, 204, 380. ÞINE, *acc.* B 198.

ÞING, *sing.* thing, B 1. ÞINGE (? *pl.*), B 505.

ÞIR, ÞIRRE, they, of them, to them, them. See *Note*, p. 250; C 112; B 250.

ÞIS, THIS, *sing.* this, B 2, 16 *passim*; C 173.

ÞIS, THIS, *pl.* these, them, C 200; V 136/305. See THES.

ÞO, *def. art.* (Midland), the, B 1. *Note*, p. 157.

ÞOF, though (*still pronounced* thŏf *in the East Riding*), B 426.

THOGHT, ÞOGHT, *s.* thought, B 71, 97, 193; C 65.

THOLE, to suffer, to make to suffer, F 214; p. 276/4. ÞOLEDE, p. 276.

ÞONK, ÞONKE, THONK, *v. a.* to thank, B 330, 338, 355, 613, 614. ÞONKED, 610, 611, 612. See THANK.

ÞOO, these, those, B 170.

"I sal blis to þoo þat blissen þe."
(Wyclif) Gen. xii, 3.

THORGHT, *for* through the, B 148.

ÞOU, B 244, 448. See "THU."

THOUME, thumb, B 158.

ÞOW, thou, B 453. See ÞOU, THU.

THRE, three, B 248, 251.

THREHED, Trinity, p. 218.

THRYD, THRID, third, B 224, 546.

THRYES, thrice, C 280. THRYESE, B 308.

THU, thou, F 76, 85, 92, 97, 107, 127, 203. ÞU, F 191.

THURGH, through, B 213, 226.

ÞUS, thus, B 20, 327.

THYNG, B 256. See THING.

THYNKE, to think, C 180. See THENK.

TIL, *conj.* until, B 153, 263.

— *prep.* to, B 43, 380, 389, 394, 397, 472, 563, 580; B.P. 64/24.

— *of motion*, to, B 225, 302. See TO, IN-TIL.

TILMEN, tillers of the ground, husbandmen, B 370.

"Kaym a tylman."
Cant. de Creatione, 478.

TILLE, *prep.* to, B 594.

-TILLE, ÞERE-, thereto, C 92.

TITTER, *compar. of* TITE, soon, Icel. *titt*, neut. of *tíðr*, frequently used adverbially = at once, with all speed, "sooner" is substituted for it, P.P. 76/31; B.P. 70/12.

"Alle men sal þan tite upryse."
P. C. 4979.

"Wharfor it seemes þat mes syngyng
May titest þe saul out of payn bryng
þat passes hethin in charite."
P. C. 3702-4.

TO, *prep.* to, B 107, 112, 403, &c.; C 200.

TO, unto, B 387; P 124/27.

— according to, in proportion to, B 527, 533.

— for, B.P. 71/17; to goddes louing, B 255; to þi louing, B 380; "to þi worship," V 146/539; V 146/649. Cf. our "to thy honour and glory."

— *before infinitive*, B 386, 401, 527, &c.

— *conj.* until, B 194, 302, 399; C 91.

— *intensive prefix.* See TO-RENTE.

— *adv.* too.

TOGGE, *v. a.* to tug, V 137/314.

TOK, *perf. of* TAKE, gave, paid, V 137/341. See TAKE.

— received, V 143/527.

TORCHE, *s.* torch, Lat. *intorticium*, candles made of wax and rosin and twisted together, B.P. 71/26; B.P. 76/19.

Anthony St Quintin of Harpham, in the East Riding, A.D. 1443-4, leaves 50 pounds of wax and rosyn for four torches to be burnt about his body on the day of his burial.—*Test Ebor.* II, 95. In the churchwardens' accounts of Yatton, Somerset, I find charged in 1467, "Item, payd for wex & rosyn. xxs."

At line 1176, *Brun de la Montaigne*, a xiv Century MS. edited for the Société des anciens Textes Francais (1875), by M. P. Meyer, we have "En. iiij. c. torti fu li feus alumés," which points to the Latin derivation (*tortus, pp.* twisted) more directly than the "*torse*" in xiv Cent. examples quoted by Littré.

TO-RENTE, *pp.* rent to pieces, L 151/120.

"To-rendeð þe olde pilche, *renaeth the old cloak*."—A. R. 362.

TOURNOUR, one who puts in the capitals in the spaces left by the text-writers, often (*see* F 1, p. 287/16) not filled in, p. 401(2).

TOWAYL, altar-cloth, p. 173, howselling-cloth, p. 297(2).

TOWELL, a cloth, a table or altar-cloth, as distinct from the corporas, a napkin, a towel. *Note*, p. 332; B.P. 65/4. Edward the Black Prince, by his will A.D. 1370, leaves to our Lady's chapel, Undercroft in Canterbury Cathedral, "deux vetementz sengles, cest assavoir, aube, amyt, chesyble, estole, et fanon avec towaill convenables a chacun des ditz vestementz."—Nichols' *Royal Wills*, p. 71.

TRAUELING, of women in labour, B.P. 71/32.

TRAY, vexation, trouble, sorrow, A.S. *trega*, loss. See *Note*, p. 372; V 131/121.

TRE, TREE, *s.* tree, timber, wood, p. 384.

— of the cross of Calvary, V 141/490, 144/591, 147/479.

TRESPAS, *v. a.* to trespass against, B 502.

TRESPASSE, *s.* trespas, transgression, B 476.

TRETYS, treatise, V 128/1.

TROUTHE, TROUÞE, *s.* faith, belief, B 414; V 141/471.

"To helpe oure trouthe thurghe þat þat we see a thyng and trowes anoþer." —Of the Supper of the Lord, *Mirror of St Edmund, Religious Pieces*, Perry, p. 42.

TROW, to believe, to trust, B 205, 212, 233, 414.

TURNE, to turn, B 264, 388, 558. TURNANDE, *part. pres.* B 87.

TWYESE, twice, B 309.

-TYDE, MORNE-, morningtide, H.C. 82/13.

TYLLANDE, tilling, B.P. 70/1. See TILMEN.

TYME, *s.* theme, subject, P. 124/36.

"Tyme of a sermonde, *theme*." Pals. 281.

— *s.* time, B 30.

VCHE, each, V 129/30.

VER, 2 *sing.* were, wast, L 152/130.

VERRAY, *adj.* very, true, V 131/109.

VERTU, virtue, power, effect, B 6, 9, 570.

"Forthi schaued Crist thar, hou Jowes That wald noht trow on his uertues, Suld ga for thar wantrauth til pine." E. M. H. 128.

"Not in worde, but in vertue." (1 Cor. iv, 20) *Myrowre*, 67.

VESTMENT. See WESTEMENT, *Note*, p. 166-7, and under TOWELL.

VM, *prep.* A.S. *ymb*, about, after, B 624 (governing WHILE).

VMWHILE, sometime, C 369. Cf. Icel. *Um*, *Umb*, *prep.* around, during; "*um tíma*, *um stund*, for a while, C-V 649; B 1.

VNCEL, unblessed, wicked; A.S. *sel*, blessed, happy; Icel. *sœll*; Germ. *selig*.—V 138/381.

UNCUÞ, *pp.* unknown, *hence*, strange.

VNDERFANGE, *v. a.* to undertake, p. 394/11.

VNDERNE, VNDRYN, A.S. *Undern*, the third hour, tierce, 9 A.M. V 131/129; p. 373/20.

UNDO, *v. a.* to translate, to explain, p. 211/9.

UNGOD, *adj.* not good, H.C. 84/49.

VNKUYNDE, unnatural, V 134/232, and *Note*, p. 376.

VN-PURUAYDE, unprovided, B 424.

VNSPEDE, hindrance, disadvantage, C 88.

VNSTABLE, B 390.

VNTIL, VNTILLE, *prep.* to, unto, B 121, 169, 471. See TIL.

VP, *adv.* up, from the posture of kneeling, B 303.

UP-HALDES, upholds, B.P. 65/2.

VPON, upon, B 31; B 157. See OPEN, OPON.

VP-RIGHT, *adj.* upright, erect, B 483.

VP-STANDANDE, *part.* standing up, B 261. See "STANDE VP."

VSE, to use, of the priest communicating, V 145/605; of drinking the unconsecrated wine after

receiving the host, p. 238/13. See *Note*, p. 380-2.

W for U, C 296, lowe (love), L 150/91, 151/99, 100.

Cf. "I beqwthe my saule to God Almighty."—(A.D. 1444) *Test. Ebor.* II, 106.

— for V. See REWERENCE, REWESHUT, WESTEMENT, &c.

WANE, *pret. of* win, won, L 152/150.

"For what þing willam wan a-day wiþ his bowe."—W. of P. 190.

WAR, *adj.* ware, P 123/7; "*cautus*," P.P. 516; A.S. *wær*, ware, wary.

"Wha-swa wille thynk ay on þis manere
And be war, and make hym redy here."—P. C. 2674-5.

WARE, 3 *sing.* were, V 130/88.

WARLY, *adv.* warily, P 126/27.

WAS, 2 *sing.* wast, B 247.

WASSHANDE, *part.* washing, B 262.

WASSHING, *s.* washing, B 263.

WATE, *v. a.* to know, C 88.

"*And* Crist wass æþ to witenn þatt
Forr Crist wât alle þingess."
Orm. 19673-4.

"All-if þai wat þat þai sal be safe."
P. C. 5372.

WEDERS, *s. pl.* winds, showers, B 390.

"For God ordains here, als es his wille
Sere variaunce for certayn skille
Of þe tyms and wedirs and sesons
In taken of þe worldes condicions."
P. C. 1422-5.

"Wedyr, *idem quod* storm, *nimbus procella*."—P. P. 520.

"And wurð ðis weder sone al stille."
(*of the plague of hail*, Ex. ix, 22.)
G. & E. 3059.

"As wedre vpon erbe" (*as the small rain upon the tender herb*).—Deut. xxxii, 2.

"To wakan wederez so wylde þe wyndez he callez."—E. E. A. P. 64/948.

WEILLFARE, welfare, B.P. 69/13.

WEL, *adv.* well, B 233, 360. See WELE.

WELCOME, B 181.

WELDING, wielding, ruling, V 139/401.

WELE, *s.* wealth, well-being, B 106; C 74; E 106; where F 30, welthe. Cf. HELE, health.

— *adv.* well, B 305, 365, 338, 527. See WEL.

WELE-WILLANDES, well wishers, B 368.

WELL, a spring (not necessarily with the notion of being sunk), H.C. 86/59.

Cf. "A well of water, springing up." St John, iv, 14.

WENDE, to wend, turn, return. A.S. *wendan*, Icel. *venda*, M.G. vandjan.—B 609; p. 280/11.

"Bot tylle þe blys of heven mon þai wende
And have þare þair lyking with-outen ends."—P. C. 7518-19.

— to translate, p. 212/29, 275/21.

WENE, *v. a.* to ween, to think, to hope, V 140/419.

WENYAL, *adj.* venial, L 149/40.

WEOFOD-SCEATTAS, altar (*sheets*) cloths, p. 333, 334.

WEOLE, *s.* well being, well doing, V 134/205.

WERE, *subjunctive*, B 595.

— *s.* war, variance, B 589.

"Engel wirð a-gen him cam
Als it were wopnede here,
Redi to silden (*shield*) him fro were."
G. & E. 1786-8.

"his croun bere
Wele, and in pees with-outen were."
P. C. 4087-8.

"þarfoe þat tyme was mykyl þro
And oft was boþe werre and wo."
H. S. 10569-70.

WERK, *s.* work, B 72. WERKES, B 363, 610.

WERLD, world, A.S. *weorold*, Icel. *veröld*, *pl.* WERLES, "werld of werles," H.C. 84/31.

"In werlde of werlde and in ai."
"*In æternum et in sæculum sæculi.*"
Ps. (9) ix, 6.

WERLDE, world, C 2. See WERLD, WORD.

WESTEMENTE, vestment, especially the chasuble, F. 12, where probably for the complete mass vestment. See *Note*, p. 166, and under TOWELL.

WEUEDE, altar, A.S. *weofod*. "Æt þæs weofodes sidan," Lev. i, 11.

— V 143/537.

"Godes table is þe woyeued."
Ayenbite, 236.

"Mi hende betwix un-derandes wasche I sal;
And um-ga, Laverd, þi weved."
(*Circumibo altare tuum.*)
Ps. (26), xxv, 6.

WHAS, whose, B.P. 72/23.

WHAT-SO, whatsoever, B 444.

WHAT TIME, V 140/452.

WHEN, *of time*, B 27, 29, 33.

— *conditional*, insomuch as, in so far as, B 31.

WHEN-SO, whensoever, B 116.

WHEÞER, whether, whichever, B 243.

"And fre wille to chese, als he vouches save,
Gode or ille whether he wil have."
P. C. 92-3.

WHI, *adv.* why, B 24.

WHILE, *s.* while, time, "*momentum*," P. P. 524.—B 624; C 101, where "Ay whil," *for* a (*ane*) whil, one while, sometime. See *Note*, p. 228; *but* "ay whiles" = always, whilst.

"Ay whiles he es in dedly syn,
His help vailles noght, bot es in vayne."
P. C. 3645-6.

WHILES, WHILS, "the whiles," whilst, B 357, 487; F 12.

"And do here penaunce whilles we lyf may."—P. C. 3930.

"Whilles þe days of þi youthe sal last."
P. C. 5715.

See I-WHILS, UMWHILE.

— at times, sometimes, F 81.

WHILK, WHILKE, which, B 538; C 309; p. 118/4.

WHO, those who, B 491.

WHOSE, whoso, whosoever, V 141/466, 144/578.

WHYLS, "I whyls," whilst, B 245. See WHILES.

WHYTHEM, with hem, therewith, L 152/147.

WICKED, *adj.* B 505.

WIDE, *adj.* B 225.

WIGHT, *s.* "*creatura*," person or thing, p. 240, *n.* 5. A.S. *wiht*; Cæd. *viht*; Ulf. *vaiht*, *vaihts*; Icel. *vættr*. There is something derogatory in the modern use of *wight*, as of *wicht* in German, but there was nothing of the kind in Early English.

"Who saved Daniel in thorrible cave,
That every wight, sauf he, mayster or knave,
Was with the lioun frete or he asterte
No wight but Gōd, that he bar in his herte."
C.T. 4893-6, and cf. l. 4908, 4921, 15598.

"Melusine, the fair swete wyght."
W. of P. 3992.

"If giftts thou receyue of any wyght
well ponder their degree:
A kynde pore mans harty rewarde
is worth the other three."
Babees Book, 102/733-6.

WIL, WILLE, 2 *sing.* to will (*velle*), B 284, 442, 444; L 154/199.

WOLD, WOLDE, wished, B 470.

-WILD, ILLE-, having ill will, malevolent, C 66.

-WILLANDS, WELE-, well wishers, B 368. *Note*, p. 277.

WILLE, *s.* will (*voluntas*), B 122, 189, 360, 499.

WIRCHIP, *v. a.* B.P. 71/18. See WORSHIP.

WIRK, to work, B 360 (wyrke, C 179).

WISDAM, WISDAME, wisdom, B 143, 450.

WISE, mode, manner, B 335.

WISSE, to guide, teach, B 251. *Note*, p. 250.

WIT, WITT, WITTE, wisdom. *Note*, p. 161.—B 12, 343, 450; p. 270.

WITE, blame, B 72. *Note*, p. 189.

WITH, with, against. *Note*, p. 323;

B 140, 145, 273; C. 156; H.C. 62/5; p. 311(3).

WITHOUTEN, *prep.* without, B 114, 240, 582.

— *adj.* outward, B 546. *Note*, p. 299-300.

WITTE. See WIT, wisdom, p. 277/13.

WOD, *adj.* mad, V 137/330.

WOLD, would, B 244, 446.

WOLDE. See WIL.

WON, *s.* wont, accustomed dwelling, V 146/637.

WONAND, *part.* dwelling, B 145.

WONDER THING, miracle, V 138/365.

WONDYS, wounds, H.C. 84/27.

WONE, *v. n.* to dwell, V 143/530.

WONYNGE, *part.* dwelling, altered from "wonand," V 143/562.

WORCHE, *v. a.* to work, F 157. See WIRK, B 189.

WORD, *s.* world, E 513. *Note*, p. 298. See WERLD.

—, WORDE, *s.* word, B 72, 181, 189, 509.

WORDELY, *adj.* worldly, P 125/31. See WORD.

WORDY [? worðy], *adj.* worthy, L 150/71.

WORLD, WORLDE, world, B 137, 396. See WERLD, WORD, WORDELI.

WORSHIP, *s.* honour, B 16, 380.

WORSHIP, *v. a.* (of God), B 125; B 125, 337.

— to shew honour to a church by gifts, B.P. 76/11. WORSHIPPED, B.P. 76/15. See WIRCHIP.

"And worschyp þys stede (*church*) whyl þat we lyue."—H. S. 278/8966.

WORTH, WORTHE, WORÞI, WORTHI, *adj.* worthy, precious, B 73, 125, 270; P 124/16, 23. WORTHIEST, B 629.

WORÞLI, *adj.* worthy, of worth, V 146/637.

WORTHYEST, B 1. See WORTH.

WOSTIS, 2 *sing.* B 135, 137, thou worstest. See *Note*, p. 199. Cf. the phonetic spelling: "Item a vestment of black woosted."—Lincolnshire Inventory, A.D. 1440, Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 182.

WOUNDES, WOUNDIS, wounds, B 225, 598; B 225.

WRAKE, *s.* vengeance, B 137.

"So cam on werlde wreche and wrake."
G. and E. 552.

See WREKE.

WRECCHE, wretch, wicked man, P 126/12.

WRECCHIDNESSE, misery, P 123/2.

WRECHED, wretched, B 80.

WREKE, *v. a.* to avenge, take vengeance for, V 139/395.

-WRIT, HOLI-, religious works of authority, not of Holy Scripture alone. *Note*, p. 365; V 130/90.

WROGHT, WROUȝT, *pp.* worked, made, B 206; of the Divine inspiration of the gospel, V 140/432.

WRY, to accuse, "*accuso*," H.C. 84/35.

"With ham bothe i-wreiid was
And in the ditement was i-pilt."
Political Songs, Wright, 198.

WRYTE, WRYTEN, *pp.* written, B 204*, 246, 282; F 8.

WYLD, *perf. of* WYLL, would, p. 299/23.

WYLL, to will, almost an auxiliary, L 154/199. See WILLE.

WYMMEN, women, B 369.

WYRK, WYRCHE, *v.* to work with head or hand, B 4; C 4. See *Note*, p. 157.

WYSE, *s.* manner, B 583. See WISE.

WYST, 2 *sing. pret.* thou knewest, B 244.

WYTE, to blame, C 44. See WITE.

— *v. a.* to know, p. 119/15.

WYTT, WYTTE, wisdom, E 12; B.P. 74/12.

WYTTE, *v. a.* to bequeath, H.C. 86/55.

"I bewitt my saule to Gode."—Will, A.D. 1436, *Test. Ebor.* II, 75.

"I Witt to Kirkly kirke in Cleveland my blew damask goun to make a vestment of."—Will, A.D. 1454, *ib.* 175.

WYTWORD, *s.* a will, testamentary disposition, p. 309 (4).

YHERE, *s.* year, p. 118/5.

YLLE, *adj.* evil, C 24. See ILLE.

YOVE, *pp.* given, p. 292/4.

— YS, *plural affix. Note*, p. 349(2).

YUEL, *adj.* evil, B 98. See EUIL.

ȝAF, *v. a.* gave, V 136/310.

ȝE, ye, B.P. 64/1, 66/17, &c.

ȝERDE, *s.* rod, wand, p. 350/5.

ȝERNYNGE, yearning, desire, B 258, 529.

ȝET, yet, F 330.

ȝEUE, to give, F 3.

ȝEW, *v. a.* give, F 60, 323. See GIVE.

-ȝEWNESS, FOR-, forgiveness, F 316.

ȝIT, ȝITTE, yet still, moreover (ἔτι), further, A.S. *Gyt*, B 11, 261; B 411, 607; C 11.

ȝUT, yet, F 149.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. E. L., Maskell's Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England. Second edition, 1846.

A. L., Ancient Laws and Institutes of England (ed. B. Thorpe), 8vo, 1840.

A. P., Alliterative Poems, E. E. T. S., Morris.

A. R., Ancren Riwle, C. S. Morton.

A. S., Boswell's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

Aungier, History of Syon Monastery, by G. J. Aungier.

A. V., Authorized Version of Holy Bible.

Ayenb., Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, E. E. T. S., Morris.

B. C. P., Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

Becon, Works, Parker Society, 1844.

Bing., Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, 8vo, 1834.

Bint., Binterim, Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche. Mainz, 1825—1831.

Bona, Opera Omnia, Antverp., 1694.

Cædmon, von K. W. Bouterwek, 1849.

C. L., Castel off Loue, ed. Weymouth.

C. M., Cursor Mundi, E. E. T. S., Morris.

C. S., Camden Society's Publications.

C. T., Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, ed. Wright.

C-V., Icelandic-English Dictionary, by R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, 1874.

Doc. Ann., Cardwell, Documentary Annals, 1844.

Durandi. *See* Rationale.

E. E. H., Early English Homilies, E. E. T. S., Morris.

E. M. H., English Metrical Homilies, small, 1862.

Euchol., Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, Venice, 1854.

F. Z., Fasciculi Zizaniorum, Rolls Series, Shirley.

G. & E., Genesis and Exodus, E. E. T. S., Morris.

Gavant., Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum, Autore B. Gavanto cum additionibus Merati, Venet., 1788.

Gaw., Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, E. E. T. S., Morris.
Gerbert., Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemanicæ, Typis San-Blasianis, 1777.
Goar., Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Græcum., Paris, 1647.
H. R., Legends of the Holy Rood, E. E. T. S., Morris.
H. & S., Haddan and Stubbs Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents.
H. S., Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, Roxburghe Clul Furnivall.
Howard, Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies, 1864.
Ib., Ibidem, in the same volume, book or chapter.
Id., Idem, the same work or the same author.
Le Brun., Explicatio Missæ, Latine reddita, Venet., 1770.
Lydg. M. P., Lydgate's Minor Poems, Percy Society, Halliwell.
Lynd., Lyndwood, Provinciale, Oxon, 1679.
M. A., Morte Arthure, E. E. T. S., Perry.
M. C., Manipulus Curatorum, Argentorat., 1487.
M. F., Monumenta Franciscana, Rolls Series, Brewer.
M. G., Skeat, Mæso-Gothic Glossary, 1868.
M. P., Manuel des Pechiez, by William of Waddington, Furnival See H. S.
M. R., Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1846-7.
Man. Ebor., Manuale et Processionale Ebor., S. S., Henderson.
Mart., Martene de antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, Antverp., 1763.
Masonry, Constitutions of Masonry, Halliwell, 1844.
Miss. Ebor., Missale ad usum Ebor., S. S., Henderson.
Miss. Hereford., Missale ad usum Herford., Henderson, 1874.
Miss. Moz., Missale dictum Mozarabes, ab Alex. Lesleo, Romæ, 1755.
Miss. Rom., Missale Romanum, corrected by Urban VIII., 1634
Miss. Sar., Missale ad usum Sarum. [Dickinson], Burntisland.
Mus. Ital., Mabillon, Museum Italicum, Paris, 1724.
Myr., Our Ladyes Myroure, E. E. T. S., Blunt.
O. E. H., Old English Homilies, E. E. T. S., Morris.
O. & N., The Owl and the Nightingale, Percy Society, Wright.
Orm., Ormulum, White, 1852.
Pals., L'Eclaircissement de la Langue Française, par Jean Palsgrave, Paris, 1852.
P. B. V., Prayer Book Version of Psalms.
P. P., Promptorium Parvulorum, C. S., Way.
P. S., Parker Society Publications.
Provinc. *See* Lyndwood.
Ps., Early English Psalter, S. S., Stevenson.
Ps. Where the Vulgate is quoted, the number, according to the Hebrew and A. V., is placed in a parenthesis.
Rationale, Durandi Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Lugdun., 1538.
Renaudot, Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, Paris, 1716.
Sacrament, The Play of the Sacrament, W[*hitley*] S[*tokes*], 1862.

Shoreham, The Religious Poems of William de Shoreham, Percy Society, 1849, Wright.

S. S., Surtees Society Publications.

Tet., Neale, Tetralogia Liturgica.

Test. Ebor., Testamenta Eboracensia, S. S., Raine.

T. M., Towneley Mysteries, S. S.

Ulf., Ulfilas, von M. Heyne, 1874.

V., Vulgate Version of Holy Bible.

Voy. Litt., Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins, Paris, 1717-24.

Voy. Liturg., Voyages Liturgiques de France, par le Sieur de Moleon (*Le Brun des Marettes*), Paris, 1718.

W. of P., William of Palerne, E. E. T. S., Skeat.

Wyclif, Works, Ed. Arnold, 1869.

ERRATA.

p. 82, l. 19, *after* þe *insert* a comma.
p. 101, l. 4 from bottom, *for* say his *read* say the
p. 156, l. 7, *for* Havelock *read* Havelok
„ l. 20, *for* 1533 *read* 1553
p. 165, l. 11, *for* side-altar *read* side-altars
p. 168, l. 11, *for* MS. 9 *read* MS. 17
p. 169, l. 21, *for* C. and F. *read* C. and E.
p. 174, l. 12, *for* marked *read* a marked
p. 180, l. 9, *for* subscripted *read* subscribed
p. 183, *note*, l. 1, *after* oratio *delete* full stop.
p. 186, l. 3 from bottom, *for* cæli *read* cœli
p. 187, l. 4, *for* alus *read* aliis
p. 192, l. 26, *after* a post *add* (1).
„ l. 32, *for* (2) *read* (3).
p. 197, last line, *for* p. xviii. *read* p. xvii.
p. 203, l. 4, *for* Hwanne *read* Hwenne
„ *note* (2), l. 10, *for* is hire teye. *read* in hire teye
p. 205, l. 13, *for* 1540 *read* 1549
p. 209, l. 3, *for* of conception *read* of the conception
p. 236, l. 13, *for* (4) *read* (5).
„ l. 18, *for* (5) *read* (4).
p. 255, *note* (4), l. 6, *delete* because
p. 283, l. 1, *for* and which we have seen *read* and as we have seen
p. 339. l. 11, *after* Beverley Minster *add*, I find it stated in the *Book of th Provost of Beverley* (a MS. dated 1410, now the property of Mr Crust o Beverley), fol. 1, that the collegiate church was re-founded by St John o Beverley for divers ministers, including "*sanctimoniales virgines.*"
p. 353, *note* (3), l. 16, *add*, It was ordered by Pope Pius IX, in 1861, that th Emperor should no longer be prayed for, "ob sublatum Romanorun imperium," though the words of the prayer were to be retained in th missal.
p. 360, *note* (1), *for* Athonia *read* Athona
p. 413, *add* -ES, 3 *plur.*, B 16, 44, 46, 105, 164 ; F 119. See *Page* lx.
p. 423, *add* LOVE, *v. a.*, to love, B 451.

CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, BUNGAY.

[*To be added to* Meditations, *Original Series*, 1875, *No.* 60.]

NOTE

TO THE

"MEDITATIONS ON THE SUPPER OF OUR LORD AND THE HOURS OF THE PASSION."

Early English Text Society, 1875, Original Series, No. 60.

When Robert Manning's translation of the *Meditations of our Lord* was published in 1875, only two manuscript copies of the Poem were known to be in existence, one in the British Museum, the other in the Bodleian Library. On my return to England a month ago, Miss Toulmin Smith informed me that she had discovered another copy in a MS. volume belonging to the *Bedford Library*, and made arrangements for me to examine it to see whether this copy differed materially from that already published.

Leaves 1 to 175 inclusive of the MS. contain the *Cursor Mundi* in English as far as the Final Judgment. Into the body of the *Cursor* the copyist has worked the *Meditations* as an integral part of that poem. If the reader will turn to Dr Morris's edition of the *Cursor*, Part III, p. 855, he will find the Trinity MS. (l. 14914) reads—

> For to suffere peynes grym
> Monnes soule to haue to him
> Of þe passioun speke we here
> How he vs bouȝte ihesu dere
> Secundum euangelium

Where the Bedford MS. reads (leaf cxix, col. 2)—

Fforto Soffre paynis grim
Mánis Soule to haue to hym
Here begynneth þe meditation of
þe pascion of Crist & of þe
Lamentation of oure Lady Saint
Mary þat Sche made for her
Son when Sche Se hym
torment among þe Iewis which
Was compiled of bonaventure
a gode clerk & a Cardinall of Rome
& þe meditacions of all þe houris of þe day.

After going through this new MS. of the *Meditations*, I do not think there is much cause for regret that we did not know of its existence earlier, as it is a much later copy [the MS. is dated on the back of leaf 216, "primo die Ianuare Anno dni M.cccc.xlij."] and very inferior to those in the British Museum and the Bodleian. It omits a large number of words, and transposes others, often for the worse, and leaves out lines 7 and 8, 165 and 166, 516 to 523 inclusive, 1041 and 1042, 1141 and 1142. The headings to the different meditations are also omitted.

On the other hand, we have two new lines which occur between ll. 652 and 653 of the printed edition. They are—

Beholde man þy lorde on þe rode
þere was no lym bote þat ran on blode

And the MS. probably gives more correct readings of the following lines than the Brit. Mus. MS. gives:—

214. So ȝiffe þe payne or endeles blis.

216. Is godson quik and not dede.

1101. þey schull in hell euermore a be lore

1102. Bote I hym to þis deth had I bore.

Lines 61-62, 251-252, 887-888, and 1093-1094 have been transposed. Some of the verbal differences may be noted here:—

In l. 50 we find "Seventyn & twey."

Ll. 63, 64. Her table was brode & ffoure quarter
þo maner of a chekyr

103. "wept ffast" for "ete faste"

108. Iudas Scariot þat is So bolde

150. Before his trayto*ur* ffete sitting
238. "Comforte" for "enformed"
268. Kitte her hertis & made he*m* bolde for "colde."
270. w*ith* handis wringi*n*g for "here hedys bowyng."
316. "Distempryd" for "dysturbled"
344. "day & night" for "gode and ry3t."
367. "while" for "þyrwhylys"
410. "valay of distres" for "valey of dyrknes"
414. "blode clere" for "blody coloure"
477. "of Iangeling" for "eche a gadlyng"
502. "Schenschipe . . . hate" for "frenshepe . . . debate"
567. "punchyd" for "punged."
578. "Iewis" for "þeues"
608. "þe cros" for "þyn herte"
655. "nailis" for "veynes"
718. "Iohn beholde þy modir" for "beholde þy modyr, broþer"
744. "Anguyschyd" for "angred"
756. "swetyng" for "shyittyng"
850. "I am his modir" for "hys sory modyr."
944. "wroght" for "bo3t" [Better]
958. "Kist his hede" for "lyfte hyt"
974. "Wiped" for "swaþed"
1123. "ffadirs" for "fendys"

With lines 1029-1030 of the printed poem the following from the Bedford MS. may be compared :—

> 3iff þou arise þe þrid day
> Truly I am comfort ffor eu*er* & aye.

With the following extract from the MS. under examination I bring these few notes to a close :—

> Se now þe man*er* of þe crucifying
> Two laddirs be sett þe cros behynde
> and two enemyes vp fast þay clymbe
> W*ith* hamyrs & naylis scharpely swifft
> A Schort ladder hy*m* pight

þere as þe ffete Schorter were
Beholde þis Sight *with* rewly tere
Crist Ihe*s*u his bodye vp stye
Be þe Schort laddir þe cros on hye
W*ith* oute nay he gan vp wende
And when he cam to þe ladder ende
Towards þe cros his bak he layde
And his riall armys displayed
His ffeyre handis he oute streght
And to þe crucifiers hem right
And to his ffadir he caste his yen
And sayde here I am ffadir myn
Vnto þis cros þ*o*u mekist me
My ffor manhede I offre to þe
My brethe*rs* & Siste*rs* þ*o*u hast made hem
Ffor my loue fadir be merciabill to he*m*
All olde Syn*n*is þ*o*u hem ffor3effe
And graun*t* þy blis *with* vs to lyue
Derworthy fadir saue all man kyn
Lo here I am offred for her Syn.

Leaf cxxiiij, col. 2, and back. Lines 628 to 652

J. M. Cowper.

Watling Street, Canterbury,
Jan. 17, 1878.

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